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*Corrigendum: Pt. 167, p. 254, line 42: RUDSTON BARROW LXII.



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YORKSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL REGISTER, 1966

EDITED BY J. RADLEY

[*Note* : the identifications and dates, etc. are those supplied by the contributors and are not the responsibility of the Editor.]

Allerston, N.R. (93)

(1) Manor House. SE.878830. The Scarborough D.A.S. continued to excavate and good quality masonry in the southern area points to a stage between the fourteenth century structure and the present farm-house. *F. C. Rimmington.*

(2) Blakey Topping. SE.873938. Mesolithic chipping floor with fifty–sixty flakes, cores, and several microliths. *R. H. Hayes.*

Ampleforth, N.R. (92)

Ampleforth Moor. SE.5880. In August 1966, eight round barrows were excavated as a rescue operation in advance of ploughing on behalf of the Ministry of Public Building and Works. The barrows had all been robbed and no burials were recorded. However, on an old land surface under three of the barrows, a domestic occupation in the Early Bronze Age could be deduced from sherds of pottery, flints and two beads of faience. *G. J. Wainwright.*

Arkengarthdale, N.R. (84)

Cocker Quarry. NY.929077. Chipping floor on small hillock yielded 21 flints including three worked pieces. *J. C. Henderson Hamilton.*

Atwick, E.R. (99)

TA.19225242. Roman Republican denarius, 68–66 B.C., found at foot of cliffs. In Hull Museums. *M. Atkinson.*

Bainbridge, N.R. (90)

Semer Water. SD.920877. Petit tranchet arrowhead found in the water near the eastern bank. *M. Cooper.*

Barwick-in-Elmet, W.R. (96)

SE.398376. Site of new bungalow on the edge of the earthworks revealed refuse from a lime kiln of unknown date. *J. Radley.*

Beadlam, N.R. (92)

(1) Beadlam Grange. SE.642842. Broken polished flint axe. In Ryedale Museum. *R. H. Hayes.*

(2) Roman Villa. SE.634842. Trial excavations in a recently-ploughed field identified a Roman villa with some walls standing 2 ft. high. Buildings are ranged round three sides of a square, and a geometric mosaic pavement was found in the centre of the central building. It is hoped to protect the site from further ploughing until it can be fully excavated. *A. L. Pacitto, I. M. Stead.*

Buttercrambe, N.R. (97)

Chapel Garth. SE.713560. The site is bounded by earth banks and mutilated by rigg and furrow ploughing running at right angles to much earlier riggs outside the banks. Exploratory trenches at 20 ft. intervals were dug along the north-west side working towards the centre. Natural clay was found at a depth of 18 ins. on average. Many loose cobbles, and potsherds dating from the twelfth/thirteenth to sixteenth century were found, being more prevalent towards the centre of the site, also two clay pipes of seventeenth century date. A possible sleeper trench and two small patches of set cobbles appeared. To be continued. *C. R. Bell.*

Elloughton, E.R. (98)

Brough. (1). 4, Grassdale Park. SE.93912638. R.–B. sherds including Samian, colour-coated and coarse wares. In Hull Museums.

(2). 35, Roundsfield Ave. SE.94112652. Sestertius of Trajan, found in garden and in possession of finder, Mr. Straw. *M. Atkinson.*

Burstwick, E.R. (99)

Gravel Pits. TA.24422758. Three Early Iron Age finger rings, two in position on left hand of partly destroyed crouched inhumation, found during gravel digging. *M. Atkinson.*

Carlton, W.R. (96)

SE.20674347. Flint point; probably part of a flint dagger, 2.5 ins. long and 1.6 ins. wide. Found by R. Salmon and S. Whittaker of Yeadon, 6 yds. west of Bull Stone on Otley Chevin. *C. E. Hartley.*

Cayton, N.R. (93)

TA.055830. Stone-paved hut of R.-B. date excavated by G. R. Pye and now destroyed by building operations. Sherds of fourth century. *J. G. Rutter.*

Conistone, W.R. (90)

Conistone Moor. Three more enclosures with 'wall passages' surveyed, and survey of all pre-Conquest and Prehistoric remains completed in Conistone, Arncliffe and Litton townships. *A. Raistrick.*

Cookridge, W.R. (96)

SE.256415. Section cut through the Roman road west of Pinfold Lane. Lower layers of sandstone cobbles rammed into natural clay, with signs of millstone grit metalling over this. Ditch located on south side, 4 ft. wide, flat-bottomed, and 2 ft. deep. Probably no ditch required on north side. *K. Wilson.*

Craven, W.R. (90)

Work has been continued, checking and surveying 'long houses' of which nearly thirty are now known on the Craven uplands. It is hoped to complete this work during 1967 and to write up the results. Four have been excavated. Of the detailed surveys, the following were done this year.

Great Close, Malham Moor	SD.911665
Great Close, " "	896675
Ewe Moor area, Malham Moor, four 'houses'	892646 and 8
Malham Moor	898641
Skyrethorns, four 'houses'	966644
Skyrethorns Wood	972648
Arncliffe	937705
Penygent Gill and Dawson Close	866738
	863736
	861735

A. Raistrick.

Dalton, N.R. (84)

NZ.115085. A sandstone rock unearthed about 1956 in what is now a cottage garden whilst digging for drainage purposes was reported to the writer in 1966. Three faces of the rock have symbols carved on them; one side has a triple ringed cup, another has a double ringed very deep asymmetrical cup, and the third side has four shallow cups. In addition two small cups are carved on the corners of the rock, one with a slight concentric arc. *S. Feather.*

Danby, N.R. (86)

Ainthorpe. NZ.718079. Upper stone of beehive quern, 13 ins. diameter and 5 ins. high, with three handle holes, of local free-stone, found at Duck Bridge. *R. H. Hayes.*

Darton, W.R. (102)

Gawber glasshouse. SE.327026. The works began c. 1730 and were sold as farmland in 1821. The cone was demolished by 1823. Excavation of the main building revealed a pot-clay storage pit and the bottle store, which yielded quantities of broken wine bottles, ranging from squat, early eighteenth century to tall, cylindrical, late eighteenth century types. Twenty-four bottle seals bearing initials and/or crests, some with mid-eighteenth century dates. In addition, a considerable quantity of small, clear glass 'apothecary' bottles was found. The cone is now being excavated, and is 80 ft. across with a 15 ft. square central furnace. *D. Ashurst.*

Earswick, N.R. (97)

Moor Lane. SE.62986320. Crop mark, ring ditch, c. 65 ft. diameter, entrance to south-east. On ground, slight rise in sandy soil, ?ploughed out barrow. *H. G. Ramm.*

Eskdaleside, N.R. (86)

NZ.850045 and 846048. High and Low Bridestones have been surveyed in detail. *J. G. Rutter.*

Eston, N.R. (86)

Eston Nab hill fort. NZ.567183. The bank and ditch have been sectioned, and areas of the interior have been dug. Two periods of defence seem probable, the second possibly Roman. Traces of slight wooden structures at the rear of the rampart. *F. A. Aberg.*

Fadmoor, N.R. (92)

Fadmoor Farm. SE.675894. Coin of Alexander II of Scotland (1214–49) found in orchard. Double cross with star in each angle. AL + EX REX SCOTORUM DEI. *R. H. Hayes.*

Farndale East, N.R. (92)

Oak Crag. SE.679963. Builder making a sheep-dip found bowl-shaped hollow with a thick layer of run slag and burnt clay. Beyond was a stone platform 1 ft. down, and a small bowl furnace 3 ft. below surface. Other slag heaps at SE.662953, 678987, 672927. 60 yds. to north-west is a mediaeval long house with blocked passage and byre end converted into kitchen. Three sets of crucks and a witch-post remain. Formerly called 'Great Oak'. *R. H. Hayes.*

Fylingdales, N.R. (93)

Biller Howe Dale. SE.914013. Mesolithic flint site found on plateau above dale. Material includes cores, scrapers, blade tools and a few microliths. In possession of finder, Mr. P. B. S. Garbett, 3 Park Lane West, Hull. *M. Atkinson.*

Gillamore, N.R. (92)

Boonhill. SE.671908. Small bronze socketed axe of normal Yorkshire type with loop and three ribs on each side. Found by E. S. Fletcher while ploughing in 1966. *R. H. Hayes.*

Guisborough, N.R. (86)

NZ.596141. The Leper Hospital. Continued excavation located foundations with an associated drain, and dominantly mediaeval pottery. It is hoped to trace the outlines of all the buildings in 1967. *C. V. Bellamy.*

Glass Houghton, W.R. (97)

Holywell Hill. SE.446246. R.C.H.M. recovered a Roman burial disturbed by quarrying, at the request of Castleford Museum. It was a stone coffin with lid, inside which was a skeleton of an adult, encased in gypsum. A composite bone comb was found beneath the head. *J. Radley.*

Halifax, W.R. (102)

(1) Holdsworth House. SE.082290. Second season of excavation was devoted to south wall of the house, and a hearth, oven and a group of pits were found. The wall is a line of post-holes, 3 ft.-6 ft. apart set in a shallow trench. The packing around the holes shows that the timbers were withdrawn after the building was partly destroyed by fire in the fourteenth century. Much pottery of Upper Heaton type suggests a building date of around 1300. *J. A. Gilks.*

(2) Edge End. SE.053263. 1965 excavation of a mediaeval walled and banked enclosure has revealed an oval-shaped wall approximately 90 ft. × 60 ft. with an internal bank. The wall is built of unshaped millstone grit blocks, and is 3 ft. wide at the base and 2 ft. 6 ins. wide at the top. The wall is bonded with brown clay and still stands to a height of 4 ft. 6 ins. Traces of hut foundations have been found under the bank associated with gravel floors. No trace of an entrance could be found. Finds: pottery, nails, bones and a flint flake. A mid-fourteenth century date is suspected. *J. A. Gilks.*

(3) SE.082307. The remains of a nineteenth century kiln were excavated by Halifax A.R.G. The walls were of brick, the floor of clay burnt red, and a wall separated the kiln area from the fire. Kiln produced domestic wares such as baking bowls and stewpots. *R. Varley.*

Hawsker with Stainsacre and Fylingdales, N.R. (86)

NZ.952008 to 963018. During 1966 eleven further cup and ring marked rocks were plotted on Stony Marl, Howdale and Brow Moors. These rocks have a variety of symbols including cups, ringed cups, channels and enclosure patterns. *S. Feather.*

Haxby, N.R. (97)

(1) Haxby Grange. SE.60805971. Crop mark square enclosure, 160 ft. × 180 ft. with an apparent central feature, and a Roman tegular found on it.

(2) SE.60805959. Complex of ditches as crop marks. ?Fields associated with (1).

(3) Usher Lane. SE.6135945. Linear feature visible as two dark lines on A.P. aligned on (1).

H. G. Ramm.

Helmsley, N.R. (92)

SE.610827. A hammer-stone, found in R. Rye, 3½ ins. × 2½ ins. with ⅞ in. hole, water-worn. Made of calcareous grit. *R. H. Hayes.*

Heslington, E. R. (97)

(1) University of York. SE.62425079. Hoard of over 2,800 Roman coins in Crambeck storage jar. Majority are Magnentius, Decentius, and Constantius II, and the latest coins are A.D. 358–9.

(2) Tilmire and Common. Nine irregular oval ditched enclosures visible on ground, of uncertain date and purpose, possibly cattle folds, cf. Stukeley Letters III, Surtees Soc. Edit., 251–2. Two other examples in Deighton parish.

(3) Common. SE.63444758–63504746. Agger of Roman road visible, 22 ft. wide and 3½ ft. high.

H. G. Ramm.

High Melton, W.R. (103)

From SE.507020 to 501026. Strip lynchets, rarely found in southern Yorkshire. Four main lynchets on west facing escarpment cut into exceptionally thick marls at the base of Magnesian Limestone. They extend from Melton village 1,500 yds. to parish boundary, and were called Melton Warren and Plantation on the Enclosure Map suggesting an early date for their abandonment. *J. Radley.*

Hood Grange, N.R. (92)

SE.505823. Several mediaeval sherds of buff-pink fabric, parts of cooking pots, and handled jugs from former monastic site. Present farm has mediaeval work in two outbuildings. *R. H. Hayes.*

Horton-in-Ribblesdale, W.R. (90)

SD.817694. Helwith Bridge. Excavation of a circular hut revealed a well-packed clay floor with coal, coal ash, charcoal and bone trodden into it. The nearest coal deposits are on Fountains Fell, three miles to north-east. One flanged rim sherd of coarse gritted ware of probable fourth century was found. *A. King.*

Huddersfield, W.R. (102)

Castle Hill, Almondbury. SE.153141. In the winter of 1965–6, a gully was eroded through the rampart on the south-east side of the mediaeval motte and bailey, exposing the remains of the Iron Age fortifications. Excavations by Tolson Mem. Mus. revealed the Phase 4 revetment, which had been destroyed, possibly by the Romans. Behind this a curb perhaps of Phase 2 revetment. Sherds of Upper Heaton Ware, twelfth century sherds, pieces of burnt bone and a small fragment of Iron Age pottery. *J. R. Earnshaw.*

Hull, E.R. (99)

TA.07200575. Constantius I follis (295–305) found in garden of J. W. Gibson, 8 Loveridge Ave., and in his possession. *M. Atkinson.*

Hutton-le-Hole, N.R. (92)

(1) Oxclose Farm. SE.718887. Many flints including barb-and-tang arrowhead and several scrapers.
 (2) Sewage trenches to several houses yielded twelfth–seventeenth century sherds. 250 in Ryedale Museum, some illustrated in Fig. 1, including large sherd of black, gritty ware (No. 38), Staxton ware, a spouted jug (40) of green glazed buff ware. Masses of rounded stones, iron slag, and a knife or sword blade were found.
 (3) Moor Garth. SE.708903. 6 ft. high bank, ditch 10–12 ft. wide and 2–3 ft. high counterscarp bank, aligned north-west–south-east, is 30 ft. overall and 190 ft. long. No extensions known. A section across the double bank and ditch showed the ditch to be 2 ft. 9 ins. deep, with mediaeval sherds amongst the stony silt and black peaty soil. Whole length of north-east bank revetted with dry stone walling, four-five courses high. 5 ft. behind the wall was a horizontal charred timber. No wall in lower south-east bank. An old water course from nearby springs, or former village boundary? *R. H. Hayes.*

Ilkley, W.R. (96)

Roman Ford. SE.115484. Attempt to section Ilkley-Boroughbridge Roman road near the assumed ford, but without success. Some evidence of R.–B. occupation in a clay layer containing cobbles which may be a house platform. Test holes confirmed that it covered a large area. *E. Houlder.*

Ingleton, W.R. (90)

(1) Ingleborough. SD.743746. Copper as of Antoninus Pius from the camp on the summit. A piece of Castor ware was found several years ago by H. G. Ramm. *A. King.*
 (2) Gauber Limekiln Pasture, Ribbleshead. SD.761788. To the hut circles noted in the last register others may be added to make a total of twenty-six, mostly on Silurian and Millstone Grit outcrops. Those on limestone have proved to be the remains of simple limekilns. *A. King.*

Kilham, E.R. (93)

Long Barrow. TA.056673. Second season of excavation revealed more of the mortuary enclosure extending westwards as a ditched enclosure of trapezoidal plan. Two pits below the burial area, and an oval pit with Mesolithic flints, animal bones, and charred hazel nuts, were found. Other Mesolithic flints were found on the old land surface associated with two hearth sites. Finds include Neolithic, Roman, and mediaeval pottery. *T. G. Manby.*

Kilnsea, E.R. (105)

Caravan site. TA.4174.1610. Denarius of Hadrian (A.D. 125–8). In Hull Museums. *M. Atkinson.*

Kilton, N.R. (86)

Castle. NZ.704177. Second season's work finished the well, began on the courtyard, revealing a stone-built drain, and located the outer wall of another range of rooms at the eastern end.

F. A. Aberg.

Langcliffe, W.R. (90)

SD.845652. Above Victoria Cave on the plateau at 1,500 ft. O.D., a complex of hut circles, enclosures, lynchets and an opened burial mound have been surveyed, and selected portions dug. An oval hollow 12 ft. long had reddened sandstone, barytes, and malachite mixed with its clay floor which in places was reddened. Pieces were found in the floor of one of the hut circles. Evidence of mining stretches eastwards towards Malham, and may give an Iron Age–Romano-British date for the first mining area. Also a reddened sandstone mould in the late Tot Lord's Collection, Settle, from Attermire Cave.

A. King.

Levisham, N.R. (92)

Braygate Fields. SE.825910. Hammer-stone of close-grained red-buff stone, 4 ins. long, 2 ins. wide, abraded on ends and one side.

R. H. Hayes.

Lockton, N.R. (92)

(1) SE.845899. Spindle whorl, 2½ ins. wide, found in old wall. Flints and b.-and-t. arrowhead found on rigg-and-furrow nearby.

(2) Saltergate. Half an axe hammer made from a polished pebble, now 2¾ ins. long, 2½ ins. wide, 1⅜ ins. thick, and ⅞ in. wide hole. Found by a roadman.

(3) South-east of Seive Dale Head, on Rigg Farm, above old quarry, silver coin of Severus (202–10). Another very worn bronze Roman coin from same area. 300 yds. north-east of Rigg Farm a beehive quern by T. Hoggard. Roman pottery, including Crambeck, has been found on Stoneclose Rigg. A jet bead and flint arrowheads from near a ploughed out entrenchment in the area.

R. H. Hayes.

Malham Moor, W.R. (90)

Knowe Fell. SD.881672. Rectangular house 15 ft. × 35 ft. (inside) with paved floor, complete, was excavated in 1966, and base of quern found in position on a low platform. Broken portions of the upper stone of this and another found 1965. Coarse pottery, probably third century Romano-British ware found. Second rectangular house, same size completely excavated, paved floor, but no pottery or other remains. Excavation of whole site to be completed 1967.

A. Raistrick.

Meltham, W.R. (102)

Oldfield Hill. SE.087101. Further excavation by Huddersfield D.A.S. of the Iron Age defended farmstead showed a rock-cut ditch on the south side where previously denied. Each side of the sub-rectangular site has now been sectioned at least once, revealing a collapsed and partly robbed box rampart made from ditch material. A pre-rampart palisade occurs only on the west and north sides under or near the rampart line.

J. P. Toomey.

Middlesbrough, N.R. (85)

(1) West Acklam. NW.484159. Trial excavation on the site of the presumed up-hill flue of a pottery kiln belonging to G. & W. Skinner & Co. No kiln was found, but masses of broken pottery, saggar, stilts, burnt coal and ash represent a dump beside an old footpath and overlain by a cart-track composed of brick. Bases stamped G. & W. S. & Co. were found, dating to the mid-nineteenth century.

C. A. Zeeland.

(2) Acklam. NZ.488171. Moated site. Trial excavations yielded timber structures, ditches, and pits of mediaeval date. Pottery and a coin of Henry VIII were found.

F. A. Aberg.

Middleton, W.R. (96)

SE.112516. A 200 yd. stretch of boulder walling which runs obliquely across the southern slope of Long Ridge, Middleton Moor, revealed by bracken cutting in 1966. Has sustained recent damage by this activity.

S. Feather.

Millington, E.R. (98)

SE.823513. Fifteen microliths found on old land surface by W. J. Varley.

M. Atkinson.

Muker, N.R. (90)

Near Keld Springs Edge. SD.947962. Chipping floor yielding twenty-four flints, including a core and a worked piece, from edge of eroded peat. Also a barb-and-tang arrowhead found 1962.

E. Cooper.

Newton Kyme, W.R. (97)

Adaman's Graves. SE.456446. Investigation by R.C.H.M. of land clearance yielded nothing, but by the side of Rudgate flints, Roman sherds, including grey ware and Dales ware, and mediaeval sherds were found. *J. Radley.*

North Ferriby, E.R. (98)

Red Cliff. SE.981250. Fragments of butt-beaker, *terra nigra*, and native wares. In Hull Museums. *M. Atkinson.*

North Ribblesdale, W.R. (90)

Survey begun in 1965 continuing two miles east and west of the River Ribble from Ribblehead (SD.766789) to Wigglesworth (SD.810569). More than fifty cairns have been plotted, ranging from 2 ft. – 4 ft. high and 12 ft. – 35 ft. in diameter. *W. H. Walker.*

North and South Anston, W.R. (103)

(1) Smarson's Hill. SK.520825. Group of R.–B. enclosures and fields. Section across one enclosure revealed 8 ft. wide rubble wall with numerous third – fourth century sherds in the soil against the wall but not under it. Finds include saddle quern, Derbyshire and Dales wares.

(2) Anston Stones. SK.524838. Group of R.–B. sherds on a terrace above the gorge.

(3) Lindrick Dale. SK.538825. Fifty flints, including scrapers. Also piece of greenstone axe.

J. Radley.

(4) SK.53978273. Bronze Age dagger from the garden of Meade Cottage, Lindrick Dale, with trapezoidal hilt plate (2.5 ins. wide), two plug rivets, and ogival blade. Total length 5.3 ins. In Sheffield Museum. *A. Butterworth.*

Norton, E.R. (92)

Roman cemetery site revealed by building operations. Twenty burials found and a number of graves excavated. Also six cremation burials in small pits with charcoal, two in urns. With inhumations were cross-bow brooches, third century coins, an iron knife and buckle. One grave was lined with re-used stone roofing. *T. G. Manby.*

Oswaldkirk, N.R. (92)

'Thirklewood', Bank Top. SE.626793. Three R.–B. sherds and mediaeval roll rims with poor green glaze, together with sixteen – seventeenth century platter, and other sherds from garden.

R. H. Hayes.

Overton, N.R. (97)

SE.553552. Moated manor site of the Abbot of St. Mary's. Three trial trenches were dug on the outer moat north-east side to a depth of 2 ft. But beneath the moat level at 2 ft. a series of post holes appeared. They were set in clay. A sherd of Northern type Stamford ware came from one of these. It seems probable that a pre-Conquest timber building is to be expected. *J. Dinsdale.*

Oxenhope, W.R. (96)

(1) SE.044351. Exploration of a site on Brow Moor known as Almshaw Lowe proved it to be bed-rock and not a barrow. *C. V. Bellamy.*

(2) SE.028325. Mesolithic flint workshop site found during the course of field work. Flints found on an exposed patch some 10 yds. square, and include microliths, scrapers, graters and flint waste. A plano-convex flint knife was also found near the site. *J. A. Gilks.*

Pontefract, W.R.

Priory. SE.463226. The tenth season's work was mainly on the east end of the second church and on the southern end of the Dorter range. The second church has a square east end divided into five bays by substantial party-wall foundations parallel to the main axis. The centre bay was extended 8 ft. further east than the two pairs of flanking chapels. Again numerous burials were found inside and outside the eastern wall. The Dorter range yielded large quantities of glass and pottery fragments of alembics and cucurbits related to distillation processes of about late fifteenth century. Residues are being analysed. *C. V. Bellamy.*

Reeth, N.R.

(1) Reeth High Moor. NY.969010. Flint chipping floor, with thirty-seven chips and flakes and four thumb scrapers. *J. C. Henderson Hamilton.*

(2) Reeth Low Moor. NZ.003005. Oval enclosure 240 ft. × 211 ft. between Calva Hill and Cringley Hill at 1,400 ft. The bank is made of two rows of boulders with a turf filling. Hut circles nearby.

E. Cooper.

Rigton, W.R.

- (1) SE.28325008. Polished stone axe of fine grey volcanic tuff, 4½ ins. long, was found in 1962 by S. Oliver of Leyfield Farm.
- (2) SE.29175030. A Roman coin, a billon antoninianus of Postumus (A.D. 259–68), found by Mrs. A. Thompson of Horn Bank Farm in the garden of farm cottages. Horn Bank has long been known as Iron Age–Romano–British site. (Gents. Mag., 1787, pt. II, 564–5.) *C. E. Hartley.*

Rotherham, W.R. (103)

- (1) Canklow Hill. SK.433905. Fifty sherds of Roman pottery, including grey wares and pseudo-Samian. Found on the edge of an old quarry by D. Aveling.
- (2) Canklow Hill. SK.432912. Thirty small pieces of heavily-gritted ware and one piece of Samian, found by D. Aveling and S. J. Snook. *F. L. Preston.*
- (3) Chapel Dike Flat. 407914. Dug-out canoe (*Y.A.J.* xli, 1965, 329), C.14 date of 3450±150 B.P. (c. 1500 B.C., B.M.213). *A. Butterworth.*

Rudston, E.R. (93)

Rudston Villa. TA. 088667. The excavation of the well was concluded in 1966. It was 99 ft. deep and its diameter below the weathering cone averaged 9 ft. to within 6 ft. of the bottom. Two radiate coins and the iron fittings of several buckets were found at the bottom, and in a layer between 81 ft. and 85 ft. were masses of broken Huntcliff vessels and three Valentinian coins. *A. L. Pacitto, I. M. Stead.*

Sandal Magna, W.R. (96)

Castle. SE.338182. The stone floors of two major domestic buildings had been robbed in Cromwellian times and finds were mixed with thirteenth century material. A large area of the bailey has been stripped to its Civil War level. Work has begun on the barbican tower, and the ashlar wall and drawbridge footings have been located. *P. Mayes.*

Seamer, N.R. (93)

Crossgates. TA.030834. Scarborough D.A.S. excavated the only surviving fragment of the first century ditched enclosure, with further finds of the same date. *J. G. Rutter.*

Settle, W.R. (90)

North and west of Settle. SD.820637. Continued survey of the fields system has revealed long fields (proportions 12 : 1) adjoining a probable R.–B. settlement. Four isolated plots have been noted and one of them surveyed. This is rectangular, 173 ft. × 290 ft., divided into strips 42 ft., 42 ft. and 89 ft. wide aligned down the slope. Nearby are remains of a probable Iron Age settlement. *W. H. Walker.*

Sheffield, W.R. (102)

- (1) Fulwood. SK.298852. More finds (see Register for 1962) of Derbyshire and coarse wares, also fragments of smelting pot, and some flints including a circular scraper.
- (2) SK.29308625. Two Roman sherds and a piece of marble mosaic backed with *opus signinum* found in or on dumped clay. ?Collector's pieces.
- (3) SK.33078374. Barb-and-tang arrowhead and lead spindle whorl with dot-and-ring decoration from garden of 39, Dewar Drive. *A. Butterworth.*

Skelton, N.R. (97)

SE.568565. An ancient road, 50 ft. wide with a cobbled surface set on 8 ins. of clay, was observed in a water main trench 18 ins. below the modern road surface, running parallel to the north side of St. Giles Road, and beneath the Rectory garden. *J. Dinsdale.*

Spaunton, N.R. (92)

- (1) Spaunton Moor. SE.697926. Leaf-shaped arrowhead near find spot of broken white flint polished axe at SE.697927. Hammer stone with opposed cupped hollows from SE.720906, with several scrapers and waste flint flakes and cores. *R. H. Hayes.*
- (2) New Inn, SE.725899. Two beehive querns found 1933. Mound excavated 1966, yielding mediaeval building 28 ft. × 17 ft. with 1 ft. 6 ins. thick walls, standing 2 ft. high. Finds include Norman square rims, green glazed jug fragments and other twelfth–fourteenth century pieces. Nearby, R. Close found rock cut ? corn drying kiln 3 ft. 8 ins. deep. It is 5 ft. 6 ins. long, 2 ft. 9 ins. wide, similar to one found at Spaunton Moor in 1960 (unpublished). Above kiln were mediaeval sherds. Mediaeval sherds also found at SE.721896 by L. Davison. Excavation to continue on other buildings. *R. H. Hayes.*

Strensall, N.R. (97)

Howard Rd. Miniature Range. SE.63765951. Double ditched enclosure on A.P. enclosing another on a slightly different alignment. ? Iron Age settlement. *H. G. Ramm.*

Thirkleby, N.R. (91)

Sand Hill Farm. SE.482780. Ploughing in stoneless Haggs Field in 1967 produced a large concentration of rounded boulders 3 ins.–9 ins. below surface. Two, possibly three, beehive querns amongst stones. One upper stone 11 ins. across, 6 ins. high of sandy grit with 4 ins. hopper and handle hole, and another lower stone 13 ins. dia. and 6 ins. high made of grit. *R. H. Hayes.*

Thorner, W.R. (96)

SE.410375. Bulldozing exposed an early mediaeval kiln site. Sherds including wasters were collected from the kiln remains and are now in Leeds Museum. *P. Mayes.*

Thornton Riseborough, N.R. (92)

Riseborough Hill. SE.747826. Traces of an old road in cornfield, formerly with stones on surface. Stone foundations nearby may be remains of mediaeval village. Rim of flanged dish, Crambeck Type 1, found. Clay loom weight from Kiln Field. *R. H. Hayes.*

Thorpe Salvin, W.R. (103)

(1) Thorpe Common. SK.522792. Mesolithic site found in 1957. Of sixty flints there was one microlith, three scrapers, three cores, and a double burin. There was also one fragment of a polished flint axe. *A. Miller.*

(2) Thorpe Common. SK.526797. Group of flints from a restricted area, including a scraper. *M. Plant.*

Thruscross, W.R. (96)

Raven Stones. SE.119581. One nearly horizontal rock has a large number of cup-shaped hollows, possibly artificial but not definite. *S. Feather.*

Treeton, W.R. (103)

SK.435888. West of Bole Hill. Two Mesolithic cores found by D. Aveling, now in Rotherham Museum. *F. L. Preston.*

Ulley, W.R. (103)

Main St. SK.465875. Road excavated at the rear of 'Church View', 16 ft. wide, aligned approx. north-south. Road surface 1 ft.–2 ft. deep, probably Roman. *P. H. J. Smedley.*

Wakefield, W.R. (96)

Little Bull Yard. SE.332203. Wakefield A.R.G. excavated behind the former Little Bull Hotel. The sequence was: a pre-1500 garden, an early sixteenth century tip, a mid-seventeenth century structure of wood and plaster with cobbled floor, and a nineteenth century brick structure with cast-iron columns on stone bases. Pottery included Cistercian ware, Westerwald and Nottingham stone wares, Delft, and local Potovens ware. *P. C. D. Brears.*

Wales, W.R. (103)

Kiveton Park. SK.507826. Remains of a corn-drying kiln full of refuse and charcoal; bones, including teeth of red and roe deer, dog, pig, and sheep or goat; and pottery dating from A.D. 80–130. *J. Radley.*

Walkington, E.R. (98)

SE.999371. Sherd of Norman shelly ware, fragment of loom weight and base sherds of Staxton type ware. In Hull Museums. *M. Atkinson.*

Welton, E.R. (98)

SE.975278. R.–B. sherds and inhumation found above Melton quarry. *M. Atkinson.*

Westerdale, N.R. (86)

Crown End. NZ.665072. Survey of walls, enclosures, pits and hut circles by C. Simpson. Now in Harrogate Museum. *R. Hartley.*

Wharram Percy, E.R. (98)

SE.858646. Deserted mediaeval village. Excavation continued in the croft area around the later mediaeval long-house in Area 6. An earlier building was found to the north but there was an open yard to the south. A trench was also dug along the east-west axis of the church, and several super-imposed floor-levels and many graves were found. The stratified levels are extensive enough to warrant the total excavation of the church interior. A bell-founding pit and furnace were found in the nave. *J. G. Hurst.*

Whenby, N.R. (92)

SE.6369. Late Bronze Age leaf-shaped sword, found in 1945 and taken to Germany. Presented to York Museum in 1966 by Dr. K. Rothe. *G. F. Willmot.*

Whiston, W.R. (103)

- (1) SK.444892, 440889. Eighteen Mesolithic cores and numerous flakes and scrapers from a field east of Long Lane, and partly in Treeton parish. Found by S. J. Snook and D. Aveling.
- (2) SK.443892. A leaf-shaped and a barb-and-tang arrowhead found by D. Aveling and S. J. Snook.
- (3) SK.445889. Forty sherds of heavily gritted ware with slight traces of glaze, pale to dark buff. From a field adjacent to Ulley Brook, and found by S. J. Snook. The same area yielded four Roman sherds.

*F. L. Preston.**Winksley, W.R.* (91)

SE.240716. More pit-filling was excavated on the south side of the 1965 kiln, but no other kiln was found. On the north side, another kiln with decorated 'York Ware' types still in position. The 1965 rouletted decoration was replaced by strip and pellet ornamentation and ligulate foliate designs.

*C. V. Bellamy.**Worsborough, W.R.* (102)

Sixteenth-seventeenth century Bloomery. Third and final season revealed a third complex comprising a wheelpit and two hearths. The 1964-5 anvil belonged to a hand or foot operated hammer, and not, as its size suggested, to a water-powered hammer.

*D. W. Crossley.**Wrenthorpe, W.R.* (102)

SE.315226. Two kiln sites produced three kilns of fifteenth-sixteenth century, and six kiln sites each produced one kiln of seventeenth-eighteenth century. Two potter's houses were found. The earlier kiln produced Cistercian wares, ending c. 1560. The later kilns produced ornamental-slipped plates, and cups, bowls, troughs, storage jars, etc. ending c. 1780. Wares sold to Dewsbury, Horbury, Sandal, Walton, Sharlston, Pontefract, etc.

*P. C. D. Brears.**York* (97)

(1) Claremont Terrace. SE.603525. Service trench cut through a burial, probably in the churchyard of St. Giles.

D. Stewart.

(2) 62A Bootham. 59765250. Bootham School Archaeological Society excavated in the garden before it was converted to a car park. At 6 ft., a cobble floor, with early second century pottery on it, rested on natural yellow sand. Mediaeval levels rested on this and two mediaeval pits cut through the cobble floor, yielding green-glazed pottery. Inserted into the mediaeval layers were an eighteenth century brick water tank and pump well, the latter being sealed 2 ft. 6 ins. deep with sandstone flags.

J. D. Dagg.

(3) Ousegate. 60235166. Demolition of a house on the river front revealed a 3 ft. 6 ins. wide ashlar limestone wall with internal buttresses. Excavation traced it to 11 ft. deep, showing it to be a pre-nineteenth century river front set 12 ft.-25 ft. behind the present red brick wall.

J. Radley.

(4) Blossom St. SE.59645143. A further section was cut across the line of the Eburacum-Calcaria road (see *Y.A.J.* xli (1965) p. 524 ff.). A hitherto unsuspected ditch was encountered alongside the north-west edge of the road. This was a secondary feature possibly Hadrianic in date, and containing much Antonine pottery and building débris, being partially sealed by a spread of clay which had evidently been the base of an area of cobbling. One curbstone was found in situ on the south-east side of the road, and another was re-used in the road make-up. On the south-east side a further heavy setting of cobbles in clay and gravel may indicate a secondary road at right angles. South-east of this a cobbled area laid directly on the Roman ground surface was associated with wall footings, not yet fully explored. This cobbled area had been cut into by a late thirteenth to fourteenth century occupation which included a kiln or oven.

D. S. Stewart.

(5) SE.59755132. On land behind the Lion and Lamb Inn a number of trenches revealed considerable quantities of Roman pottery at a depth of some 3 ft. below the existing surface. Three third century coins, a skeleton (almost certainly Roman) and a lead *ossuarium* were also found.

L. P. Wenham.

NOTES ON ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS

EXCAVATION OF THE ROMAN RIDGE, NUT HILL, HAZELWOOD, NEAR ABERFORD

By M. THACKRAH

The high ridge which leaves the modern A.1 road approximately $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles north of Aberford (at SE.433391) and curves eastwards to join the Leeds-Tadcaster road near Hazelwood has long been known to be part of a Roman Road.¹ Gough describes it as being, 'in many places exceeding perfect',² and quotes Leland as saying that in all his travels he had never seen so perfect a Roman road as this. An engraving dating to 1736 shows it as still in use by horsemen and pack horses.³

The road is marked on the O.S. maps as 'Roman Ridge' and is visible in five fields, the best preserved portion being in Field No. 223 in Stutton with Hazlewood parish. There the ridge is unbroken except for an old farm track cut through more than a century ago. The slight ploughing on the east side of the ridge has not penetrated deeply.

The excavation⁴ carried out on behalf of the Roman Antiquities Committee of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society took place in this field 230 ft. south-west of Nut Hill Farm at SE.43453922 during May and June 1959. It consisted of a section 70 ft. long through the ridge (Fig. 1) and other ancillary trenches.

The section showed the road at this point to be bedded on a layer of red-brown clay. Foundation kerbs approximately 23 ft. apart consisted of angular lumps of limestone roughly $8 \times 8 \times 4$ ins. A ridge of stones 14 ins. wide and 6 ins. thick lay in the centre of this foundation layer. Above this the agger was mainly composed of sandy material probably derived by weathering from the local limestone and in places naturally cemented to form very hard layers. In it were three distinct layers of stone, the lowest of water-washed pebbles which seemed to have been deliberately placed in position. Above this was a single layer of limestone chips, while the topmost layer 4 to 5 ins. thick was of similar, slightly finer, material. In a trench 4 ft. long dug longitudinally along the ridge all these layers were perfectly horizontal which would seem to point to extreme care in the construction. There was, however, no reason to suspect more than one period in the build-up. The stone layers within the agger were apparently contemporary deposits and not earlier surfaces.

An extension to the south-west of the main trench revealed stones (limestone lumps and water-washed pebbles, all about $7 \times 5 \times 3$ ins.) which must have formed part of the original surface, although the main trench only produced three stones which might have been part of the surface. The agger is 6 ft. 6 ins. high from bed-rock to the modern surface.

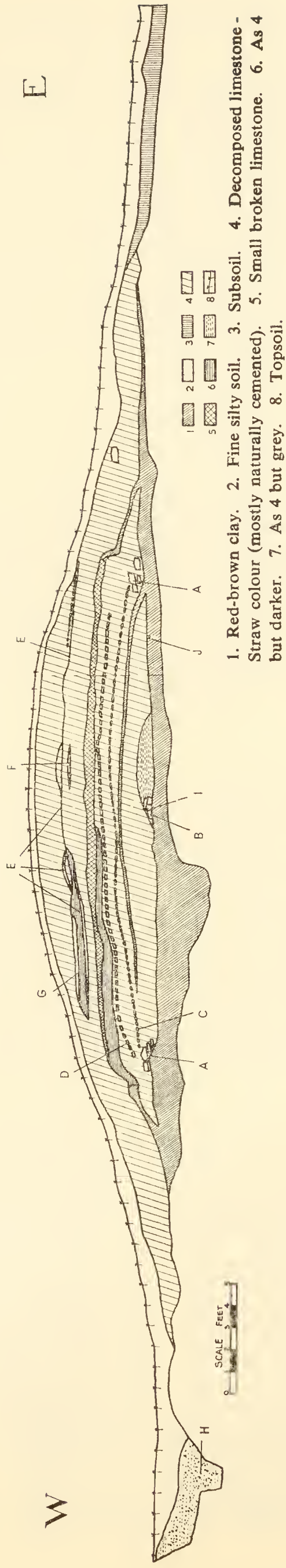
On the west side of the agger, approximately 30 ft. from the centre, was found a square-cut ditch 7 ft. wide and 3 ft. deep. Probing along the line of this feature proved that it was a ditch rather than a pit. There was no trace of a ditch on the east, despite an extension of the trench to 40 ft. from the centre. Probing beyond this point showed an edge to the bed-rock 48 ft. from the centre but a trial cut did not confirm a ditch here.

¹ I. D. Margary, *Roman Roads in Britain*, ii (1957), 146, Road 28b.

² J. Camden, (ed. W. Gough) *Britannia*, iii (1789), 292.

³ F. Drake, *Eboracum* (1736), Plate facing p. 19.

⁴ Thanks are due to Mr. J. F. Gill of Nut Hill Farm for permission to excavate in Field No. 223 and for the loan of cattle fencing; to Mr. K. Harrison of Nut Hill Garage for other facilities; to the Yorkshire Conservative Newspaper Co., Ltd., and to the volunteer helpers who came in response to an appeal in the *Yorkshire Post*.



SECTION THROUGH ROMAN RIDGE AT NUT HILL FARM ABERFORD. Field No. 223

LETTERED FEATURES

- A. Foundation kerbs
- B. Central foundation feature
- C. Water washed pebbles
- D. Broken limestone
- E. Powdered limestone, white
- F. Yellow sand
- G. Small crushed limestone and river gravel
- H. West ditch with charcoal in bottom
- I. Skull of horse
- J. Fragment of bone

FIG. 1.

The only finds were the skull of a horse and a small unidentifiable piece of bone in the foundation material and a handful of charcoal fragments in the square-cut channel at the bottom of the ditch on the west. The skull was identified by Dr. M. L. Ryder as that of a fairly small animal of pony size aged about twenty, showing no sign of disease. The lower jaws and the anterior and posterior parts of the skull were missing. The measurement between the upper molars was similar to that in an eleventh-twelfth century horse from excavations in Petergate, York. Considerable care had apparently been taken in the interment of this skull which had been placed upright on the bedding material with the nose pointing to the north along the line of the road and covered with large stones of the central ridge in such a manner that the weight of the agger did not crush it. No dating evidence was found with it but it was clearly contemporary with the laying down of the road. No parallel to this burial is known to the writer.

BECCA BANKS — NEAR ABERFORD, YORKS., W.R.

By R. T. BROOKS

This linear earthwork forms part of the complex known as Aberford Dykes which has been fully described and discussed by Mr. L. Alcock.¹ At a point about eight hundred yards south of the junction of A.1 (M) road with A.1 road, an unsurfaced narrow lane runs east of A.1 (M) and leads to a stile at OS SE.442381. In March 1965, a cutting was made at AB on the plan (Fig. 1) where the bank was still reasonably well preserved; at that time it stood for a further distance of about 60 yds. towards Hayton Wood but from there to its termination in the Wood, it had been ploughed down. The cutting was 4 ft. wide and was made by Shawnee digger in two contiguous cuts of 2 ft. each, the sides being subsequently hand-trimmed.

The Construction of the Bank (Fig. 1)

The core of the bank is of mottled dark red and grey clay derived from the top foot or so of the subsoil. Over this, reddish clay and chalk from the lower subsoil forms the upper part; this material has slipped or been thrown down on the outer side of the bank and over the ditch and appears in less compacted form. To the rear of the bank, it has developed into a clayey red soil which has little chalk. The old land surface in the form of a compacted dark clayey soil is well preserved and a rather similar wedge of dark brown soil lies over it but separated from it by a narrow band of the material forming the core of the bank. This dark brown soil also appears on the outer edge of the ditch where it is considered to represent old turf and top soil in slipped position. The ditch bottom is clearly defined by steps of compacted black soil having a hard trampled chalky surface and to the rear of the bank, a fine red soil has accumulated from ploughing and rain wash.

General Discussion

The bank is of dump construction and is 24 ft. broad; it now stands to a height of 8 ft. above the old land surface. Only one period of construction was discernible. It follows a slight natural ridge and the drop in the ground gives an extra 3 ft. above the present surface of the lower (outer) field. The ditch is 16 ft. broad and round-bottomed with a depth of 4 ft. and it is difficult to derive the mass of material forming the bank and now covering the ditch from what would have been dug out at this point. The presence, however, of the narrow band of subsoil above referred to between the old land surface and the wedge of dark brown soil which should have come from the top spit when the ditch was dug, may indicate that the ditch is not of uniform depth and is unusually shallow at this point. It is also, perhaps, worth recording that there was formerly a 'quarry' to the north of the bank in the upper field, the material from which might have been utilised to augment that from the ditch. This feature has now been filled in by the farmer with surplus earth from A.1 (M) road.

¹ Alcock, L., 1954. 'Aberford Dykes: The First Defence of The Brigantes?', *Antiquity*, 1954, pp. 147-154.

BECCA BANKS 1965 EAST FACE OF SECTION

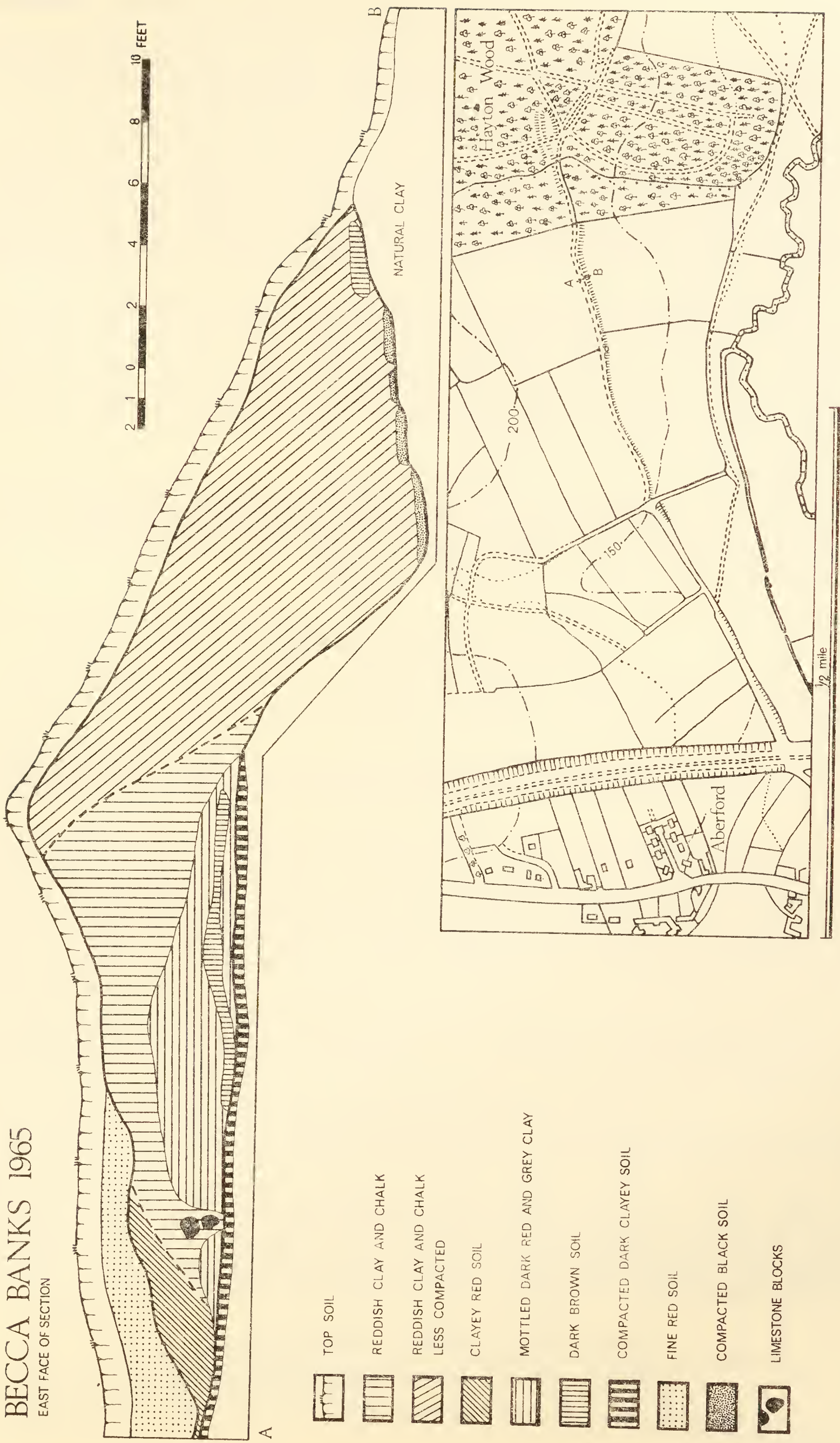


FIG. 1.

Apart from damage caused by cultivation, the bank seems to have been deliberately thrown down into the ditch when this was clear and it may also have been levelled at the rear for the rather slight stone revetment does not continue through from the core of the bank into its upper part. As stated, the ditch bottom is defined by black compacted soil with a trampled surface which appears in steps with sharp outlines. It seems most improbable that these can represent tracks along the length of the ditch but they may be evidence for the ditch having been cleared out; if this was so, the material from it may have been thrown forward into the lower field. The slighting of the bank and the infilling of the ditch must then have taken place quite quickly for the fill is undifferentiated and an early silt is lacking.

No evidence for dating was recovered. Mr. Alcock has said¹ that the most convincing explanation for Aberford Dykes is that they are a Brigantian earthwork thrown up across a prehistoric trackway to block the advance of an enemy from the south, the enemy being the Romans and the probable date the revolt of Venutius in A.D. 69. He also considers them to represent a contraction of the area of Brigantian control as demonstrated by the distribution of their coins.

Acknowledgements

This 'rescue' dig was undertaken on behalf of the Ministry of Public Building and Works and the writer is much indebted to Mr. Robertson-Mackay of the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments for his advice in the preparation of the report. He is also very grateful to the Inspectorate Drawing Office for re-drawing the section.

ELIZABETHAN ANTIQUARIES

By J. S. PURVIS

SP. Dom. 12.77.

4 Jan. 1571.

William Strickland of Boynton to 'the Righte honorable Sir William Cicill knight one of the Quenes maiesties moste honorable privie Councel and hir Graces principall Secretarie.

Sir, thes be humblie to advertise your honour that of late in a verie beggarlie village named Awburne standing on the sea coste in the Skirte of Yorkeswolde next Holdernes in Yorke Shere the surge of the Sea swepte away the foundation of one house at a springe tyde where the poore people scroupinge founde ther certeyne little blacke peces of coyne to the nombre (as I heare say) of lx which they . . . solde the same away for breade and other small trifles to relieve their povertie, to suche persones as used theyme (beinge somethinge scowred) for tokyns to their frends, so that they were scattered abroad into manie mens hands x or xii daies before I had anye knowledge therof, and then a few of theyme verie blacke beinge brought unto me, I caused to be lightlie pullised, and then perceived they were olde coynes of VESPASIANUS ANTONINUS TRAIANUS HADRIANUS and other Romane Emperors who ruled about xiiiiC yeares by past and nere the tymes whan kinge MAURICIUS and COILUS governed this Regione, and were tributories to the Romane Empire. And althought they be of small values, yet I am so bolde (for antiquities sake) to send a dosone of theyme unto your honour by my sonne Walter this bearer, wherof if I thoughte your honour make anye accompte for the straungenes and antiquitie, I wolde travell to suche as have boughte theyme for tokyns to gather some mo of the rest and sende theyme to your honour. Thus besichinge youe to pardone my boldenes I leave youe to the governaunce of almightie God who preserve your healthe and honour. From Boynton the xiiiith day of Januarie 1570.

(1570/1)

Your honours humbly at comaundemente

Will. Strickland.

¹ Alcock, L., p. 154.

NEW BRONZE AGE SPEAR-HEADS FROM YORKSHIRE AND A PROVISIONAL LIST OF YORKSHIRE SPEAR-HEADS

By J. RADLEY

About 1954 a bronze spear-head was found in a ploughed field at the north end of the parish of Kirk Deighton (SE.400510). In 1955 two more spear-heads and a bronze socketed axe were found in approximately the same place. An extensive search failed to reveal any more. The four items can be regarded as a single hoard, and are now in Harrogate Museum.¹ The bronzes are as follows:

1. A leaf-shaped spear-head with a hole in the blade and the shaft missing.

L.	23.5 cms.
W.	5.2 cms.
Weight	7½ ozs.
2. A leaf-shaped spear-head with the shaft missing.

L.	25.5 cms.
W.	5.1 cms.
Weight	9¾ ozs.
3. A leaf-shaped spear-head, with two rivet holes in the shaft.

L.	25.5 cms.
W.	4.2 cms.
Weight	7 ozs.
4. A heavy socketed axe with loop, and without decoration. The cutting edge is sharp and the whole axe is in perfect condition.

The difference in blade size and weight shows that the spear-heads come from different moulds. Whether the two broken examples represent a smith's collection of implements to be re-used, and whether the complete spear-head and the axe were useful or redundant cannot be decided.

While there are numerous unpublished bronze spear-heads in Yorkshire, note is made here of three which have been found since 1950.

A looped bronze spear-head was found near Raskelf Mill (SE.497704) about 1955, and is now in Easingwold School.² Pieces are broken from the socket, the tip, and the loops; and the blade is corroded. The spear-head belongs to the distinctive group which is Greenwell and Brewis' Type 3,³ having a thick shaft with loops, and a socket extending into the blade, dividing it into two wings, each with a raised rib. The Raskelf example has the base of each wing slightly raised, as a result of hammering. It is 16.1 cms. long and 4.5 cms. wide.

A small, well-preserved, looped spear-head was found in Jordanthorpe, Sheffield, just inside the county boundary (SK.359817). It was drawn in Sheffield City Museum (J.1957.99) and returned to its owner and later sold. It has a short rounded blade and two loops. It is 13.3 cms. long and 2.8 cms. wide.

A similar, but slightly corroded spear-head was brought to the Yorkshire Museum. It was found at South Moor House, Pocklington, and is complete. It is 12.2 cms. long and 3.1 cms. wide.

The provisional catalogue of spear-heads lists those which were encountered while working on a project for the R.C.H.M. It was not possible to examine more than half of those spear-heads listed and so details of the types and sub-types cannot be given. However, sufficient has been found to show that all the main types are represented in more than a hundred spear-heads which have been found.

¹ Mr. C. E. Hartley did most of the fieldwork, and was responsible for rescuing this hoard. Mrs. R. Hartley of Harrogate Museum readily gave permission to draw the items.

² Collected by Miss R. Smith of Easingwold.

³ Greenwell, W., and Brewis, W. P. 'The Origin of the Bronze Spear Head'. Arch., v. 61, 1909, pp. 439-472.

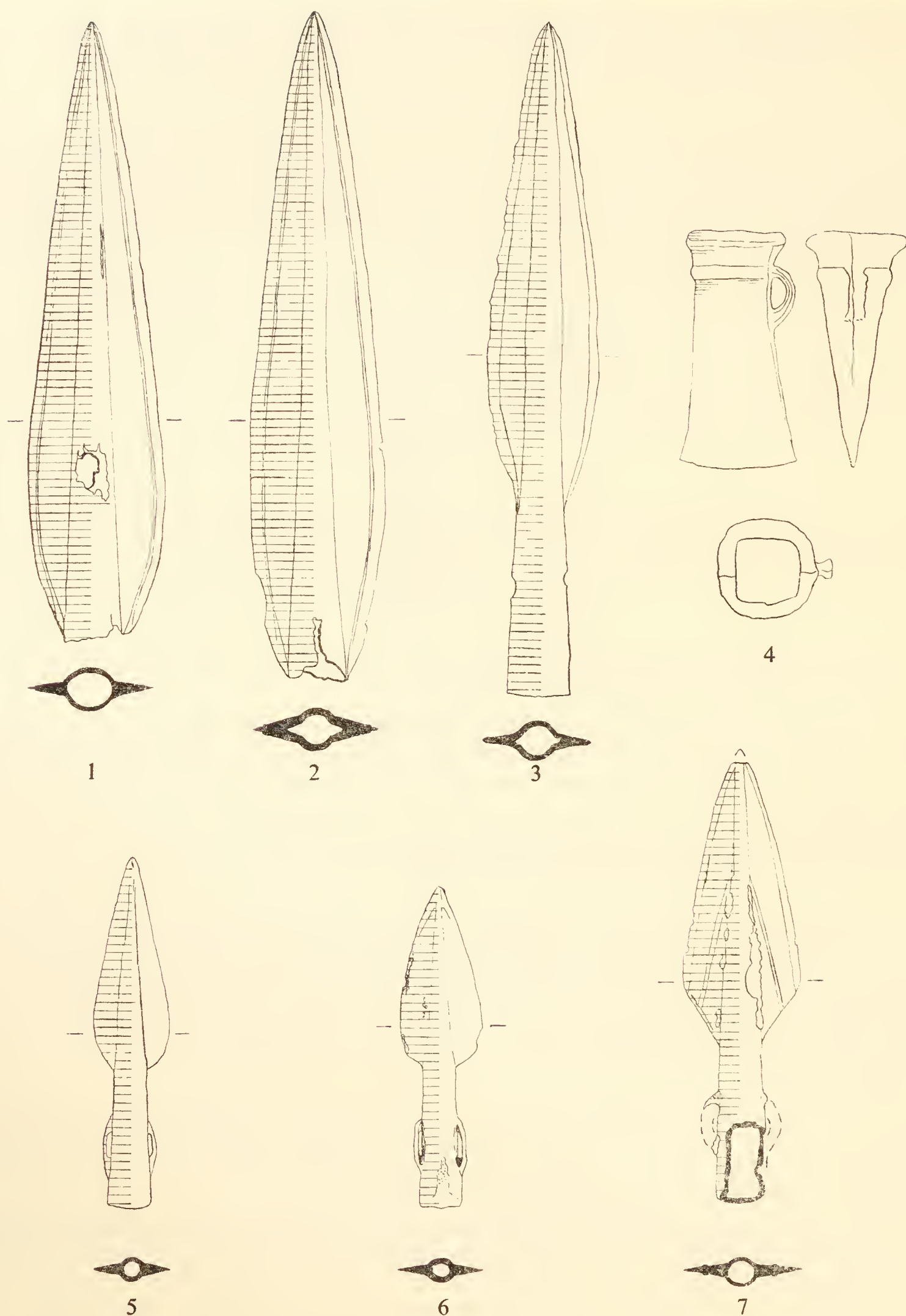


FIG. 1.

1-4, Kirk Deighton hoard: 5, Jordanthorpe: 6, Pocklington: 7, Raskelf. ($\frac{1}{3}$).

Over twenty looped spear-heads are known, usually quite small and occurring as isolated finds in all parts of Yorkshire. At least eleven basal looped forms are known. At least five lunate examples are known, the Middleham example (J.93.468), 39 cms. long, was found with a socketed axe (J.93.504). Four occur in the north of the county and one in Holderness, and they range from the type with large lunate holes at Middleham, to the type with tiny holes with a raised guard around the holes' outer edge at Brompton, N.R.

At least twenty-nine leaf-shaped spear-heads and fragments have been found. The blade may not be as long as the socket, but usually the blade is three times as long as the socket as in the complete Harrogate example. The leaf-shaped type is also found in Yorkshire bronze hoards. The three from Kirk Deighton with one socket axe are paralleled by two spear-head fragments with at least four socket axes and other items from Scalby. At Bilton fragments of seven or eight spear-heads were found with two sword fragments, and six socketed axes. At Churwell, near Leeds, three spear-heads occurred with five palstaves, and two spear-heads at Kilnhurst occurred with one palstave, a chisel and two socketed hammers. At Shelf, the two spear-head fragments occurred with several palstaves. This type appears throughout Yorkshire, except on the Wolds which is almost totally free from all types of spear-heads.

The leaf-shaped spear-heads are the only type which are occasionally decorated. A Harrogate spear-head¹ has its socket covered in thin gold leaf and decorated with three groups of transverse lines separated by hatched opposed triangles. This is paralleled in the Bilton hoard where a broken spear-head has four groups of transverse lines with three groups of hatched triangles which also decorate the blade.² However, the decorated spear-head from Bilton, which has been compared with the Harrogate spear-head, is not of the same artistic order. While the Harrogate spear-head has quite neatly punched or incised lines, the Bilton decoration was crudely applied, perhaps scratched on with a flint burin, in imitation of a superior model. The only published illustration of this spear dates from 1850³ and this suggests a neatly-executed pattern, but Fig. 2 shows the sketchy nature of this decoration.

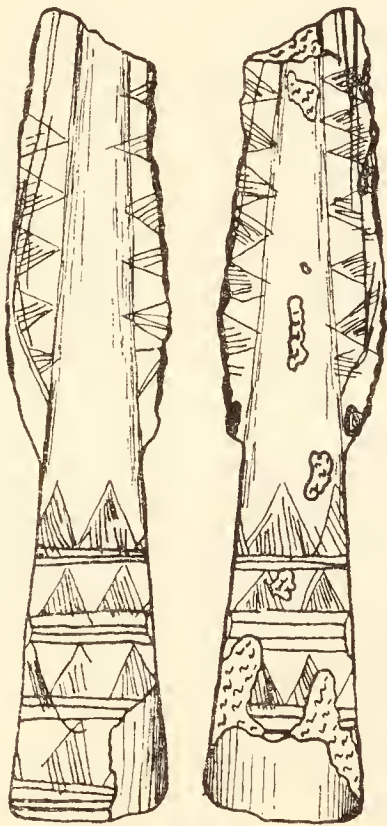


FIG. 2.
The Bilton decorated spear-head. ($\frac{1}{2}$).

PROVISIONAL CATALOGUE OF YORKSHIRE SPEAR-HEADS

<i>Place</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Source</i>
<i>East Riding</i>		
Atwick	Looped	Y.M.
Barmston	Looped	Y.M.
Beverley		B.M.
Brigham	Basal looped	Y.M.
Brough-on-Humber		Y.M., Elgee, Arch. of Yorks., 1933, p. 238

¹ P.P.S. xxx, 1964, p. 192 and Plate xix.
² J.B.A.A., V. 1850, 349; Sheffield City Museum.
³ *ibid.*

<i>Place</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Source</i>
Carnaby	Arreton Down type	Y.M.
Easington	Leaf	Hull Mus.
Folkton, Flixton	Basal looped	Doncaster Mus.
Harpham; Lowthorpe	Basal looped	B.M.
Heslington	Looped	Y.M.
Hutton Cranswick	Leaf	Hull Mus.
Leconfield, Arram	Basal looped	Y.A.J. 1955, p. 446
Long Riston, Arnold	Looped	Hull Mus.
Middleton (hoard, 2)	Leaf	Cambridge Mus. of Eth.
North Ferriby	Barbed	B.M.
Pocklington	Looped	Y.M.
Rudston	Fragment	Hull Mus.
Sherburn	Tanged	B.M.
Skipsea	Looped	Y.M.
Skirlaugh	Leaf	Mortimer, 40 Yrs., xlviii
Swine, (2)	Leaf	Y.M., Hull Mus.
Ulrome (3)	2 looped, one leaf	B.M., Y.M.
Watton	Lunate	Y.A.J. 1955, p. 446.
<i>North Riding</i>		
Allerston	2 Looped	Y.M., Castle Mus., York
Bainbridge, Semer Water	Basal looped	Private
Bedale	Looped	Bradford Mus.
Bowes		B.M.
Brompton	Lunate	Y.M.
Cayton	Looped	B.M.
Coverham with Agelthorpe	Lunate	Sheffield Mus.
Great Ayton	Fragment	Atkinson, Cleveland, 1, 37
Helmsley	Looped	Y.M.
Kirby Moorside	Lunate	
Leyburn	Leaf	Raistrick, Y.A.J., 1929
Malton (2)	Leaf	Y.A.J. 1956, p. 53
Middleton	Fragment	Y.M.
Middleham	Lunate	Sheffield Mus.
Northallerton	Basal looped	Middlesbrough Mus.
Rainton-cum-Newby	Lunate	Ripon Mus.
Raskelf (2)	Looped	Private and Y.M.
Sawdon	Looped	Scarborough
Scalby (hoard, 2)	Leaf	Y.M., Hull Mus.
Scarborough	Barbed	Y.M.
Snape	Looped (single)	Y.M.
Stanwick	Basal looped	B.M.
Sutton under W.S.C.		Y.M. Cat. 1891
Thornton Dale, High Dalby	Arreton Down type	Y.M.
Whitby (near, 3)	Leaf	Whitby Mus.
Yarm	Looped	Middlesbrough Mus.
York	Looped	Y.M.
<i>West Riding</i>		
Aldborough	Leaf	Aldborough Mus.
Barden		Raistrick, Y.A.J., 1929
Bawtry	Looped	Nat. 1918, p. 222
Bilton (hoard, 7)	Leaf fragments	Sheffield Mus.
Bingley		Raistrick, Y.A.J., 1929
Blaxton-Finningley	Leaf	Nat. 1918. Pl. 6, p. 222
Bradford	Basal looped	Hull Mus.
Clapham	Basal looped	Settle Mus.
Doncaster	Looped	Doncaster Mus.
Fenton (? Church)	Looped	B.M.
Follifoot	Basal looped	Speight, Hist. of Kirby Overblow, 1903, 8-9
Harrogate	Leaf	P.P.S. 1964, Pl. XVIII
Hatfield	Basal looped	Doncaster Mus.
Healaugh	Looped	Private
Holme, Cartworth Moor	Looped	Huddersfield Mus.
Kilnhurst (hoard, 1)	Leaf	B.M.
Kirkby Malzeard (hoard, 1)	Leaf	Ripon Mus.
Kirk Deighton (hoard, 3)	Leaf	Harrogate Mus.
Langcliffe	Looped	Settle Mus.

<i>Place</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Source</i>
Leeds	Looped	Elgee, Arch. of Yorks., 1933, p. 256
Malham, Malhamdale	Leaf	Y.M.
Morley	Basal looped	
Morley, Churwell (hoard, 3)	Leaf	Leeds Mus.
Penistone	Looped	Sheffield Mus.
Ripon		Raistrick, Y.A.J., 1929
Rossington	Looped	Doncaster Mus.
Sheffield, Stannington	Looped	Sheffield Mus.
Sheffield, Jordanthorpe	Looped	Private
Shelf (hoard, 2)	Leaf and basal looped	Huddersfield Mus.
Towton		Raistrick, Y.A.J., 1929
<i>Others</i>		
Yorkshire Moors (2)	Leaf	Cambridge Mus. of Eth.
Yorkshire (2)	Leaf	Bradford
„ probable (6)	Leaf, etc.	Y.M.
„ (5)	Leaf	Leeds Mus.
Yorkshire Wolds (1)	Leaf	Scarborough
„ „ (1)	Basal looped	Hull Mus.

EXCAVATIONS AT CROSLEY WOOD, BINGLEY

By P. MAYES

A limited rescue excavation on the site of a length of double boulder walling in Crosley Wood, Bingley (SE.117386), about to be destroyed by housing development was undertaken in the winter of 1964/65.¹ During the course of the work the area was designated as 'Green Belt', thus removing any threat to the site. Work was therefore limited to the areas open, when this decision was reached, in order to minimise unnecessary disturbance.

The site occurs at a height of about 325 ft. on a south-west facing slope to the north of the River Aire. Under a shallow 4 ins. topsoil lies a complicated geological pattern of glacial dump and outcropping grit. Immediately to the north of the site is a shallow grit escarpment. The area of the main enclosure, and the adjacent walls, is relatively level but the land drops steeply away to the west, south and east.

THE SITE

A near circle of double boulder walling was the main feature of the area (Fig. 2). Lying outside this circle were short stretches of similar walling. Apart from a typological similarity it was not possible to establish the contemporaneity of these walls and the circle. Interpretation of the surface features was rendered difficult by modern quarrying which had obscured the centre of the main circle and had undoubtedly destroyed considerable stretches of the external walling. To the south and south-east of the site lie what, superficially, appear to be lynchets. Close examination of these, without recourse to excavation, provided insufficient evidence to associate them with the boulder walling. Their configuration is somewhat uncharacteristic of other recognised lynchet groups in Yorkshire and they are omitted from the main site plan. Half a mile to the east of the site in Hirst Wood (SE.127382) circular huts and straight-sided enclosures occur in close association. The huts at this latter site contrast strongly with the circular depressions left by modern quarrying at Crosley Wood.

The main circle was surveyed at a scale of sixteen feet to one inch and all large stones which were recognisable as part of the double boulder walling were drawn. In the absence of the major facing stones the line of the wall was marked by a slight mound caused by the grassed over residual wall filling. Resistivity traverses of the interior provided inconclusive results.

¹ Bingley Urban District Council readily gave permission for an excavation to take place and their architect, Mr. S. M. Arnfield, was most helpful in all aspects of the work. Adult students from Extra Mural classes in archaeology of the University of Leeds, members of the Prehistory Research Section of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society and local volunteers co-operated in the project.

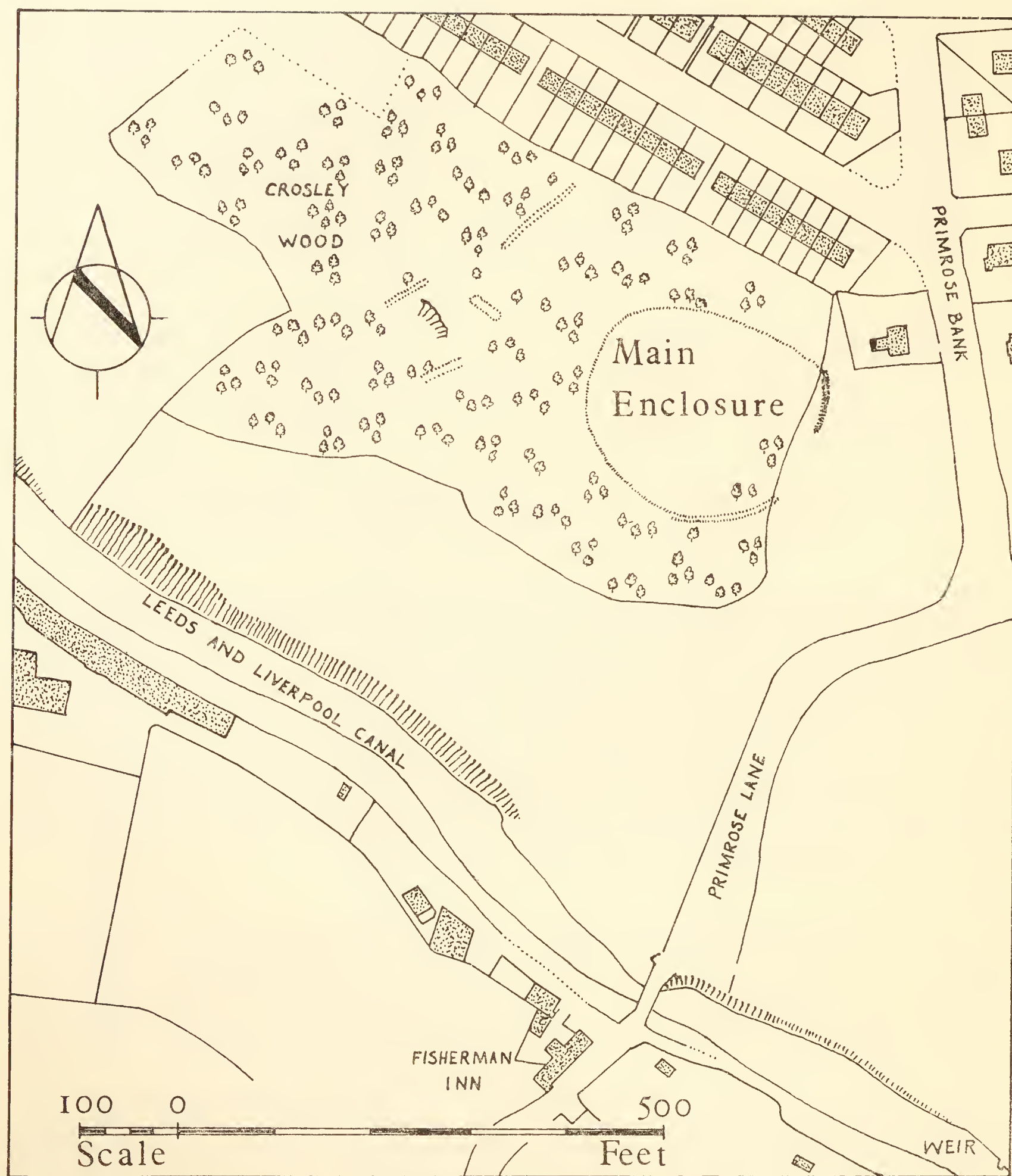


FIG. 1. Location map.

THE EXCAVATION

Section 1 (Fig. 3)

The best preserved section of wall was amongst the trees on the line of the south wall of the enclosure and included the boulders of both the inner and the outer faces of the wall. A trench 6 ft. by 38 ft. was laid out at right angles to it. The turf was removed showing the boulders of the wall with the smaller stone filling between them. On either side of the wall was a relatively small quantity of loosely tumbled stones, the angle of rest of which suggested the wall as their source of origin. This would presuppose a second course of large boulders over those still existing but the evidence for this is lacking. However, careful examination of the wall filling failed to show any sign of post settings.

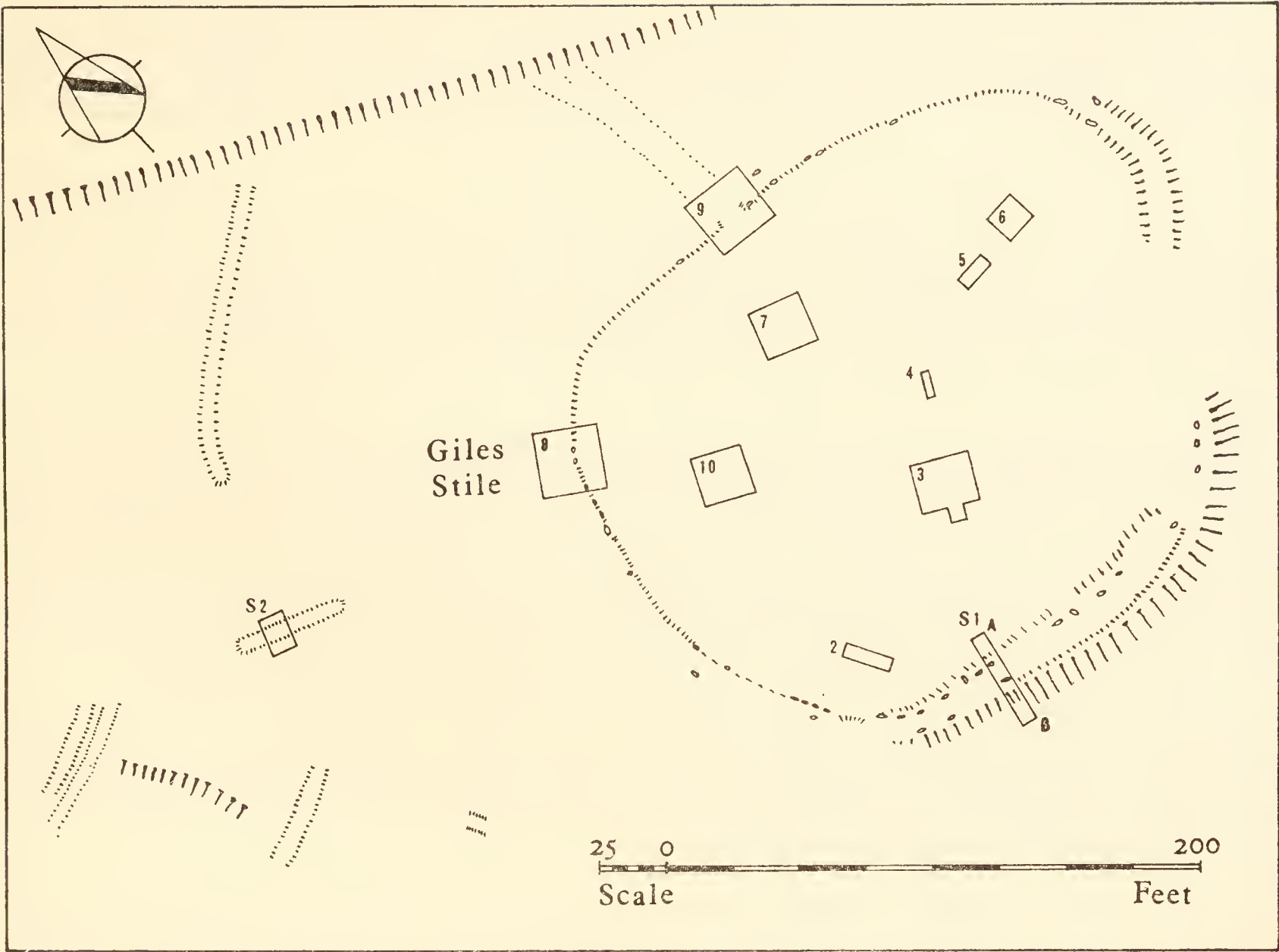


FIG. 2. Plan of main enclosure and associated features. (Excavated areas numbered.)

The external facing stone had been propped up under its outer edge by roughly laid small stones which rested on the surface of the natural decomposed grit. The inner stone had stood on its edge and had collapsed into a near horizontal position. The wall filling contained many water- or ice-worn grit pebbles up to 6 ins. in diameter. The section in S.1 adjacent to the north face of the wall was the only area within the circle which showed a soil depth greater than 4 ins. above natural rock, whilst in the whole excavation the only valid sealed material came from the wall filling in S.1.

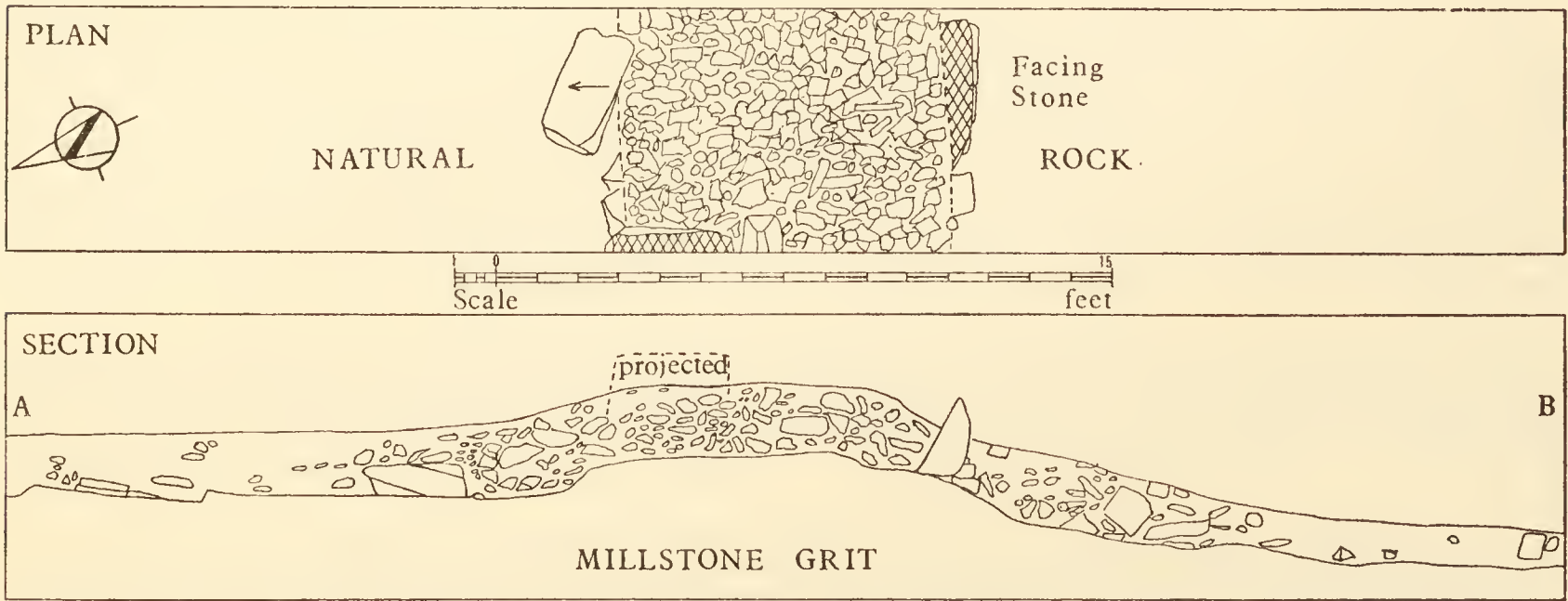


FIG. 3. Section 1, A-B. Plan and East wall section.

AREAS 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7

A combination of grass colouration, slight depressions and variations of earth resistances suggested that these areas would repay investigation. All proved to be completely sterile and no archaeological features were found.

AREA 8. 'GILES STILE'.

This feature at the north-eastern curve of the circle consists of two vertical stones, respectively 3 ft. 6 ins. and 1 ft. 6 ins. high. The stones are 2 ft. apart at their base, are on the line of the original internal facing and in shallow stone holes. They were the only facing stones left in Area 8 and may merely be two stones of the wall structure. They are, however, inserted into, rather than laid on to, the ground as in S.1.

AREA 9

This area, slightly to the west of the centre of the almost straight north line of the enclosure, was placed over a gap in the rather tenuous line of the wall in this area. The gap was 10 ft. wide and although there was no trace of metalling or wear on the sub-turf surface there was also a complete lack of boulders, stone-holes and residual wall filling.

Running north from this gap was a shallow, 10-15 ft. wide depression, visible only under conditions of winter vegetation. This led up to the only earth and stone slope providing access from the enclosure on to the top of the low scarp to the north.

It will be seen from the plan (Fig. 2) that a probable entry point is the break in the western line of the enclosure. This break may result from a combination of robbing and ploughing. The picture is further obscured by tumble from a derelict modern wall. The ancient wall fades imperceptibly away north and south of the gap and any excavation here would involve stripping a very large area.

AREA 10

The centre of the main enclosure was obscured by an overlay of dumped material which was presumably associated with quarrying activities. The surface of the decomposed grit passed straight underneath this dump of stone chips and topsoil. From the fragmentary body sherds of pottery found in the dumped material it appears to be the result of activity in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries.

EXTERNAL FEATURES

The short stretches of wall outside the main enclosure could be identified as slight linear mounds up to 1 ft. 6 ins. high, the tops of which were characterised by a fine dark green grass which contrasted quite markedly with the surrounding rough grass. The first of these outer walls to be identified was sectioned (Fig. 2.S.2.) but all that was obtained was a spread of the wall packing. There were no finds in this section. All runs of wall included in Fig. 2 are typologically similar to the wall of the main enclosure.

CONCLUSIONS

There are few published reports on the native settlements of the Romano-British period in West Yorkshire¹ and, on present evidence, it is doubtful whether the Crosley Wood site, dated by one pot to the late third or early fourth century A.D., was ever conceived of as an occupation site. Certainly no evidence of settled living was found.

The form of the double boulder wall is common both in the West Riding and further to the north, both in the Iron Age² and Romano-British³ contexts and can be seen to be associated with field enclosures, occupation and defensive sites.

¹ For a general account of Iron Age settlements see A. Raistrick 'Iron Age Settlements in West Yorkshire', *Y.A.J.*, Part 134, Vol. xxxiv, Pt. 2, 1939, pp. 115-150, and relevant sections in A. Raistrick and P. Holmes, 'Archaeology of Malham Moor', *Field Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 4, 1962. See also J. P. Toomey, 'Excavations at Oldfield Hill, Meltham', *Huddersfield and District Archaeological Bulletin*, Nos. 7, 9, 11 and 15 (Interim Reports).

² C. M. Piggott, 'Excavations at Hownam Rings, Roxburghshire', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*. Seventh series, Vol. 10, 1947-48, Fig. 6, p. 203, Phase 2.

³ G. Jobey, 'Some rectilinear Settlements of the Roman Period in Northumberland', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, Vol. 38, Fourth Series 1960, Pl II, Fig. 2.

It seems probable that the main enclosure at Crosley Wood served as a cattle pound; its defensive potential being invalidated by the scarp to the north, whilst the short stretches of external walling are all that remains of a rectilinear field system for arable or pastoral farming.

FINDS FROM THE SITE.

Pottery.

1. A flanged dish with a partially reduced fine, smooth fabric; diameter 6.5 ins. (From the filling of the wall in S.1.) This is the only dateable find on the whole site and can be ascribed to the late third to early fourth centuries A.D.¹
2. Rim fragment of simple everted form in a smooth faced, pale grey reduced fabric; diameter 4.25 ins. (From wall tumble of S.1.)
3. One recognisable piece of Samian ware was excavated. The eroded body sherd had lost most of its surface finish. (From the filling of the wall in S.1.) Two other (possible) scraps, less glaze, were found (Area 2 at the base of the turf).
4. Eight small, coarse fragments of burnt clay were found. Two of these were pot body sherds ($\frac{1}{2}$ in. square) the rest had no identifiable characteristics. All had a coarse, dull, red-brown body with a light admixture of sand. They were found lying on the neutral sand level in areas 2, 3 and 4.
5. Three very small mediaeval sherds were found and a few fragments of post mediaeval material.

Shale

A shale disc (average diameter $1\frac{5}{16}$ ins., average thickness $\frac{5}{16}$ in.) was found to the East of the stone spread in area 8. It was lying on the surface of the natural sand.

Flint

Five flaked fragments of flint were found but none were recognisable as artifacts.

Chert

A number of fragments of coarsely grained chert were found but none of these could be identified as being of any particular form.

NORTON (MALTON) TREASURE TROVE, 1963

By ELIZABETH PIRIE

Mr. R. A. G. Carson, of the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum, has already published a note on this find of coins, in *The Numismatic Chronicle* for 1963 (p. 67). It has been recognised that the circumstances of discovery, away from the actual site of deposit, were such that some of the material, namely the pottery and one coin – the fourth century VRBS ROMA issue – may be omitted from consideration of the coin hoard itself.

The thirty-nine coins of the hoard range from the single Imperial piece, a legionary denarius of Mark Antony, to an issue of Antonius Pius of the year A.D.143–4. The survival of the legionary denarius for circulation so long after its issue is not unusual. Earlier Republican issues had been withdrawn by the time of Hadrian but the legionary pieces were so base they were never called in. They occur in a considerable number of hoards up to the time of Postumus.

Records of hoards of Roman silver coins indicate that the size varies considerably. Some few instances are known of hoards of four or five coins, others of several thousand. The majority seldom contain more than a few hundred. The Norton hoard, therefore, can be placed among the smaller examples.

¹ N. Mitchelson, 'Roman Malton: the Civilian Settlement', *Y.A.J.*, Part 162, Vol. xli, Pt. 2, 1964, p. 248, No. 162 (for the rim form). Also E. J. Hildyard, 'Cataractonum, Fort and Town', *Y.A.J.*, Part 154, Vol. xxxix, Pt. 2, 1957, p. 253, No. 20.

A detailed list of coins is given here. In view of a recent re-examination of the coins made with Mr. Carson, some particulars in the register have been altered from those given in *The Numismatic Chronicle*.

Mark Antony:	<i>S</i> ¹ , 1238
Vitellius:	<i>RIC</i> ² , 24
Vespasian:	<i>RIC</i> 37, 75, 89, 90, 103
Titus:	<i>RIC</i> 62
Domitian:	<i>RIC</i> 93, 152, 155, 177, 192
Nerva:	<i>RIC</i> 1
Trajan:	<i>RIC</i> 60, 116(2), 147, 172, 226, 269, 337, 340, 343
Hadrian:	<i>RIC</i> 9c, 44a, 67b, 77a, 81b, 82b, 126a, 128a, 245a, 299a, 435a (L. Aelius).
Antoninus Pius:	<i>RIC</i> 82, 98c, 111b

¹ *S*=*The Roman Republican Coinage*, by E. A. Sydenham.

² *RIC*=*The Roman Imperial Coinage*, by H. Mattingley and others.

THE CREATION OF BROTHER JOHN SHERBURN AS ABBOT OF SELBY

By G. S. HASLOP

The election process of no Selby abbot is fully documented by surviving records but that concerning Brother John Sherburn more nearly approaches that ideal state. It may be said that only the actual election details and those of the ceremony of installation are lacking, and the account of the expenses incurred, given later in translation, is unique among the Selby records. Then there were allegations of irregularities in the election resulting in a fruitless journey to London by the Elect and his retinue which added some £17 (perhaps £800 in modern values) to the expenses and an extended vacancy of five months.¹

Abbot Geoffrey Gaddesby died on 30 November 1368, and on the third day following, after the obsequies, a state of the monastery² was made later to be incorporated in an indenture between the Prior and Convent and the new Abbot on the day of installation.³ On the same day was sealed the petition for royal licence to elect a successor which was carried to London by Brothers John Sherburn and Henry Cave.⁴ Such licence was granted on 9 December⁵ and on the same day writs were despatched to the Eschaetors of Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire and Yorkshire directing them in the King's name to take formal seisin of the Abbey's temporalities, the last named being reminded of the Convent's liberties in this matter and of his procedure at the Abbey Gates.⁶

The election having been made, Brothers Walter Haldanby and Thomas Wakefield were made exhibitors of the Prior and Convent's petition to the King (dated 14 February 1369) to admit their Elect, that is, to give the royal assent.⁷ The expenses account given later begins on the day before this, 13 February. The two exhibitors, however, did not travel independently but formed part of the Elect's retinue which left Selby for London on the first Sunday in Lent, 18 February, though the account elaborates this to XIII Kal. March or 17 February. But on 26 February when the company would have reached London the King despatched letters to the Archbishop of York directing him to look into the election of Brother Sherburn, as he had been informed by several that it had been by favour, simoniacal and not by consent of the whole Chapter, and notifying him that, lest the royal conscience should be violated, assent was being withheld.⁸ And so the Elect and his retinue returned to Selby leaving one Hik, a page, in London and John Craas to lead a horse from London to Stanford and two from there to Selby.

The origins of the allegations of improper conduct are not clearly to be seen, and in any case if the Chapter had decided to elect by way of scrutiny, as happened in the

¹ The vacancy following the death of Abbot Heslington on 25 September 1342 lasted to 14 December following. (*Gaddesby Register. P.R.O. D/L 42/8.f.1r.*) That following Abbot Sherburn's death on 3 February 1408 extended to 13 May of that year. (*Res. Ebor. Pipe Roll 9th. Henry IV.*)

² In Ms. '*status monasterii*' which from the content of three such surviving may be defined as an assessment of money in hand or due to be received, of the general debt, of the annual obligations in respect of pensions, corrodies and fees and any arrears, of income likely to be received from wood sales, and of the live stock in the manors and granges. Such was required by the regulations made by Chapters of the Benedictine Order and a copy probably had to be submitted to the Ordinary which need not have been registered. On the succession of Abbot John Wistow II in 1322 Archbishop Melton called for and received a state. (*Reg. Melton f.153r.*)

³ *Cotton Ms. Vitellius E XVI f.97r &v.*

⁴ *P.R.O. Ecc. Petitions 29/43.*

⁵ *Cal. Pat. Rolls. 1367-70. p. 184.*

⁶ *Cal. Close Rolls. 1364-68. p. 449.*

⁷ *P.R.O. Ecc. Petitions 29/47.*

⁸ *Cal. Pat. Rolls. 1367-70. p. 220.*

election of Brother John Ousthorp in 1436,¹ the unanimous consent of the assembly would not have been necessary but only of the weightier and sounder portion.² The most likely explanation is that there was some disappointment on the part of Henry Snaith, then Keeper of the Great Wardrobe, that his blood brother John Gowdall had not been elected; he was older than and senior to the Elect and had been active in the affairs of the Abbey. Towards the end of 1369 Brother Gowdall, clearly by influence in court circles, was presented to the Priory of Swavesey in Cambridgeshire. In December of that year Abbot Sherburn received letters from the King, the Lord Chancellor, the Archbishop of York and possibly Henry Snaith, requesting this monk be released from his obedience to Selby Abbey so that he might accept the office to which he had been presented. The necessary licence was granted on 1 January 1370,³ and Brother John left to take up his new appointment, having been made Abbot Sherburn's proctor to a meeting of the Great Council and, while in London, probably represented his abbot at the funeral of the late Queen Philippa.⁴ Perhaps the Chapter, in electing a younger monk (Brother Sherburn being in his early thirties), was hoping to avert the expenses of a vacancy which since 1300 had been incurred on five occasions. These were not to be faced again for thirty-nine years.

Whatever dissension there may have been in the election proceedings there is nothing to indicate that the company which left for London on 18 February 1369 was at all aware of the intelligence which had somehow reached the King, and the special equipping and composition of the Elect's retinue show a confidence in a speedy royal assent and the taking of fealty. Though the seeds of dissatisfaction are to be sought for only in the electing chapter they seem to have been nurtured in London. But if the allegations and the powerful efforts to secure promotion for Brother Gowdall are in fact connected, the disappointment of Henry Snaith did not grow into resentment as his later benefactions to Selby Abbey, the Abbot and the monks show.⁵

Some three weeks after the return of the Elect's retinue to Selby the Archbishop of York informed the King (on 27 March) that diligent enquiry had shown the election of Brother Sherburn to have been properly conducted and the Elect a worthy choice. On the same day he issued letters testimonial, confirmed the election and took the confirmed Elect's obedience to himself and his successors.⁶ It is to be noted in the account below that up to this day Brother Sherburn is styled Elect and thereafter Abbot. On 14 April the Prior and Convent were enjoined to admit their elect and to be obedient to him and the Official of the York Court directed to install.⁷

Meanwhile, on 11 April the confirmed Elect, now styled Abbot, with a slightly smaller retinue than before, again had left for London where the King took his fealty on 19 April according to the expenses account, though the writs to the Eschaetors to restore the temporalities are dated the 20th when the vacancy was officially deemed to end.⁸ On the following day the King exercised his right and nominated one of his clerks, Adam Chesterfield through whom the fee of the Lord Chancellor's butler had been paid, to a pension of Selby Abbey by reason of the new creation.⁹ If Archbishop Thoresby by

¹ *Harley Ms.* 669 ff. 51r. seq.

² D. Knowles. 'The Monastic Orders in England'. Chap. xix.

³ The four letters and grant of licence are together on f. 130 r. & v. of the *Cotton Ms.* cited above.

⁴ He is recorded as having taken office on 22 January 1370. (*Cambs. & Hunts. Arch. Journal.* 1. p. 34) and probably died the same year as a John de Seys finds mention as Prior in the same year. (*Add Ms.* 5849.)

⁵ *Test. Ebor.* (Surtees Society). 1. p. 111.

⁶ *Register of Archbishop Thoresby.* f. 151.

⁷ *Ibid.* At the time when the installation of Abbot Sherburn's predecessor was being arranged the Official of the Archdeaconry of York having been mistakenly informed that the installation of Selby abbots belonged to the office of Archdeacon had to issue a universal notification that this ceremony pertained to the Official of the Court of York. (*Bodleian Ms. Top. Yorks. d. 2. f. 4v.*)

⁸ *Orig. Roll.* E371/128/28.

⁹ *Cal. Close Rolls 1370-74.* p. 85. This right, together with the obligation in £80 for the custody of the temporalities in a vacancy, was released in 1st. Edward IV. (*Add Charter 45859*).

old custom made a similar nomination it was not recorded.¹ The installation of Abbot Sherburn took place on 1 May and if the usual celebratory banquet followed, no record has survived.

The compiler of the account now given in translation, Brother Thomas Wakefield, was appointed Prior after the creation of Abbot Sherburn and accompanied him on both the London journeys mentioned therein. The account itself is taken from folios 120 and 121 of Cotton Ms. Vitellius E XVI in which is bound up the greater part of the monastic register current during the years of Abbot Sherburn's rule.²

AN ACCOUNT OF THE EXPENSES OF JOHN SHERBURN, ELECT OF SELBY, FROM 13 FEBRUARY 1369 TO 1 MAY, THE DAY OF HIS INSTALLATION, MADE BY BROTHER THOMAS WAKEFIELD.

First he answers for £60 received from the Bursar; for £20 received by way of loan from John Selby; and for £60 similarly received from William Sandford.

TOTAL £140.

First he accounts for 11s. 0d. paid for 3½ ells of black cloth for the Elect's cloak; for 5s. 0d. paid for 1½ ells of white cloth for his hose and slippers; for 4s. 0d. paid for 1 ell of cloth for the Elect's cowl and 2s. 0d. for bands and girths for the stable, both paid to Ely Litster; for 2s. 0d. for the repair of a horse-collar; for 2s. 0d. paid for horse-bread before the Elect's journey to London; for 3s. 6d. paid to William Cook for necessities; and for 2s. 6d. paid to five stable boys for gaiters (*sotulares*).

TOTAL £1. 12s. 0d.

He further accounts for £15. 6s. 0d. in the expenses of the Elect, Brothers Walter Stallingborough, Walter Haldanby and Thomas Wakefield, and Denis de Marrais, Richard Drax, Henry Chamberlain, William Cook and the others in the Elect's retinue, leaving for London with fifteen horses on the first Sunday in Lent, namely 13 Kal. March³, and returning sixteen days later on 6 March; for 3s. 4d. in extraordinary expenses of Brother Walter Haldanby; for 7s. 0d. in the expenses of John Craas leading a horse from London to Stanford-on-Avon,⁴ and two from there to Selby; for 2s. 0d. paid to Hik a page staying behind (*commoranti*) in London; and for £1 paid on the Elect's instructions to a monk with the Archbishop of Canterbury.⁵

TOTAL £16. 18s. 4d.

Also for 8s. 0d. in expenses incurred by Brothers Stallingborough and Wakefield treating on matters touching the Elect with the Abbey's Counsellor at York on two occasions; for 9s. 4d. paid for meat, fish and spices for the Elect when staying at Acaster; for 11d. paid by Henry for a dozen cups; for £4. 10s. 0d. paid by Henry for a horse bought at Pontefract on Palm Sunday; for 5s. 0d. in Henry's expenses when buying horses in northern parts; and for £1. 10s. 0d. paid on the Elect's instructions to William Melburn.⁶

TOTAL £7. 3s. 3d.

Also for £1 given to the Archbishop's clerks on the day the Elect was confirmed; for 6s. 8d. paid the Archbishop's Marshall; for 18s. 8d. for a present sent to the Archbishop at Easter; and for £1. 8s. 0d. given in oblations to members of the Archbishop's household when the Abbot was his guest at Bishopthorp.

TOTAL £3. 13s. 4d.

¹ In 1335 on Abbot Heslington's succession Archbishop Melton had nominated a kinsman, mention being made of an old custom. (*Reg. Melton f. 204v.*). On Abbot Gaddesby's creation Archbishop Zouche nominated Thomas Helwell (*Reg. Gaddesby. f. 1r.*) who in 1353 was Archdeacon of Cleveland. (*Reg. Thoresby f. 80.*)

² For this register see *Y.A.J.*, Vol. xli, p. 287.

³ In 1369 the first Sunday in Lent was 18 February usually reckoned as 12 Kal. March.

⁴ A Selby manor on the Northamptonshire-Leicestershire borders some 8 miles east of Rugby the manor-house of which served as guest-house for Selby monks and their officials travelling in these parts.

⁵ Ms. has '*Cardinal of Canterbury*' in error, Archbishop Winchelsey not holding this dignity. Dr. Dobson has pointed out that Cardinal Langham had resigned the see of Canterbury in November 1368.

⁶ Rector of Stanford-on-Avon.

He also accounts for 10s. 6d. paid for a saddle with bridle for Vayroun, a sumpter horse; for 5s. 5d. paid for a waterproof cover (*barhid*) for the saddle-cloths; for 10d. paid for a bag (*waletto*) for carrying the silver dishes; for 1s. 0d. for horse-bread bought before the journey to London; for 2s. 6d. paid the grooms for gaiters; and for 3s. 6d. for black fur for the Abbot's cloak.

TOTAL £1. 3s. 9d.

He further accounts for £13. 7s. 9d. in the expenses of the Abbot, Brothers Thomas Wakefield and Adam Crosby and the others in the retinue leaving for London with eleven horses on 11 April and returning to Stanford eight days later; for 10s. 0d. paid to the servants for gloves; for 17s. 0d. paid for a horse at Dunstable; and 3s. 0d. for stabling another horse there as it could go no further.

TOTAL £14. 17s. 9d.

He also accounts for £2 given to David Wooler, Clerk of the Rolls of Chancery; for £2 paid to the same for the fee of the King's Chamberlain; for £1. 3s. 4d. paid the Chancery clerks for writing out writs and the like; for 6s. 8d. paid to a certain Chancery clerk on the Abbot's instructions; for 1s. 0d. paid a certain warmer of wax in the Chancery; for 6s. 8d. paid the Lord Chancellor's butler by the hand of Adam Chesterfield; and for £1. 3s. 4d. for the fee of the Clerk of the Hanaper.

TOTAL £7. 1s. 0d.

He also accounts for £1. 12s. 0d. paid for two cloth lengths in blue containing eight ells in length and four in width, that is, 2s. 0d. per ell¹; for £1. 14s. 0d. for twenty-four cushions, that is, 1s. 4d. per cushion¹; for 6s. 8d. for a cape (*capella*)² for the Abbot; for £2. 16s. 2d. for a bed of blue cloth for the same complete with curtains and cords; for 6s. 3d. paid for fifteen ells of muslin (*caard*); for 10s. 0d. paid for a bag (*male*); for 2s. 6d. paid for fifteen ells of hemp-cloth (*canvacio*) for a package (*pharpell* in error for *fardello*); and for 4s. 0d. paid for the carriage of all these by a horse led from London to Stanford.

TOTAL £7. 11s. 7d.

Also for £2. 15s. 8d. paid for two new seals for the Abbot; for 6s. 8d. paid for his shoes, gloves, purse and caps; and for 13s. 4d. for bedclothing for him called *Strayles*.

TOTAL £3 15s. 8d.

Also for 5s. 0d. in expenses incurred by Brother Thomas Wakefield and John Birne travelling from Stanford to Selby to arrange the Abbot's installation; for 1s. 0d. given the Official's servant on that day of installation; and for 2s. 0d. given a certain clerk with Nicolas Burton on another occasion on the Abbot's instructions.

TOTAL 8s 0d.

Also for 16s. 8d. in expenses incurred by Brother William Bretton travelling from Oxford to London on the Abbot's instructions; for 8d. paid to Thomas Ward for bearing a letter to Peterborough; and for 2s. 0d. given for drink to the servant of the Rector of Yelvertoft.³

TOTAL 19s. 4d.

TOTAL OF ALL EXPENSES	..	..	..	..	..	£65. 4s. 0d.
Paid into the Exchequer for the vacancy	..	..	..	..	..	£80 0s. 0d.
TOTAL OF ALL EXPENSES AND PAYMENTS	..	..	..	..	..	£145 4s. 0d.
OVERSPENDING therefore is	..	..	..	..	..	£5 4s. 0d.

Of the sum of £140 budgeted for the election expenses the Bursar was only able to provide £60 the remainder having to be borrowed and to the overspending of £5. 4s. 0d.

¹ These prices are underlined indicating some error.
² Alternatively 'portable altar' but there is no evidence of any entitlement to this papal privilege.
³ Some 2½ miles south of Stanford-on-Avon.

must be added £8 paid in Queen's Gold¹ which was loaned by Brother Thomas Falkingham,² one of several indications that at this time the '*viciū proprietatis*' was being condoned at Selby as at most other houses. The need to seek loans would seem at first to indicate a degree of poverty but there is plenty of evidence to show that the economy of the Selby monastery during this period was kept going by a series of such (usually of short terms), not dissimilar to a modern city corporation carrying a general debt of a hundred million pounds, though at the turn of the century the Selby debt was reaching undue proportions.³ The total recorded cost of Abbot Sherburn's election process, namely £153. 4s. 0d., represents between a quarter and a fifth of his abbey's annual income at this time.⁴ By using an index figure of 50 in order to convert selectively some of the items of expense into modern equivalents,⁵ the results are, if not always yielding valid comparative figures, at least of some interest. And if these amounts are also seen in terms of work and wages taken from contemporary Selby records a better appreciation is possible. Thus the 9s. 4d. spent on meat and spices for the Abbot when at Acaster, some £23 in modern money, would have paid the wages of a carpenter and his mate for three weeks; the expenses of Brother Bretton's journey from Oxford to London could have paid for the services of a mason and his assistant for eight weeks, and the sum of £7. 1s. 0d. paid in fees and oblations in the Chancery, some £350 in our money, would have hired both the same teams of craftsmen for seventeen weeks.

Though the Elect's retinue on his London journeys would be a modest one compared with those of the prelates of larger monasteries there had been much activity and no

¹ A traditional prerogative of the Queen being a tenth of any sum paid the King as a voluntary fine, as for a pardon or licence. It was additional to the sum paid the King. The fine of £80 made to the King by the Prior and Convent was in accordance with the grant of Edward III in 1340 (*Selby Coucher* i, pp. 49-50) repeated or confirmed 16 October 1342. From this time onward this obligation of the Prior and Convent was entered annually on the Pipe Roll until 1 Ed. IV when it was released. (*Add Charter* 45859). By writ dated 16 July 1340 the Barons of the Exchequer were ordered to enquire into previous Selby vacancies and the sums received. After searching the records report was made that £33. 13s. 2d. was received for the period 8 September to 30 October 1245 but the beginning of this vacancy was not known. From 4 March to 17 May 1284 the Eschaetor accounted for £12. 7s. 3d. From 20 September 1313 to an unknown date the Prior and Convent made fine of 120 Marks, and again one of £80 for a period of vacancy from 20 June 1335 to an unknown date. (*Chancery Miscellanea* 86/12/272.) If the search of Exchequer records was at all thorough they were far from complete. It seems that the full revenues of Selby Abbey when vacant did not find their way to the Exchequer and the grant of 1340 mentioned above speaks of the damage done by eschaetors and keepers to the woods and other possessions and states that the same grant had been sought by the Abbot of Selby with a view to preventing such loss and damage.

The fixing of the fine for the custody of the temporalities in a vacancy at £80 seems to be based on the Taxation of Pope Nicolas a summary of which was made in the Sherburn Register (*Cotton Ms. Vitellius E XVI f. 153v.*) which gives a tenth of Selby's valuation as £81. 7s. 1½d.

² Installation Indenture. *Cotton Ms. cited f. 97v.*

³ The installation indenture (Note 1 above) gives the debt at Abbot Gaddesby's death as £363. 13s. 4d. which increased during the vacancy by £129. This latter sum includes the £20 loaned by John Selby but the sum borrowed from William Sandford is given as £80. In the last decade of the century the Fine Rolls evidence sufficient poverty to merit Selby being excused some payments of the tenths granted the King and two years after Abbot Sherburn's death the general debt stood at £1040. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*. 1408-13. p. 244.)

⁴ Probably something under £700. Of the 39 years of Abbot Sherburn's rule only one account of any value in this respect has survived and that greatly damaged. (*Cotton Ms. cited above f. 98r.*) Its heading is for the most part lost but it was compiled in 1372 probably at Michaelmas, the usual time of audit. In addition to the Bursar's income those of the Kitchener and Pittancier are included and probably those of other minor offices with the exception of that of the Granger in kind, which was sufficient to provide the monastery with beer and bread, meal and legumes for pasties, potages, porridge and the like, and to make liveries to servants, those in need and sometimes, on the Abbot's instructions, to itinerant friars. The total of rents and other profits is given as £795. 15s. 10½d. of which £133. 6s. 8d. was 'in bursa'. If this total represents net income this is not stated and a later hand notes the lack of details of the outgoings of manors and churches and of minute and casual expenses. It is to be regarded as the amount of cash likely to be available for the expenses of the year to come.

⁵ Some thirty years ago an index figure of 40 was suggested for the conversion of mediaeval money into modern values. (Hist. Association Leaflet No. 95. G. G. Coulton.) In his 'Age of Chivalry' (1963) Sir Arthur Bryant uses one of 50 presumably within the same limits, that is, for social or psychological purposes and not economic. For the doubtful value of such conversion attempts see articles by Brown and Phelps in 'Essays in Economic History', Ed. E. Carus-Wilson. II.

little expense in making it worthy and presentable.¹ His escort on both occasions included fellow monks and doubtless the Abbot's Esquire, Denis de Marais, and the Seneschall of Selby, Richard Drax. Henry Chamberlain who elsewhere appears as the Abbot's neif may have been his chamberlain and is shown to be a trusted buyer of horses. Details of the route taken are lacking, Dunstable, Stanford, and possibly Peterborough only being mentioned. On the first occasion the journey to and from London and whatever business was transacted there could be accomplished in sixteen days and on the second within eight days of leaving Selby the company had begun the return journey to spend a few days at Stanford, Brother Wakefield and John Birne being sent ahead to make arrangements for the installation. In neither case was more time than necessary spent in the capital.

Doubtless by accident of record survival there is no evidence of Brother Sherburn holding any of the monastic offices before his election but it is unlikely that he managed to avoid such responsibilities. His capabilities, however, were to be well tested in his first year of office, especially by Edward III's demands for financial aid and his efforts to present to three Selby churches.

In 1369 and 1370 Abbot Sherburn had to answer to writs of *de quare impedit* concerning the churches of Selby, Stanford-on-Avon and Adlingfleet to which the King sought to present apparently by reason of the late vacancy.² The church of Selby was in fact a chapel to which the Abbot and Convent at their will appointed chaplains while the rectory of Stanford was not vacant, yet the expenses of litigation in the Court of Common Pleas had to be incurred. The church of Adlingfleet was in dispute till 1374 and though the chief law officers assembled by the Black Prince (whom the Abbot had petitioned) judged that the King had no right in the advowson of this church³ he had to be paid £50 for a ratification and John Hatfield (Clerk of the King's Ships) presented by the King £56 for his expenses.⁴

In February 1370, when few of the loans necessitated by the election process could have been repaid, Abbot Sherburn was faced with a strong request by the King for the loan of as large a sum of money as he could find,⁵ and his petition seeking to be excused from such is an appreciation of Selby Abbey's financial position at this time.⁶ The Abbot points out that he had taken over a debt of over £380, had had to borrow £80 to pay the fine for the late vacancy and a further £200 to buy corn and other necessities. In addition he had somehow to find over £80 as Selby's portion of the tenth granted the King for three years. He had borrowed so heavily from his friends that he could not make further demands on them, yet these debts had to be honoured and the customary hospitality maintained. In short he had no sum to lend. The King, however, was not impressed, demanding £100; the Prior had to be appointed proctor for expounding the financial position to the King⁷ and the sum of £200 borrowed from Archbishop Thoresby.⁸ There can be little doubt that when putting forward his preoccupation with the reformation of his abbey as excuse for not attending the parliament of October 1372⁹ and the Benedictine Chapter of 1370 (or 1372)¹⁰, Abbot Sherburn was engaged in efforts to improve the financial position and the account of 1372 mentioned above (p. 9, note 3) would be one part of these endeavours.

The only known list of Selby monks serving in the time of Abbot Sherburn is found in the Pittancier's Roll of 1403-4.¹¹ It includes the Abbot, Prior and thirty other monks among whom were three future abbots, William Pygot, John Cave and John Ousthorp. The last named, as yet unordained, received only two shillings as pittance (ordained brothers receiving £1). He was to be ordained sub-deacon and deacon in 1404¹², priest in 1406¹³ and was Prior at the death of Abbot Cave in 1436.

¹ When summoned to the funeral of Queen Philippa he was enjoined '*aporter ovesque vous l'array qe a vous appartient pur la solempnite avantdit*'. (Cotton Ms. cited above f. 104r.)

² A provision of the grant of 1340 mentioned above (note 2, p. 8) was that any advowson of a Selby church vacant at the beginning of, or becoming vacant during an abbatial voidance passed into the King's hand.

³ Cotton Ms. cited f. 112v.

⁴ Ibid. f. 112r.

⁵ Ibid. f. 104v.

⁶ Ibid. 99r.

⁷ Ibid. f. 99v.

⁸ Ibidem.

⁹ Ibid. f. 113r.

¹⁰ Pantin. 'Chapters'. III. pp. 203-4. Taken from Cotton Ms. cited above.

¹¹ E.R. County Record Office. DDLO/14.

¹² Reg. Scrope f. 116v. & f. 117r.

¹³ Sede Vacante Register. f. 100v.

THE ELECTION OF JOHN OUSTHORP AS ABBOT OF SELBY IN 1436

BY BARRIE DOBSON

Mr. Haslop's preceding account of the election of John Sherburn as abbot of Selby in 1369 seems to present a suitable opportunity for the examination of another and later Selby election, that of Abbot John Ousthorp in 1436. As is well known, the Benedictine monastery at Selby has been more fortunate in the survival of its conventual church than of its mediaeval records; and few periods of its history have been more neglected than the middle years of the fifteenth century. Mr. Haslop has recently made valuable use of extant monastic registers dating from the consecutive abbacies of Geoffrey de Gaddesby (1342-68) and John Sherburn (1369-1408).¹ No such registers survive for any later period, and little could be known of Ousthorp's election were it not for the fortunate survival of a copy of the *decretum electionis* preserved in a Harleian manuscript at the British Museum.² Although a highly conventional legal document, making much use of common form and completely stereotyped phrases, this decree provides a comparatively detailed and very reliable account of the 1436 election at Selby. Taken in conjunction with evidence from other sources, and especially that of near-contemporary Selby obedientiary account rolls,³ it throws some interesting light on the darkness that envelops the history of the convent and the career of one of its most distinguished abbots.

Harleian MS. 669 is an octavo volume written on paper by a series of very different hands, apparently before rather than after the end of the fifteenth century.⁴ As its modern title suggests (*Forme Electionum Diuerse, Spiritus Sancti, Scrutinii et Compromissi*) this manuscript is a formulary of documents relating to elections made by religious corporations. These documents are preceded by a series of small and miscellaneous treatises on electoral procedure and practice, the very first item being the popular and standard tract on canonical elections written by Master Lawrence of Somercote, a canon of Chichester, in 1254.⁵ Much the largest part of the volume, however, consists of transcripts of notarial instruments originally written in connection with capitular elections, usually but not always monastic, held within the diocese of York during the last half of the fourteenth or first half of the fifteenth centuries. Although the Selby election decree of 1436 is copied verbatim and without abbreviation, in most cases proper names are rendered by initials only. Nevertheless, all the elections mentioned in the manuscript may be satisfactorily located and dated.⁶ There can be no reasonable doubt that this

¹ 'The Fourteenth-Century Fire at Selby Abbey', *Y.A.J.*, xxxix (Pt. 155, 1958), 451-4; 'Two Entries from the Register of John de Sherburn, Abbot of Selby, 1369-1408', *Y.A.J.*, xli (Pt. 162, 1964), 287-96.

² British Museum, Harleian MS. 669, fos. 51-57.

³ Large and important collections of Selby account rolls have recently been acquired by the East Riding of Yorkshire County Record Office, Beverley, and the Archivist's Department of the Archbishop's House, Westminster. The description of Selby abbey's records given by B. Holt in 'Two Obedientiary Rolls of Selby Abbey' (*Y.A.S. Rec. Series*, cxviii, 1953; *Miscellanea*, vi, 31-52) should therefore now be supplemented by references to the *Brief Guide to the contents of the East Riding County Record Office* (Beverley, 3rd edn., 1966), 33, and *Journal of Society of Archivists* ii (1960), 39. For assistance on these and other matters I am grateful to Miss E. R. Poyser and Mr. N. Higson, Archivists at Westminster and Beverley, as well as to Mr. C. B. L. Barr and Miss K. M. Longley of the Minster Library, York.

⁴ As suggested by Canon J. S. Purvis in 'Two Fifteenth-Century Lists of Yorkshire Religious', *Y.A.J.*, xxix (1929), 386.

⁵ Lawrence of Somercote's treatise has been printed by H. Bradshaw and C. Wordsworth in *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral* (Cambridge, 1892-7), ii, cxxiv-cxlii; and A. von Wretschko, *Der Traktat des Laurentius de Somercote* (Weimar, 1907).

⁶ Unfortunately the detailed description of the contents of Harleian MS. 669 in *Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts* (London, 1808-12), i, 402 (partly translated into English by J. S. Purvis, *art. cit.*, 386-7) is often unreliable.

formulary, apparently carefully compiled by clerks with access to the original documents in the diocesan registry at York, was designed for practical use as a precedent book by the archbishop and his commissaries.

The confirmation of monastic elections made by the chapters of all but some exempt convents was one of the most important and familiar duties of the mediaeval English bishop; and the 1436 Selby election decree is consequently a characteristic example of a type of document most usually encountered in episcopal registers. Such a decree consisted of a lengthy and comprehensive report addressed from the electors to the diocesan, expressed in the form of a notarial instrument and authenticated by the common seal of the chapter as well as the *signa* of one or more public notaries. On the conclusion of the election, and after the formal consent of the elect has been secured, the *decretum* was dispatched to the bishop together with other more specific legal documents produced during the course of the previous proceedings.¹ It was usual for one or two of the electors to present these records in person to the Ordinary, who also required a formal signification of royal assent to the election in the case of monasteries, like Selby, under royal patronage.² The diocesan then commissioned one of his clerical counsellors, preferably a university graduate in canon law, to investigate the election and pronounce upon its validity. By the fifteenth century this enquiry was normally conducted within the church of the electoral body so that the bishop's commissary had every opportunity to call witnesses and satisfy himself as to the accuracy of the decree. If he was so satisfied, the commissary usually had full authority to confirm the election immediately, receive the elect's oath of obedience and commit the administration of the spiritualities and temporalities of his office to him. A mandate to induct and install the new prelate was then sent to the appropriate authority, i.e. the archdeacon of York or his official in the case of fifteenth-century Selby.³ Only after the three stages of canonical election, confirmation and installation had been completed did the diocesan formally bless the new religious superior either in person or through the agency of his suffragan bishop.⁴ The length and complexity of these proceedings do something to explain what Professor Knowles has called the 'legalistic amplitude' of fifteenth-century election practice.⁵ Not only was the succession of one religious superior by another the single most consequential event in the life of a mediaeval monastery: the election process itself was subjected to extremely close scrutiny by diocesan officials. The right to confirm monastic elections provided the mediaeval bishop with one of his few genuine opportunities (often of greater value in the later middle ages than his comparatively

¹ Thus the compiler of Harleian MS. 669 added (fos. 57-59v) to his transcript of the 1436 Selby election *decretum* copies of four other documents, all dated from the convent's chapter-house:—the chapter's preliminary citation of all those canonically entitled to a vote at the election; the convent's letters of proxy giving one of its members authority to call for the exclusion from the election of all ineligible persons; this proctor's formal appeal for the withdrawal from the chapter-house of such ineligible persons; the chapter's formal appointment of three monks to scrutinise and count the votes cast by individual members of the monastery. The content of all four documents was incorporated into the election decree.

² Although no record survives in the contemporary patent rolls of royal assent to Ousthorp's election in 1436 there is no doubt that such assent was always necessary in the case of Selby elections: cf. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1340-43, 533; 1405-08, 485; 1422-29, 544; 1461-67, 534.

³ At various times in the fourteenth century the archdeacon of York's right to install a new abbot of Selby had been challenged, sometimes successfully, by the official-principal of the diocese: see *Register of William Greenfield* ii (Surtees Society, cxlix, 1934), 173-5 and Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Top. Yorks. d.2, fo. 4v. I am grateful to Mr. Haslop for this last reference.

⁴ The procedure outlined above was followed at Selby itself in June 1466 when Abbot John Sharrow was confirmed as successor to Ousthorp (Borthwick Institute, York; Reg. Geo. Neville i (R.I. 22), fos. 13-14). Cf. Reg. Geo. Neville ii (R.I. 21), fos. 24-27v, for the similar but particularly well-documented case of William Bywell's election as prior of Hexham in February 1466.

⁵ M. D. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England* (Cambridge, 1948-59), ii, 251. There is no doubt that monastic elections of the later middle ages provided an opportunity for corruption and lay intrusion on a large and sinister scale. The procedure outlined above, however cumbersome, did help to preserve Selby and other Benedictine houses from scandals like those experienced in the notorious Cistercian election disputes at Meaux (1396-9) and Fountains (1410-16): see E. F. Jacob, 'The Disputed Election at Fountains Abbey, 1410-16', *Medieval Studies presented to Rose Graham*, ed. V. Ruffer and A. J. Taylor (Oxford, 1950), pp. 78-95.

rarely exercised right to conduct a formal visitation) to intervene effectively within the walls of religious houses. Many conscientious mediaeval bishops did not hesitate to avail themselves of such opportunities and were prepared to withhold or postpone their confirmation until they were convinced that both election and elect were above suspicion. There is consequently strong presumptive evidence that election decrees are among the most accurate and reliable documents emanating from mediaeval English monasteries.¹

Despite the obvious interest and excitement of the occasion, it is unlikely that many Selby monks positively welcomed the prospect of a vacancy in the abbacy and a subsequent election. In the absence of a lawful superior, the monastic chapter was highly vulnerable to encroachments on its liberties and possessions as well as being reduced to an anomalous position at common law. Even more disturbing was the knowledge that the need to replace one abbot by another would involve the convent in heavy financial expenditure. Apart from such incidental costs as the payment of fees to royal and diocesan clerks, witnesses and notaries, the Selby chapter was compelled to make a large cash payment to the Crown whenever it elected a new abbot. In 1340 Edward III had surrendered the royal right to custody of the abbey during future vacancies in return for an obligation by the convent to pay £80 on these occasions.² In addition, the English king seized the opportunity of an abbatial election at Selby to demand both a perpetual corrody for one of his servants and an annual pension of £5 to be paid to a clerk nominated by the Crown until the monks were able to provide him with a suitable benefice of their patronage.³ On grounds of immemorial custom, a similar pension was exacted by the archbishop of York (in the interests of one of his clerks) whenever he confirmed the election of an abbot of Selby.⁴ Under these conditions, it is possibly not surprising that the majority of Selby abbots were allowed to die in office rather than encouraged to resign, a circumstance which explains the great length of many abbacies there. John Cave, Ousthorp's immediate predecessor, had however been abbot for less than seven years when he died in the summer of 1436.⁵ According to Roger Dodsworth, who visited the abbey church of Selby in 1620, Cave's commemorative tomb slab bore an inscription dating his death to 9 June 1436.⁶ The 1436 election decree records that Cave died on 24 June, a date more consonant with the future sequence of events.⁷ As has been seen, the monks of Selby had nothing to gain and much to lose by a long vacancy: and in 1436, as on most other occasions, they found no difficulty in securing the promotion of a new abbot well within the canonical term of three months.

¹ It was partly because of defects in the election decree (*forma electionis in scriptis*) that Archbishop Giffard quashed the election of Thomas de Whalley as abbot of Selby in 1270 and later proceeded to provide Whalley to the abbacy by virtue of his own ordinary authority (*Register of Walter Giffard, 1266-79* (Surtees Society, cix, 1904), 217-20).

² *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1441-46*, 398; *1461-67*, 538. Although customary in the later middle ages such commutations of the royal right to custody of religious houses during vacancies have received relatively little attention from monastic historians; but see S. Wood, *English Monasteries and their Patrons in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1955), 84-5; Knowles, *Religious Orders*, i, 278-9.

³ *Cal. Close Rolls, 1429-35*, 40; *1435-41*, 112, 169-70; *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1441-46*, 398; *1446-52*, 546-7; *1461-67*, 291, 538; cf. Archbishop's House, Westminster, Se/Ac/9, Selby Bursar's Account, 1416-17. In 1346 the Selby monks had calculated that a vacancy in the abbacy entailed a loss of £100 in the payment of pensions to the king and others (*Cal. Papal Petitions, 1342-1419*, 117).

⁴ Record Office, Beverley, DDLO/20, no. 1, Selby Bursar's Account 1431-32, memb. 1r; Borthwick Institute, Reg. Geo. Neville i, fo. 14. The Archbishop of York demanded a similar pension from other wealthy monasteries of his diocese, notably St. Mary's, York, and Whitby. In 1393, for instance, the abbot of Whitby, 'occasione novae creacionis nostre', was obliged to pay two separate annual pensions of 5 marks each to clerks nominated by Richard II and Archbishop Arundel (*Cartularium Abbathiae de Whiteby* ii (Surtees Society, lxxii, 1879), 665-6; cf. 647).

⁵ Cave had been elected abbot of Selby in July 1429 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1422-29*, 541, 544; *1429-36*, 34; Borthwick Institute, Reg. Sede Vacante, fo. 294).

⁶ *Dodsworth's Church Notes* (Y.A.S. Rec. Series, xxxiv, 1904), 79. Although no longer visible, this inscription was apparently still legible a century ago; it was seriously damaged before or during the slab's removal from the choir to the north aisle of the church in 1890: W. W. Morrell, *History and Antiquities of Selby* (Selby, 1867), 98; *Coucher Book of Selby* ii (Y.A.S., Rec. Series, xiii, 1893), xlv*-xlvi*; C. H. Moody, *Selby Abbey* (London, 1908), 107.

⁷ Harleian MS. 669, fos. 51, 57, 57v.

Since the early thirteenth century the Selby chapter had enjoyed the normal canonical right of free election and could therefore be in no doubt as to the time-honoured procedure they must follow. A representative of the monastery was sent to Westminster, where he secured Henry VI's *congé d'élire*, on Monday, 2 July.¹ Less than three weeks later, on Saturday, 21 July, the twenty-nine Selby monks eligible to vote assembled in the chapter-house where they chose the following Thursday (26 July) as the date of their forthcoming election.² When the monks met again early in the morning of 26 July, proceedings began (as was standard practice in the fifteenth century) by the solemn celebration of a mass of the Holy Spirit and the singing of the *Veni Creator*. Then, at the tolling of the chapter bell, all twenty-nine monks congregated in the chapter-house and gave John Haldynby, one of their number, full authority to call for the withdrawal from the assembly of all persons without legal right to be present at the election. Haldynby went on to make the customary protestation that if any elector was later discovered to have been suffering from some canonical disability, his vote would be discounted without prejudice to the legality of the rest of the transactions. The seclusion and privacy of the monastic election was qualified only by the need to retain a few clerks within the chapter-house to act as witnesses. Of particular importance were the two public notaries present as scribes. The *decretum electionis* was itself written by Master William Overthorp alias Smert, under the supervision of his senior colleague, Master William Driffeld, a prominent ecclesiastical lawyer at the York curia where he served as proctor throughout the 1420's and 1430's.³ Driffeld was particularly well qualified to offer legal advice to the Selby monks and it was his notarial sign that was used to authenticate the election decree.

In the presence of this small group of witnesses, the Selby monks then listened to a public recital of Henry VI's *congé d'élire* and of the Fourth Lateran Council's famous decree, *Quia Propter*, which prescribed as alternative means of canonical election the ways of the Holy Spirit, of compromise and of scrutiny. Of these three electoral methods, the first two (unanimous acclamation by the monks or the appointment of delegates to elect on behalf of the entire chapter) were by far the most common in late mediaeval England.⁴ Nevertheless John Ousthorp, acting as prior and spokesman of his brethren, declared his convent's intention to proceed *per viam scrutinii*, an interesting choice for this was the method most often employed when there was genuine disagreement within the ranks of an electoral body as to the most suitable candidate. Although the Selby election decree preserves no details of how the votes were cast, it is likely that Ousthorp's election was contested, conceivably in the interests of John Selby, the only monk whose qualifications for office are known to have rivalled those of his future abbot.⁵ Significantly, neither Ousthorp nor Selby were among the three scrutators appointed by the chapter in accordance with the terms of *Quia Propter*. After three other senior members of the community, John Akastre, Thomas Crowll and John Haldynby, had been chosen

¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1429-36*, 590.

² So short an interval was of course impracticable in the case of large monasteries with several cells lying at some distance from the mother-house. Selby's one cell at this time, the priory of Snaith, lay south-east of the monastery and was only six miles away.

³ Muniments of Dean and Chapter of Durham, Registrum III, fos. 95, 103v, 104v, 135, 259, 264-5; Registrum Parvum II, fos. 48, 110-11; Bursars' Accounts, Pensiones, 1423-41; Durham College, Oxford, Accounts, 1423-40; A. B. Emden, *Biographical Dictionary of the University of Oxford* (1957-59), i, 594; cf. J. S. Purvis, *Notarial Signs from the York Archiepiscopal Records* (St. Anthony's Press, 1957), Plate 42. Like Driffeld, Overthorp also had experience of composing notarial instruments on behalf of the prior and chapter of Durham (Durham Reg. III, fos. 127v, 129v).

⁴ See, e.g., *Register of Thomas Bekynton, 1443-65* (Somerset Record Society, 1934-5), ii, 429-66; Knowles, *Religious Orders*, ii, 249-50. At the Benedictine monastery of Durham, whose election records are unusually complete, priors were elected by means of compromise in 1258, 1273, 1285, 1290, 1322 and 1391; by acclamation in 1416, 1446, 1464, 1494 and 1520; and by scrutiny in 1456 (*Durham Annals of the Thirteenth Century* (Surtees Society, clv, 1945), 15, 36; R. B. Dobson, 'Richard Bell, Prior of Durham (1464-78) and Bishop of Carlisle (1478-95)' (*Trans. Cumberland and Westmorland Antiq. and Archaeol. Soc.*, New Series, lxxv, 1965), 196, 200; Dean and Chapter of Durham, Reg. V, fos. 24v, 185).

⁵ John Selby was a university graduate and bachelor of theology who served as keeper of the hospice, monastic bursar and then as prior of Snaith both before and after Ousthorp's election: *Documents illustrating the General and Provincial Chapter of the Black Monks*, ed. W. A. Pantin (Camden Third Series, 1931-7), ii, 156-61; iii, 228; *Monastic Notes*, ed. W. P. Baildon (Y.A.S., *Rec. Series*, xvii, 1895), i, 206; Record Office, Beverley, DDLO/20, no. 1, Selby Bursar's Account, 1431-32, memb. 2v.

as scrutators they retired to a corner of the chapter-house together with the notaries and witnesses. Each monk in turn was summoned before this panel and his personal nomination recorded in writing. When all these votes had been counted, John Haldynby came forward to announce on behalf of his fellow scrutators that the *maior et sanis pars capituli* had elected John Ousthorp as their abbot. After the chapter's formal approbation of this election result, Haldynby was commissioned to announce the identity of the future abbot to the clergy and laymen waiting outside the chapter-house. Perhaps the most curious and suspicious feature of late mediaeval election procedure was the public proclamation of the name of the elect before the latter had been formally asked for his consent. This customary practice was followed at Selby in 1436. Singing the *Te Deum*, the monks processed to the high altar of the abbey church. After a short prayer, Haldynby then informed the assembled crowd of Ousthorp's election.

There remained the problem, no doubt more fictitious than real, of securing Ousthorp's assent to his own election. A public display of reluctance and diffidence on the part of the elect was so familiar and conventional a feature of monastic elections that it can rarely be used as evidence of genuine humility. It was common practice for a future prelate to postpone his assent until the day following his election; and only when the delay was of even longer duration may one plausibly suppose that the elect's indecision was at all a sincere reflection of his personal feelings.¹ Ousthorp, in any case, did not compel his brethren to wait for long. Immediately after his election, he had retired to the seclusion of the Prior's Hall, his own apartment within the monastery.² Here he was soon visited by John Haldynby and Thomas Crowll who had meanwhile been commissioned by the chapter to obtain the elect's acceptance of office. Ousthorp asked for more time to consider the offer; and when Haldynby and Crowll returned to see him later he obtained a second deferment until the fifth hour of the same day. Only at that time did he finally express his readiness to serve as abbot. The election had finally reached its proper conclusion and the *decretum*, incorporating Ousthorp's formal assent, could at last be completed for dispatch to Archbishop Kemp.³

It need hardly be said that little can be known of the personality and character of the new abbot nor indeed of the spiritual life of the convent over which he had come to rule.⁴ But it is both possible and rewarding to establish the main outlines of his previous career and to offer some explanation for his election by the Selby monks in 1436. Like the great majority of his fellows, John Ousthorp was apparently a monk of local provenance: his surname leaves little doubt that either he, or his immediate ancestors, originated from either the hamlet of Ousethorpe, two miles north of Pocklington on the western escarpment of the Yorkshire Wolds, or from Owsthorpe, five miles east of Howden.⁵ Shortly before Whitsuntide 1404 the future abbot entered religious life at Selby in the company of four other novices.⁶ An inescapable feature of a monastic career at Selby was the progress of the young novice through clerical orders; only after his ordination as a priest enabled him to celebrate mass at the altars within the con-

¹ At the monastery of Durham in 1456 John Burnby was elected prior on 25 October but only gave his assent six days later (*Obituary Rolls of William Ebchester and John Burnby* (Surtees Society, xxxi, 1856), 91-102).

² 'in quadam domo vulgariter nuncupata Aula Prioris infra septa siue clausum eiusdem monasterii' (Harleian MS. 669, fo. 55). Even in the comparatively relaxed conditions of the fifteenth century, it was unusual for the prior of a monastery to have a private chamber outside the common dormitory; and after most monastic elections, the elect usually retired to a room within the convent's infirmary.

³ The date of Ousthorp's confirmation as abbot is unknown: he secured restitution of his temporalities from the Crown as late as 1 May 1438 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1436-41*, 160).

⁴ At the Benedictine Provincial Chapter held in July 1423, the proctor of the abbot of Burton-upon-Trent announced that on his recent visitation of Selby abbey he had found it a centre of God's peace, charity and all the other monastic virtues (*Documents of Black Monks*, ed. Pantin, ii, 144). Although visitations of Black Monk houses by Benedictine prelates were rarely noted for the severity of their judgements, this favourable report may help to qualify the general impression of corruption and depravity at mediaeval Selby left by the *comperta* and injunctions of archbishops of York at an earlier stage of the abbey's history and summarised in *V.C.H. Yorkshire*, iii, 96-7.

⁵ Yet another possible derivation is Austhorpe in the eastern suburbs of modern Leeds. All three places are within eighteen miles of Selby.

⁶ Record Office, Beverley; DDLO/20, no. 14, Selby Pittancer's Account, 1403-04.

ventual church was he accepted as a full member of the community and entitled to the annual pittance of an established monk. Ousthorp was ordained subdeacon in the archbishop's chapel of All Saints at Cawood on Ember Saturday, 20 September 1404. Exactly three months later, on 20 December, he made the same four-mile journey to Cawood for his ordination as deacon at the hands of William Northbrugge, Archbishop Scrope's suffragan.¹ But it was the convent's subsequent decision to send Ousthorp to Oxford, where he had taken up residence by 1413 as Selby's monk scholar at the university, that proved the most important turning-point in his career. While at Oxford, Ousthorp received an annual pension of £10 from the monastic bursar.² By the time of his election as abbot, he had already graduated as a bachelor in theology and must have spent several years in the study of arts and then divinity at the university. John Ousthorp consequently joins the small and select company of Selby monks known to have studied at Oxford.³ Thanks to the work of Professor Knowles and Mr. Pantin, the weight attached by late mediaeval Black Monks to university education in general and an Oxford degree in particular is now well known. At Durham, admittedly a stronghold of university influence, all the priors of the convent between 1446 and the Dissolution were Oxford bachelors of theology. Selby's tradition of university scholarship was a good deal less vigorous and there Ousthorp's academic achievements must have seemed particularly impressive. At no time was Selby a monastery noted for its learning;⁴ and in the fifteenth century it apparently made no attempt to maintain at Oxford more than the one monk a convent of its size was required to send to a university in accordance with Benedict XII's constitutions of 1336.⁵ Ousthorp's election as abbot in 1436 is therefore of interest in its demonstration that even the relatively unlearned Selby chapter was not insensitive to the merits and qualifications of the 'university monk'.

The dates of Ousthorp's graduation and of his return to the mother-house from Oxford are unknown; but he was certainly resident at Selby in 1431 when he had become the seventh senior member of his convent and apparently the only survivor of the five novices who had entered the monastery almost thirty years before.⁶ The Selby bursar's account roll for the year following Michaelmas 1431 reveals the prominent role then being played by Ousthorp in the conduct of monastic business outside the convent's walls.⁷ In that year he rode to York on two separate occasions in order to seek legal advice in connection with an unspecified cause then at issue between his own abbot and that of St. Mary's, York. Ousthorp made a third visit to York on 14 June 1432 when he accompanied a

¹ Borthwick Institute, Reg. Scrope, fos. 310-11 (166v-167).

² Archbishop's House, Westminster, Se/Ac/9, Selby Bursar's Account, 1416-17; Record Office, Beverley, DDLO/20, no. 54b, Selby Bursar's Receiver's Account, 1413-14. A payment of 20s. to Ousthorp for his autumnal expenses in 1414 by the keeper of the abbey's hospice suggests that he usually visited Selby in the university vacation (DDLO/20, no. 54g, partly translated in Morrell, *History and Antiquities of Selby*, 95-97). Like other Benedictine monk scholars from Whitby and St. Mary's, York, Ousthorp may have rented a room in Durham College, Oxford, while at the university: cf. *Some Durham College Rolls*, ed. H. E. D. Blakiston (Oxford Historical Society, xxxiii, 1896), 19; Muniments of Dean and Chapter of Durham, Durham College Accounts, 1398-99, 1414-15.

³ Although Ousthorp therefore deserves a place in Emden's *Biographical Dictionary of the University of Oxford*, his predecessor, Abbot Cave, has been included therein (i, 374) under false pretences: there is no contemporary evidence for the ascription to him of the title *Magister*, as stated in *Cat. of Harleian MSS*, i, 402 and Purvis, *art. cit.*, 386. A mutilated Selby bursar's account (printed as 'Account Roll of Selby Abbey, 1397-8' in *Y.A.J.*, xv (Pt. 59, 1900), 411-19) reveals that William Pygot (on whom see Emden, iii, 1529) had anticipated Ousthorp's career by being an Oxford monk scholar before his election as abbot in 1408.

⁴ Only two manuscripts from Selby are recorded in N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain* 2nd edn., 1964), 177, 304. One of these was acquired by Peter Rouclif, a Selby monk who died in 1432 shortly after receiving valuable legacies from Isabella Hamerton, the widow of a rich York merchant (Record Office, Beverley, DDLO/20, no. 17; *Testamenta Eboracensia* ii (Surtees Society, xxx, 1855), 23).

⁵ Wilkins, *Concilia* (London, 1737), ii, 595. Pensions were being paid to Selby monk scholars as early as 1346 (*Cal. Papal Petitions 1342-1419*, 117); but account rolls of 1413-14, 1431-32, and 1476-77 leave no doubt that only one monk was being maintained at Oxford during these years (Record Office, Beverley, DDLO/20, nos. 1, 54; York Minster Library, H.H. 21. 3, Selby Pittancer's Accounts).

⁶ Record Office, Beverley, DDLO/20, no. 16, Selby Pittancer's and Chamberlain's Account, 1431-32.

⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 1, Selby Bursar's Account, 1431-32, memb. 3v. Only the *Feoda*, *Stipendia* and *Dona Domini Abbatis* sections of this account were printed (in translation) by Morrell, *History and Antiquities of Selby*, 99-103.

young Selby monk, Robert Whitwod, to the Dominican priory within the city and presumably presented him to Archbishop Kemp's suffragan for ordination as priest.¹ A greater tribute to Ousthorp's prestige within both his own monastery and the English Benedictine Order as a whole was his attendance at the Provincial Chapter of the Black Monks held at Northampton in the summer of 1432. No records survive of the proceedings at this Benedictine assembly, where Ousthorp must have appeared as official proctor of his abbot, John Cave. The Chapter, as usual in the fifteenth century, was of comparatively short duration, and Ousthorp remained at Northampton for three days and three nights.² The total cost of his expedition amounted to only £2. 0s. 6d. However, this reference is of value in providing not only a relatively rare example of a Selby monk's participation in the work of a national Benedictine assembly but also the only direct evidence that this particular Provincial Chapter actually took place. A few months later Ousthorp's qualifications as a university graduate and experienced monk secured his promotion to the second highest office within his monastery. It is possible to deduce from the contemporary pittance's accounts that Ousthorp became prior of Selby in November 1432.³ This was a position he apparently held continuously until the 1436 election and one which, for obvious reasons, enhanced his eligibility as future abbot of Selby.⁴

John Ousthorp was to remain abbot for almost exactly thirty years, the second longest tenure of that office in the history of the Selby community. It would be no purpose of this paper to examine Ousthorp's activities as abbot even if any detailed assessment of his later career could be made. In fact the surviving evidence throws less light on the abbot's role as father of his monks than on his position as a distinguished public figure in the clerical society of northern England. However, there is some reason to believe that in 1436 the Selby chapter had chosen well. Abbot Ousthorp was particularly attentive to the financial needs of his convent and took steps to relieve his monks of some of the burdens which had forced them to advocate, as recently as 1410, the radical reform of a temporary suspension of their abbot's household.⁵ In February 1441 Ousthorp and his chapter secured royal licence to appropriate to their use the church of Stanford in Northamptonshire. A few years later, in December 1445, Henry VI's government was persuaded by the abbot to reduce by half Selby's future contributions to clerical tenths levied in the provinces of York and Canterbury. On 28 November 1463, towards the end of his abbacy and no doubt in the knowledge that he had not many more years to live, Ousthorp scored a more substantial success when Edward IV exempted the convent from its customary payment of £80 and a pension to a royal clerk on the occasion of the election of a new abbot of Selby. Four months before his death, in January 1466, the abbot seized the opportunity of the king's visit to Cawood to obtain Edward's formal confirmation of previous royal charters granted to his convent.⁶ Ousthorp's ability to extract such favours from the English government is partly explained by his own services to the king and other magnates. In the late 1450's he was one of the very few monastic prelates to serve on the royal council;⁷ and towards the end of his long life he was invited to the famous and prodigious feast which followed George

¹ For the precise date and place of Whitwod's ordination, see Borthwick Institute, York; Reg. Kemp, fo. 242v.

² According to the surviving letters of proxy, the 1432 Provincial Chapter was expected to assemble at Northampton on Monday, 30 June (*Documents of Black Monks*, ed. Pantin, iii, 214, 220, 261). This is a date easily reconcilable with the Selby bursar's statement that Ousthorp's journey to Northampton was made 'circa festum Translacionis Sancti Thome Martiris' (7 July). Ousthorp's junior fellow, John Selby, had attended a similar Northampton Chapter six years previously (*ibid.*, ii, 156, 161) but there is little evidence that any other Selby monks attended English Black Monk Chapters in the later middle ages.

³ All Selby monks in receipt of payments *pro pitanciis suis* were recorded by name except the abbot and the prior. Ousthorp's own name appears in the 1431-32 *compotus* but not that of 1432-33.

⁴ John Cave, Ousthorp's predecessor as abbot of Selby, had also held the office of prior in the convent for several years before his promotion (Archbishop's House, Westminster, Se/Ac/9, Selby Bursar's Account, 1416-17).

⁵ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1408-13*, 244.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1436-41, 496; 1441-46, 398; 1461-67, 291, 498.

⁷ *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, ed. Nicolas (1834-37), vi, 169, 267, 291, 334.

Neville's installation as archbishop of York in September 1465.¹ It was during Ousthorp's abbacy, moreover, that the monks of Selby attracted the favourable attention of the most generous and munificent of their patrons in the later middle ages. The association between Selby abbey and John Lathom, royal clerk, secretary of Archbishop Kemp and canon of Beverley, dated from at least as early as 1429.² Although Lathom's will was written in June 1470 and only proved in 1476, its terms leave little doubt that the testator's plan to found a perpetual chantry at Selby ante-dated his death by many years.³ The Lathom chantry chapel, the last important architectural addition to the fabric of the abbey church before the Dissolution, must have been projected if not completed while John Ousthorp still ruled over the monks of Selby and before his death on 6 April 1466.⁴

One last and valuable feature of Ousthorp's election in July 1436 remains to be discussed:—the inclusion within the *decretum electionis* of a list of the names and offices of the twenty-nine Selby monks who chose him as their abbot.⁵ Although the ordinary required to be informed of the names of the electors before he confirmed a monastic election, relatively few such lists have survived and the following statement is therefore of particular interest in that it can be used with other near-contemporary lists of the convent's monks to provide a reliable guide to the number and names of the brethren at the fifteenth-century abbey.

Johannes Ousthorpp'	Prior
Robertus Schirburn'	Hostiarius siue Custos Hospicii
Johannes Akastr'	Elemosinarius
Thomas Crowle	Coquinarius
Ricardus Athelyngflett'	
Willelmus Bridlyngton'	
Johannes Selby	Prior de Snayth'
Johannes Haldynby	Custos Spiritualitatis et Granarius
Stephanus ffarnell'	
Thomas Sawage	Refeclorarius
Johannes ffarneworth'	
Willelmus Snayth	Camerarius et Penitenciarius
Robertus Schipwyth	Selararius exterior et Bursarius
Thomas Normanton'	
Johannes ffernell'	
Johannes Hyll'	
Henricus ffryeston'	Supprior
Robertus Banke	Custos Promptuarii
Thomas Duffeld'	
Thomas Esthoft	Precentor
Ricardus Cave	Subsacrista
Robertus Ledys	
Robertus Whitwod	Tercius Prior
Jacobus Marscheden'	Custos Chori Beate Marie
Johannes Barnlay	
Willelmus Wenselay	
Willelmus Bauteley	
Willelmus Cawod	
Johannes Alkbarowe	Succentor

It would be dangerous to regard this list as a complete enumeration of all monks resident at Selby in the summer of 1436, for it certainly fails to include three brothers (William Pountfreit, William Beenefeld and Richard Thorp) who had been inmates of the convent since at least the autumn of 1433. As novices not yet in major orders

¹ John Leland, *Collectanea*, ed. T. Hearne (London, 1774), vi, 3. Morrell (*op. cit.*, 105) incorrectly supposed that John Sharrow was the abbot of Selby who attended this banquet.

² Record Office, Beverley, DDLO/20, no. 1, Selby Bursar's Account, 1431-32, memb. 1; cf. *Cal. Close Rolls, 1435-41*, 169-70.

³ *Testamenta Eboracensia* iii (Surtees Society, xlv, 1864), 173-8.

⁴ This was the date of demise inscribed on Ousthorp's tomb slab, as recorded by Roger Dodsworth before its destruction (*Dodsworth's Church Notes*, 80). Its accuracy is confirmed by the fact that Edward IV's *congé d'élire* was granted to the Selby chapter on 27 April 1466 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1461-67*, 550).

⁵ Previously printed, but with Christian names anglicised and one or two variations (e.g., Esholt for Esthoft), in Purvis, *art. cit.*, 388.

the latter were canonically prohibited from participation in Ousthorp's election.¹ Similarly, the 1436 election decree provides a far from comprehensive guide to the total number of monastic obediences within the fifteenth-century abbey. Late mediaeval Selby account rolls refer to several officials (notably the sacrist and infirmarer) not mentioned in 1436. More generally, it is clear that the 'obedientary system' at Selby had reached a high degree of elaboration similar to that encountered in other large Benedictine houses. No one familiar with organisational routines and practices in a late mediaeval monastery can be surprised to learn that more than half of all Selby monks in the summer of 1436 occupied an important office. Although three of the brethren, John Haldynby, William Snayth and Robert Schipwyth, each held two obediences, administrative responsibility was in general widely dispersed among the members of the convent. Few Selby monks can have escaped the obligation to serve as office-holders at some time during their careers.

Nor is it surprising that, as W. W. Morrell noticed a century ago,² the toponymics used as surnames by the great majority of Selby monks testify to the community's recruitment of most of its members from south-east Yorkshire and the immediate neighbourhood of the abbey. A similar conclusion emerges from the study of other fifteenth-century lists of Selby monks. Two such lists were preserved among the muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Durham as products of the system whereby English Benedictine monasteries were visited every three years by prelates of their order. When, on 4 June 1465, Abbot Ousthorp acknowledged his receipt of the prior of Durham's citation to a visitation he appended to his certificate a schedule containing the names of the twenty-five Selby monks then under his rule.³ A similar schedule still at Durham, although undated and long separated from its accompanying certificate, can be assigned to the early summer of 1414; it lists the names of thirty-five monks besides the abbot.⁴ An even more valuable, because more plentiful, source of information as to the number and names of Selby monks is the *Liberaciones* or *Soluciones Denariorum* section of surviving pittancers' annual account rolls. Every year the Selby pittancer recorded in his account the names of all monks, including those of the novices but not of the abbot and prior, to whom he paid their customary and obligatory pittance. As account rolls of the pittancer survive in greater quantity than those of any other Selby obedientary, it is possible to study the vicissitudes of monastic population at the abbey with an accuracy probably unparalleled in England except at the houses of Durham, Christ Church, Canterbury and Westminster. There were 27 Selby monks in receipt of pittances in 1362-63; 32 in 1403-04; 30 in 1412-13; 35 in 1415-16; 36 in 1431-32 and 1432-33; 30 in 1437-38; 23 in 1446-47; 26 in 1453-54 and 1454-55; 31 in 1455-56; 29 in 1456-57; 27 in 1457-58 and 1458-59; 26 in 1476-77; 29 in 1479-80; and 29 in 1496-97.⁵

At first sight such totals may give an impression of serious numerical instability at fifteenth-century Selby. The fluctuations of these figures can, however, be readily explained by the naturally irregular incidence of mortality among the older monks and by the

¹ Record Office, Beverley, DDLO/20, nos. 16-19, Selby Pittancers' Accounts, 1431-38; cf. Reg. Kemp, fos. 243, 246, 254v, 255, 261v.

² Morrell, *History and Antiquities of Selby*, 103.

³ Muniments of Dean and Chapter of Durham, Miscellaneous Charters, no. 6872. This schedule has become separated from Abbot Ousthorp's certificate since it was printed in *Coucher Book of Selby*, ii, 348-9.

⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 6633, printed in *Coucher Book of Selby*, ii, 346-7 and (with the omission of one name) in *Documents of Black Monks*, ed. Pantin, iii, 228. Canon Fowler unaccountably dated this list to A.D. 1436-1466 and Mr. Pantin to 1411 or 1426; but a comparison of the names mentioned in this schedule with those of Selby monks recorded in the Pittancers' accounts of 1412-13 and 1415-16 together with the ordination lists of Archbishop Bowet's register indicates a date between November 1413 and November 1415. As the prior of Durham ceased to be the Benedictine visitor in the province of York in July 1414 (*Documents of Black Monks*, iii, 238-40, 260), there would seem to be little doubt that the certificate was sent to him shortly before that date.

⁵ Archbishop's House, Westminster, Se/Ac/2, 7, 16, 18, 21; Record Office, Beverley, DDLO/20, nos. 14, 15, 16, 17, 19; York Minster Library, H.H. 21. 3, (a) and (b). These figures comprise the abbot, prior and all members of the convent (including novices) resident at Selby as well as the student monk at Oxford; but they exclude the prior of Selby's cell at Snaith who appears not to have received annual payments from the pittancer of his mother-house.

common monastic practice of admitting novices in comparatively large groups rather than in ones or twos. This latter method, with its obvious practical advantage of providing a convenient unit (often of six, eight or even more monks) for teaching and administrative purposes during the noviciate, had the effect of raising the total number of professed members of the community somewhat abruptly and artificially every five or six years.¹ Minor statistical variations can therefore be discounted in estimating the long-term trends of the monastic population within the abbey; and it becomes immediately obvious that the number of monks at Selby between the late fourteenth century and the Dissolution remained remarkably stable. The poll tax returns of 1381 record a total of twenty-six monks within the convent in that year: twenty-four Selby monks surrendered their monastery to Henry VIII on 6 December 1539.² It is now generally accepted that the greater English Benedictine houses, those with a monastic population of forty or above, were successful in maintaining a high level of recruitment well into the sixteenth century. The Selby evidence is nevertheless of especial value for its revelation that a similar success might be achieved by a Black Monk community in the second grade of importance and wealth. Throughout the fifteenth century there was apparently no shortage of aspirants to the life of a cloistered monk at Selby; and it is natural to suppose that the monastic chapter there deliberately set itself the objective of replacing every deceased monk by a young successor. Whether or not as the result of a calculated policy, late mediaeval Selby abbey was in practice a community perpetuating itself in almost exact numerical terms. The difficulties facing John Ousthorp and other fifteenth-century abbots of Selby were no doubt both genuine and severe; but neither for financial or other reasons were they compelled to reduce the size of their flock.

¹ In 1456, for example, there were no deaths among the monastic community at Selby and the recruitment of five novices in the spring of that year raised the total number of monks from twenty-six to thirty-one (Archbishop's House, Westminster, Se/Ac/18).

² J. C. Russell, 'The Clerical Population of Medieval England' (*Traditio*, ii, 1944), 189; Morrell, *History and Antiquities of Selby*, 113-114; *V.C.H. Yorkshire* iii, 99.

THE FAMILY OF LONGVILLERS

By SIR CHARLES CLAY

The family derived its name from Longvillers, dept. Calvados, arr. Caen, canton Villers-Bocage, a place which lies about four miles south of Villy-Bocage, whence the family of Veilly, another tenant in England of the Lascy fee of Pontefract, derived its name.¹

Robert de Longvillers held a *vavassoria* at Jurques (*Jorches*), arr. Vire, canton Aunay-sur-Odon, with 10 acres of land at Vaux-sur-Seulles, arr. Caen, canton Creully, of the church of Bayeux *c.* 1133.² About 1176 Robert de Longvillers, knt., whose claim against Roger de Longvillers, knt., was heard before the bishop of Avranches, the papal delegate, established his right of presentation to a moiety of the church of St-Vigor of Longvillers; and his presentee Ralph son of Roger de Longvillers was instituted by the bishop of Bayeux.³ Later, the bishop received another clerk as rector of both moieties on the presentation of Robert and Ralph de Longvillers respectively; and then another clerk to one moiety on the presentation of Robert de Longvillers.⁴ In 1198 Robert de Longvillers gave his right of patronage in a moiety of the church, with the chapel of Notre-Dame, to the neighbouring abbey of Aunay, his gift being confirmed by the bishop in 1200.⁵ On 2 Nov. 1211 the abbot and convent of Aunay transferred this gift to the chapter of Bayeux.⁶ Between 1213 and 1226 Roger Guerbert gave his hereditary portion of the advowson to the chapter of Bayeux; and in 1245 a dispute over the patronage of the church between the dean and chapter and Richard Guerbert de Longvillers, son of Roger Guerbert, knt., was settled by Richard's quitclaim of his right.⁷ In 1271 Roger de Longvillers, knt., confirmed the gifts made to the abbey of Aunay by his predecessors; and in the period 1306–15 there were disputes between the abbey and Richard de Longvillers.⁸ The second Robert mentioned above can probably be identified with the Robert de Lunviler who was present with many others in the King's court at Caen 20 Jan. 1182–3,⁹ and presumably with the Robert de Longvillers who made a further benefaction to the abbey of Aunay in 1202,¹⁰ and who after the loss of Normandy held half a knight's fee of Philip Augustus at Longvillers and half a knight's fee at Maisoncelles-Pelvey (*Masuncellae*), arr. Caen, canton Villers-Bocage.¹¹

These references make it reasonably certain that the Longvillers families in Normandy and England were of the same stock, but their relationship has not been determined.

The earliest record of a member of the family in England is of the unnamed father of ROBERT DE LONGVILLERS,¹² who, as Robert de Lonvilers, rendered account of 5 marks of silver for having his father's land at Michaelmas 1130, when he paid 40s. and owed the balance of 26s. 8d.¹³ The entry is on the Yorkshire and Northumberland roll among the Yorkshire items; and it is likely that, as Farrer suggested,¹⁴ the land lay in

¹ L. C. Loyd, *Anglo-Norman Families*, p. 55.

² *Recueil des Historiens . . . de la France*, xxiii, 702.

³ *Livre Noir de Bayeux*, i, no. 254.

⁴ *Ibid.*, nos. 255–6.

⁵ *Ibid.*, nos. 257–8.

⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 259.

⁷ *Ibid.*, ii, nos. 335, 338–9. Roger Guerbert also confirmed to the church of Bayeux the gift made by his mother, a widow, of the land that she possessed at Jorkes [Jorches as above] (*ibid.* no. 336).

⁸ Léchaudé D'Anisy, *Archives de Calvados*, i, pp. 70, 74.

⁹ *Cal. Docs. France*, no. 432; and with the correct date Delisle et Berger, *Recueil des Actes de Henri II*, ii, no. 638.

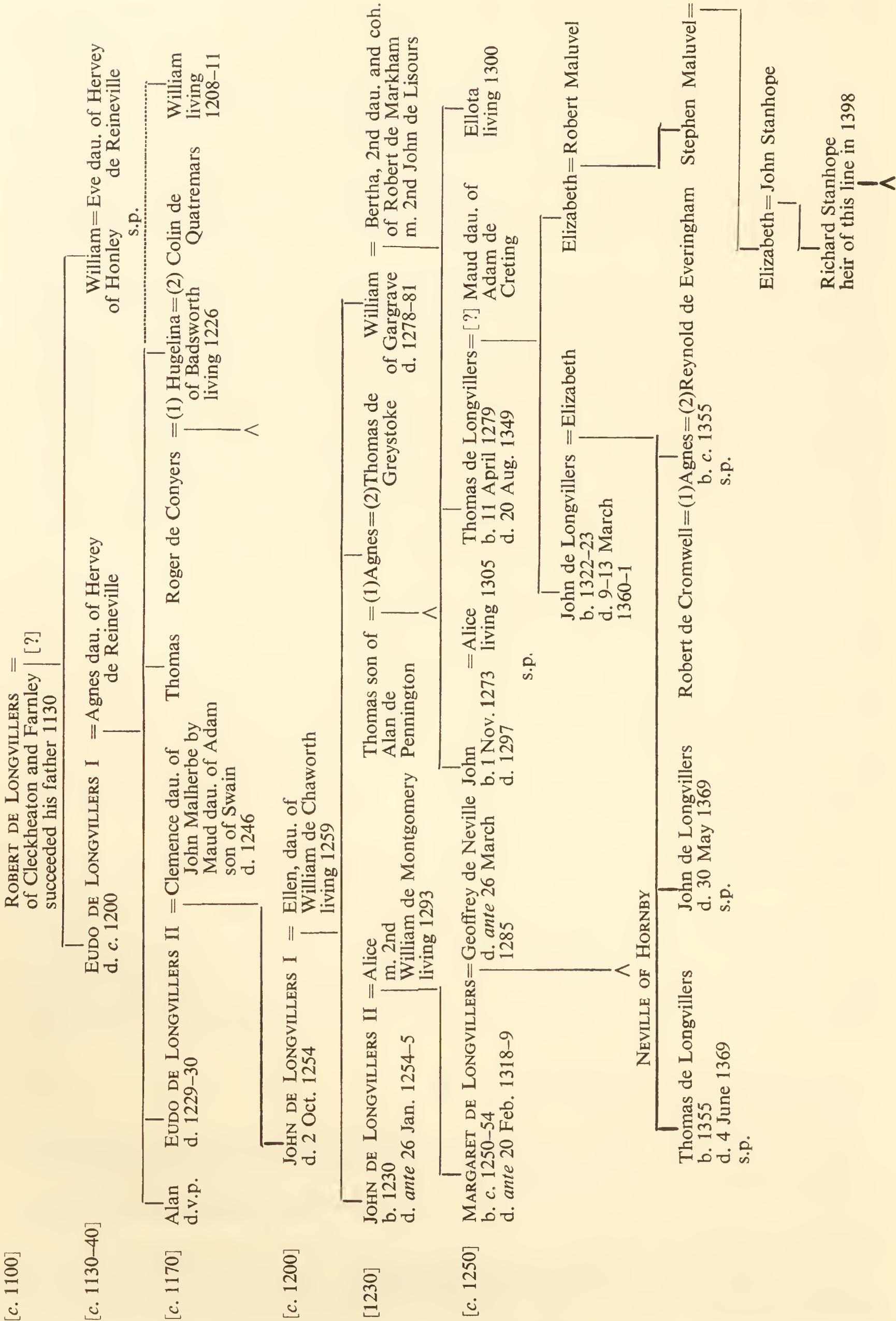
¹⁰ Léchaudé D'Anisy, *op. cit.*, i, 51.

¹¹ *Recueil des Historiens . . . de la France*, xxiii, pp. 634, 621.

¹² The name often occurs as Lungvilers and variant spellings.

¹³ *Pipe Roll 31 Hen. I*, p. 26.

¹⁴ *E.Y.C.*, iii, p. 304.



Cleckheaton and Farnley near Leeds, both members of the Lascy honour of Pontefract, where later members of the family held a tenancy.

There is no proof to indicate his immediate successor; but it is not improbable that he was the father of two brothers:

(1) Eudo de Longvillers I and (2) William de Longvillers, who following his brother Eudo witnessed charters of Robert de Lascy to Fountains and Kirkstall abbeys and to William son of Eustace FitzJohn in the period 1177–93;¹ a charter of Roger de Whitwood to Pontefract priory in 1189;² and one of Henry de Vernoil to the same house later than *c.* 1185.³ At Michaelmas 1194 he rendered account of 10 marks for having seisin of land in Honley (*Haulega*) which Robert de Lascy had given him.⁴ He occurs with Alan de Longvillers (his nephew) as a member of the court of Roger de Lascy, constable of Chester, in 1195–96;⁵ and acted as an attorney for the latter in 1200,⁶ witnessing some of his charters.⁷ According to the memorandum in the Kirkstall Coucher, which will be noted below, he married a sister of the wife of his brother Eudo; but it is unlikely that he had surviving issue by her.

EUDO⁸ DE LONGVILLERS I. The date of his birth can be fixed approximately as *c.* 1130–40. In 1166 he held a knight's fee of Henry de Lascy,⁹ which in whole or in part evidently lay in Cleckheaton and Farnley. He was steward to Robert de Lascy for the honour of Pontefract during the period 1177–93;¹⁰ and witnessed some of his charters (see above). He witnessed the charter of Roger de Lascy, constable of Chester, to the burgesses of Pontefract, issued at Westminster on 6 June 1194.¹¹ With Alan his son and William de Longvillers (evidently his brother) he witnessed a charter of Robert de Lascy to Pontefract priory *c.* 1185–1193;¹² and, as Iun de Longwilers, for the souls of Agnes his wife and Alan his son he gave land in Wentshill in Badsworth to Nostell priory.¹³

Agnes his wife was a daughter of Hervey de Reineville,¹⁴ who had given a rent in Wentshill to Nostell.¹⁵ It can be deduced from a memorandum in the Kirkstall Coucher that Hervey de Reineville, a younger son, was given Badsworth with the advowson by his father Adam de Reineville I, and that he had two daughters Agnes and Eve, who married Eudo and William de Longvillers respectively.¹⁶

¹ *E.Y.C.*, iii, nos. 1509, 1513, 1517.

² *Ibid.*, no. 1603.

³ *Ibid.*, no. 1632; *cf.* also the charter on p. 299.

⁴ *Pipe Roll 6 Ric. I*, p. 160, on the Yorkshire roll. He was still owing the balance of 5 m. at Mich. 1199 (*ibid.* 1 John, p. 43, with spelling Haleng').

⁵ *E.Y.C.*, iii, no. 1524.

⁶ *Curia Regis Rolls*, i, pp. 281, 357.

⁷ *Pontefract Chartulary*, i, p. xl; and no. 19. Possibly these later references are to a William of the next generation.

⁸ He also occurs as Heodo, Ivo and Iun. The identity of the names Eudo and Ivo is found in members of the Mumby family, tenants of the honour of Richmond (*E.Y.C.*, v, p. 270). Though Farrer in one passage regarded a Eudo and Ivo de Longvillers as different people, he regarded them as the same in another (*ibid.*, iii, pp. 253, 304). A note on the name Eudo is given in *Complete Peerage*, new ed., xii(i), 645*n.*

⁹ *Red Bk. Exch.*, p. 423.

¹⁰ *E.Y.C.*, iii, no. 1640; *Pontefract Chartulary*, ii, no. 240. The date of his stewardship cannot be fixed as 1192 (*ibid.*, i, p. 316), probably based on the tenure of Robert de Lascy, lord of the honour, given as 1187–93, incorrectly for 1177–93.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, no. 1523.

¹² *Ibid.*, no. 1521.

¹³ *Ibid.*, no. 1647.

¹⁴ Note thereto, citing the Nostell Chartulary, f. 19.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 1582.

¹⁶ *Kirkstall Coucher*, p. 144. This memorandum, a fourteenth-century addition, useful though it is, is inaccurate and must be read with caution. The two sisters, Eve and Agnes are given as the respective wives of Eudo and William de Longvillers, evidently in the wrong order; and as Farrer points out (*E.Y.C.*, iii, p. 304) their father is given as Swain, instead of Hervey, de Reineville. Moreover, it is reasonably certain that Hugelina, from whom descended the heirs of Conyers, was the daughter of Eudo and not of William.

Hervey de Reineville also held half a knight's fee of the honour of Skipton in 1166, which can be located in Gargrave and Eshton.¹ This holding, together with Badsworth (less the moiety given to his sister Hugelina) was inherited by Eudo de Longvillers II; and it seems clear that Agnes was in her issue sole heir to her father Hervey de Reineville.

Eudo de Longvillers I died by 1209 at the latest.² He had issue:

- (1) Alan, who as noted above was living in 1195–96, and died v.p.
- (2) Eudo de Longvillers II, his successor.
- (3) Thomas, who with his brother Eudo witnessed a Bramley charter.³
- (4) Probably a son William, who with his brother Eudo witnessed a charter of Roger de Lascy, 1208–11.⁴

and (5) a daughter Hugelina. It is recorded in the pleadings in a case relating to the advowson of Badsworth in 1426 that Eudo de Longvillers (evidently Eudo I) was seised of the manor and advowson, and that he granted a moiety of the manor in frank marriage to Roger de Conyers with Hugelina his daughter, the moiety including a moiety of the advowson which was to be exercised alternately, Eudo retaining the other moiety.⁵ Her husband was probably the Roger de Conyers living in 1195, a younger son of the Conyers family of Hutton Conyers.⁶ She appears to have married, secondly, Colin de Quatremars, with whom she had an interest in Badsworth in 1226.⁷ It is possible that she also had a moiety of West Armley, for at a later date John de Longvillers and Robert de Conyers each held a moiety.⁸

EUDO DE LONGVILLERS II, eldest surviving son and heir. The fact that his descendants had an interest in Badsworth is conclusive evidence that his mother was Agnes de Reineville.⁹

At Michaelmas 1206, as Yuo de Lunguiliers, he was acting as a pledge for Roald constable of Richmond.¹⁰ At Michaelmas 1209 he paid half a mark for a licence to make a final concord, which followed an assize of mort d'ancestor for land in Birtwistle in Hapton, co. Lancaster, a place which had been given to Eudo de Longvillers (his father) by Robert de Lascy.¹¹ In 1210–12 he was engaged in a plea with John son of Jollan de Neville for common in the wood of Drighlington,¹² par Birstall;¹³ and in 1212 he was acquitted of disseising Hugh de Mohaut and Avice his wife of common pasture and his wood in the same place.¹⁴ In 1217 he returned to the king's service.¹⁵ In 1218–19 and 1225 he served as a knight on grand assizes in Yorkshire.¹⁶ In 1224 he was engaged against Nicholas de Lettres in an assize of mort d'ancestor for the vill of Wheatley, co. Nottingham.¹⁷ On 16 Oct. 1229 he was appointed a justice for taking an assize of novel

¹ *E. Y.C.*, vii, pp. 212–3.

² Farrer suggested that he died *c.* 1200 (*ibid.*, iii, p. 305). The Eudo who witnessed a final concord in the court of Roger de Lascy, 22 Sept. 1201 (*ibid.*, no. 1526) may be either Eudo I or II.

³ *Yorks. Deeds*, x, no. 97.

⁴ *E. Y.C.*, iii, no. 1802. This is on the assumption that Eudo I was then dead.

⁵ *Fasti Parochiales*, i, 18, from De Banco 661, East. 4 Hen. vi, m.249. Presentations to the church show that the representatives of Eudo and the Conyers family, descended from Hugelina, exercised the right accordingly.

⁶ *V.C.H., N.R.*, i, pp. 403, 451.

⁷ *Yorks. Fines*, 1218–31, pp. 89, 90.

⁸ *Kirkstall Coucher*, nos. 364, 366.

⁹ This amends the suggestion of Farrer (*E. Y.C.*, iii, p. 305) that Eudo II was the son of Eudo I by a second wife.

¹⁰ *Pipe Roll 8 John*, p. 219.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 9 John, p. 106; Farrer, *Lancs. Pipe Rolls*, pp. 232–3; *V.C.H. Lancs.*, vi, 509.

¹² 2½ miles from Cleckheaton and 3½ miles from Farnley.

¹³ *Curia Regis Rolls*, vi, pp. 112, 336.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 325.

¹⁵ *Rot. Claus.*, i, 374a.

¹⁶ *Rolls of the Justices . . . Yorks.*, Selden Soc. vol. lvi, no. 207; *Curia Regis Rolls*, xii, no. 847.

¹⁷ *Pat. Rolls*. 1216–25, p. 487. The interest of Eudo was due to the gift of the manor of Wheatley, a member of the honour of Tickhill, to John Malherbe, his wife's brother, by King John, who, however, subsequently gave it to Roger de Montbegon, her half-brother (Thoroton, *Nottinghamshire*, ed. Throsby, iii, 302; *Rot. Claus.*, i, pp. 415a, 418a).

disseisin at Tadcaster.¹ At Michaelmas 1230 his payment of 6*li.* 12*s.* for the debts of John Malherbe to the king was recorded;² and he died before 10 Jan. 1230–1, when he had been succeeded in Gargrave by his son John (see below). He was a benefactor of Kirkstall abbey, giving a rent of 10*s.* in the mill of Cleckheaton with his body for burial.³

He married Clemence younger daughter of John Malherbe the elder, the second husband of Maud one of the two daughters and heirs of Adam son of Swain; she became coheir to her brother John Malherbe the younger, who died before 1216, and coheir to her mother on the death of her half-brother Roger de Montbegon in 1226.⁴ By this marriage he eventually acquired a moiety of Appleby, co. Lincoln, a manor which had been held by his wife's father,⁵ and after the death of Roger de Montbegon a moiety of her inheritance from Adam son of Swain, which included not only an interest in Penistone and High Hoyland⁶ and other places in that neighbourhood, but also a holding of 14 carucates held of the honour of Skipton in Hetton and Bordley, par. Burnsall, Farnhill and Cononley, par. Kildwick, and Newsholme and Oakworth, par. Keighley, which represented the knight's fee held in 1166 by the heirs of Adam son of Swain.⁷ Thus in 1226–28 he and his wife held a moiety of 20 librates of land in Appleby, the other moiety being held by Geoffrey de Neville,⁸ who had married the representative of her sister. In 1227 justices were appointed to take an assize of darrein presentment at York which Henry de Hunegeden [Monewden] brought against Eudo de Longvillers and Clemence his wife and Geoffrey de Neville and Mabel his wife for a moiety of the church of Penistone,⁹ and in the same year it was recorded that Eudo de Longvillers and Geoffrey de Neville had an interest in two fourth parts of the church by reason of their wives who were heirs of Roger de Montbegon.¹⁰ Among the Yorkshire fees of the honour of Pontefract recorded in 1242–43 Eudo de Longvillers (who was then dead) held, in addition to the knight's fee (in Farnley and Cleckheaton which he had inherited from his father), 2 knights' fees which, with the 2 knights' fees held by Geoffrey de Neville, constituted the whole moiety of the 8 knights' fees originally held of that honour by Adam son of Swain.¹¹ The holding of the honour of Skipton, mentioned above, was distinct from the half-knight's fee in Gargrave and Eshton which he had inherited from his mother Agnes de Reineville.

After his death Clemence his widow successfully defended a claim made in 1232 by Geoffrey de Neville and Mabel his wife (her niece) on the ground of esnecy relating to a tenement in Brierley, par. Felkirk,¹² a place which had been in the possession of Adam son of Swain; and in Jan. 1234–5 Adam Paynel quitclaimed to them and to Clemence and the heirs of Mabel and Clemence 10 acres of wood in Halghton [probably Great Houghton].¹³ In 1242–43 Clemence paid scutage for half a knight's fee in Appleby, held in chief of the old feoffment.¹⁴ She died shortly before 19 May 1246, the date of the writ

¹ *Pat. Rolls*, 1225–32, p. 310.

² *Pipe Roll 14 Hen. III*, p. 308.

³ *Kirkstall Coucher*, no. 379; the text of his charter is given in a case of 1348, when it was produced in court by the abbot.

⁴ *Ped.* in *E.Y.C.*, iii, p. 318. Roger was son of Adam de Montbegon, the first husband of Maud daughter of Adam son of Swain. For the Montbegon family see Farrer's account in *V.C.H. Lancs.*, i, 319–26.

⁵ King Henry II gave the manor of Appleby of the honour of Peverel of Dover to his brother William, who enfeoffed John Malherbe for the service of 1 k.f. (*Lincs. Assize Rolls*, Lincoln Rec. Soc., no. 38, recording a case in 1202).

⁶ The interest in these places is shown in *Fasti Parochiales*, i, 150; ii, 18–20.

⁷ *E.Y.C.*, vii, pp. 177–93. Documentary evidence is given there for the tenures of John Malherbe, Maud's second husband, and of Roger de Montbegon her son.

⁸ *Bk. of Fees*, p. 360.

⁹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1225–32, p. 158. For Henry de Monewden, descended from the Montbegon family, see *V.C.H. Lancs.*, i, 324, and also below.

¹⁰ *Curia Regis Rolls*, xiii, nos. 101, 370.

¹¹ *Bk. of Fees*, pp. 1102–3; *E.Y.C.*, iii, p. 319.

¹² *Curia Regis Rolls*, xiv, no. 2212.

¹³ *Yorks. Fines*, 1232–46, p. 30. Adam Paynel had an interest in Great Houghton (*E.Y.C.*, vi, p. 221).

¹⁴ *Bk. of Fees*, pp. 1002, 1095.

for the inquisition, which found that she held Appleby, Risby and Manton, co. Lincoln, of the king in chief for half a knight's fee, and lands unspecified¹ of John de Lascy, earl of Lincoln, for 2 knights' fees; Sir John de Longvillers was her son and heir.²

JOHN DE LONGVILLERS I, son and heir. The date of his birth can be fixed approximately as c. 1200. On 10 Jan. 1230–1 justices were appointed to take an assize of novel disseisin at Pontefract which Richard de Steeton brought against him for a tene-ment in Gargrave;³ and in 1231 he was a recognitor at York.⁴ In the period 1233–39, as John son of Eudo de Longvillers, knt., he gave to St. Peter's and the canons of York the homage and service of a carucate of land in Sedbergh which Walter de Tatham had held of him, his gift being confirmed by Clemence his mother.⁵ On 11 June 1246 the king took his homage as son and heir of Clemence de Longvillers for the half-knight's fee which she held in chief in Lincolnshire, and his fealty for 2 knights' fees which she held of John formerly earl of Lincoln in Yorkshire.⁶

In 1250, as Sir John de Longvillers, living at Farnley, he was a party to a final concord with Walter de Woodlesford for land in that vill;⁷ and in the same year he acquired a further interest there from Thomas son of Sampson de Farnley,⁸ and in the following year from Edmund de Lascy.⁹

In 1251 he paid 22 marks out of 24, owing to the king, for having two charters;¹⁰ and on 30 March 1253 he had exemption for life from service on assizes and as coroner or escheator.¹¹ On 3 May 1254, shortly before his death, he (or possibly his son) had letters of protection with Edmund de Lascy and others going to Gascony on the king's service.¹²

He was a benefactor of Kirkstall abbey, giving rents in Cleckheaton, and mentioning Eudo his father in one of his charters, and giving his body for burial in another.¹³ He was apparently enfeoffed of a tenure by knight service in Hutton Magna – sometimes known as Hutton Longvillers – by William or his son Nigel de Mowbray, the tenant there of the honour of Richmond; and in the return of the Mowbray fees, 1224–30, John de Longvillers and his *participes* held the knight's fee there and elsewhere.¹⁴ The history of Hornby, co. Lancaster, shows that John de Longvillers claimed to have been given the castle and manor of Roger de Montbegon, his half-uncle; this led to prolonged litigation in the period 1242 to 1252 with the family of Burgh, enfeoffed by Henry de Monewden, Roger's cousin and heir in the Montbegon inheritance; and the possession of Margaret, granddaughter and heir of John de Longvillers, and her husband Geoffrey de Neville was eventually established.¹⁵

By his marriage John de Longvillers acquired an interest in a moiety of a knight's fee in Skegby, in Marnham, co. Nottingham. In 1242–43 Robert Deyville and he (*Nunvillers*) held this knight's fee of Thomas son of William, who held of the countess d'Eu (as of the honour of Tickhill), because they took it in marriage with the two sisters of the said

¹ Evidently the quarter share of the inheritance of Adam son of Swain, held of the honour of Pontefract.

² *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, i, no. 65.

³ *Pat. Rolls*, 1225–32, p. 444.

⁴ *Yorks. Fines*, 1218–31, p. 134n.

⁵ *York Minster Fasti*, i, no. 7, from Cotton MS. Claudius B. iii, f. 61v; it is not improbable that this interest was derived from Roger de Montbegon, Clemence's half-brother.

⁶ *Exc. e Rot. Fin.*, i, 454.

⁷ *Yorks. Fines*, 1246–72, p. 15; *Yorks. Deeds*, iii, no. 86.

⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 85.

⁹ *Ibid.*, i, no. 187; *Hatton Book of Seals*, no. 452.

¹⁰ *Close Rolls*, 1247–51, p. 412.

¹¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1247–58, p. 186.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 375.

¹³ *Kirkstall Coucher*, no. 379.

¹⁴ *Bk. of Fees*, p. 1460. The suggestion made by Plantagenet-Harrison, *History of Yorkshire*, pp. 447–8 that Eudo de Longvillers, who in his ped. on p. 444 is given as the father of Robert de Longvillers who succeeded in 1130, held Hutton Magna in the right of his wife, the daughter and heir of Osbert son of Colegrim, is unsupported by evidence, and appears to be a picturesque fabrication. There is no evidence that Colegrim or Osbert had any interest in Hutton Magna, which was held in 1086 of Count Alan by Tor (*V.C.H. Yorks.*, ii, 231). Certainly Osbert's heir was not a daughter; he was the ancestor in the male line of the family of Ingoldsby (*E.Y.C.*, v, pp. 256–7).

¹⁵ *V.C.H. Lancs.*, i, 325; viii, 192.

Thomas.¹ The details given by Thoroton² show that Thomas can be identified as Thomas son of William de Chaworth. The marriage took place before 29 Dec. 1229, when justices were appointed to take an assize of novel disseisin at Nottingham which John de Longvillers brought against Robert Deyville and Denise his wife for a tenement in Skegby.³ In 1241 Robert Deyville and John de Longvillers held a third of a knight's fee in Nottinghamshire assigned to the dower of the widow of the earl of Lincoln,⁴ which was presumably acquired in the same way.

John de Longvillers I, described as a knight, died on 2 Oct. 1254; and the inquisition, held on 5 Nov., found that he held the manor of Hutton Magna of Roger de Mowbray, yielding 18*li.* 3*s.* 6*d.* yearly; a moiety of Appleby in Lindsey of the king in chief, the other moiety being held by Hugh de Neville;⁵ the manor of Kirkby Wharfe, 7*li.* 7*s.* 10*d.*, of Edmund de Lascy; Farnley, 8*li.* 3*s.* 7½*d.*; Oakenshaw in Cleckheaton, 5*li.* 1*s.* 8*d.*; Cleckheaton, 3*li.* 6*s.* 1*d.*, less a pittance of 1*li.* 6*s.* 8*d.* due to Kirkstall abbey of his gift; the manors of Brierley, par. Felkirk, 4*li.* 17*s.* 11*d.*, and Cowling, par. Kildwick, 3*li.* 18*s.* 11*d.*; and land in Craven held by knight-service in Hetton, Gargrave, Oakworth, Newsholme, Farnhill, Cononley and Eshton; his heir was his son John aged twenty-four.⁶ On 17 Dec. 1254 Ellen his widow was assigned 19*li.* 17*s.* 6½*d.* worth of land in Yorkshire, being a third of his land there and in Lincolnshire, until the king should render all his lands to his right heir, and the latter should assign her reasonable dower; and on the same day John's executors were given power to administer his testament.⁷ In 1259 Ellen as his widow unsuccessfully claimed dower in Hornby and Melling, co. Lancaster.⁸

John de Longvillers I had issue:

- (1) John de Longvillers II, his successor.
 - (2) William, who as son of Sir John de Longvillers made grants of land in Farnley, Leeds,⁹ and who was probably the ancestor of the Nottinghamshire branch of the family.
- and (3) Agnes, who married, first, Thomas son and heir of Alan de Pennington, who was dead by 10 Dec. 1248 and by whom she had a son Alan de Pennington; and, secondly, before 27 March 1254 Thomas de Greystoke; Thomas de Pennington and Agnes held land in Birtwistle in Hapton, co. Lancaster,¹⁰ which was evidently the land acquired there by Eudo de Longvillers I.¹¹

JOHN DE LONGVILLERS II, son and heir. He died before 26 Jan. 1254–5, when the king made a grant of the church of Badsworth as guardian of the lands lately held by John de Longvillers.¹² On 6 March 1254–5 the king granted to Peter Everard, his knight, the marriage of the widow of John de Longvillers the younger or the fine due should she marry any other than Peter without his or the king's licence.¹³ Whether or no she married Peter it is certain that by 11 April 1268 she had married Sir William de Montgomery, who claimed to present to Badsworth church as the husband of the mother of the heiress

¹ *Bk. of Fees*, pp. 979, 987.

² *Nottinghamshire*, ed. Throsby, iii, pp. 185, 190.

³ *Pat. Rolls*, 1225–32, p. 351.

⁴ *Close Rolls*, 1237–42, p. 262.

⁵ The representative of Mabel sister of Clemence Malherbe.

⁶ *Yorks. Inq.*, i, no. 41 and p. 262; *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, i, no. 296. No mention is made of West Armley, where he and the representative of his aunt Hugelina each held a moiety (see above). In 1302–03 his granddaughter Margaret held half a carucate there (*Feudal Aids*, vi, 127).

⁷ *Close Rolls*, 1254–56, p. 15.

⁸ *V.C.H. Lancs.*, i, 325–6; viii, 192*n.*

⁹ *Yorks. Deeds*, iii, no. 88 and x, no. 166. The witnesses to the latter charter give the extreme limits of date as c. 1268–85.

¹⁰ *V.C.H. Lancs.*, viii, 339*n.*; *Furness Coucher*, i (ii), 488–9.

¹¹ See above. Their son Alan gave it to John de Lacy of Cromwellbottom, par. Halifax (*V.C.H. Lancs.*, vi, 509*n.*; Thoresby Soc. vol. xxviii, *Miscellanea*, p. 475).

¹² *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1247–58, p. 396.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 403.

who had dower in a third of the heiress's inheritance.¹ Her name was Alice, and with William de Montgomery, her husband, was living in 1293, holding an interest in Badsworth and Cawthorne for her life.²

MARGARET DE LONGVILLERS, only daughter and heir. She was born at Farnley³ c. 1250–54. Until 18 Feb. 1254–5 she was in the king's wardship, when he gave the custody of her lands to prince Edward;⁴ and it was found on 11 April 1268 that Geoffrey de Neville, her husband, was patron of Badsworth church in her right.⁵ The marriage took place earlier than 19 November 1267.⁶

It is reasonably certain that Geoffrey de Neville was a younger brother of Robert de Neville of Raby.⁷ Accounts of him are given by Foss in *Judges of England*, in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, and in the article on 'Neville (of Hornby)' in *The Complete Peerage*. He was Chief Justice of the Forest beyond Trent from 1270 until his death, and was summoned to the assembly at Shrewsbury in 1283. He died shortly before 26 March 1285, the date of the writ for the inquisition, which found that he held in chief the manor of Appleby in right of his wife, by a moiety of doing one serjeanty in the king's army, and also, all in her right, the manor of Hornby with its members, and manors in Hutton Longvillers, Farnley, Kirkby Wharfe, Gargrave, with Cowling and Cononley, and a moiety of Brierley; his heir was his son John, aged sixteen.⁸

In 1289 Margaret made a settlement of the manor of Hutton Longvillers, by which she would hold it for life, with remainders to Geoffrey, Robert and Edmund her (younger) sons, for their lives, and thereafter to Robert's right heirs.⁹ She died shortly before 20 Feb. 1318–9, the date of the writ for the inquisition which found that she held Hornby Castle with Melling and other appurtenances; a manor in Gargrave and 21½ carucates of the honour of Skipton;¹⁰ Hutton Longvillers for her life of Sir John Mowbray for half a knight's fee, citing the final concord of 1289; Farnley for her life with remainder to William de Neville¹¹ and the heirs of his body in virtue of a final concord; lands in Kirkby Wharfe, Grimston and Milford, and a messuage and land in Potterton in Berwick, all of the honour of Pontefract; her heir was her grandson John, aged eighteen or nineteen.¹² Her seal, bearing her name Margaret de Longvillers, with the arms *quarterly a bend dancetty over all a label of three points*, is attached to a deed by which she gave land in Farnley to her son Geoffrey.¹³

John de Neville her heir died without issue in 1335, when the inheritance passed to Robert de Neville, his first cousin, being the son of Robert de Neville, a younger son of Margaret; and from him to the Nevilles of Hornby and elsewhere and their eventual coheirs – Elizabeth de Neville, wife of Sir William Harrington, and the representative of Joan her sister, wife of Sir John Langton; in the division the former inherited Hornby and the latter inherited Hutton Longvillers and the other Yorkshire lands, together with Appleby, co. Lincoln.¹⁴

¹ *Reg. Giffard*, p. 26.

² *Yorks. Fines*, 1272–1300, p. 101.

³ *Complete Peerage*, ix, 488.

⁴ *Close Rolls*, 1254–56, p. 41.

⁵ *Reg. Giffard*, p. 25.

⁶ *Fasti Parochiales*, i, 153 and note.

⁷ This is generally accepted; but in the account in *Complete Peerage*, ix, 487 it is noted that no proof has been found to identify him with the Geoffrey who was certainly a brother of Robert de Neville.

⁸ *Yorks. Inq.*, ii, no. 24; *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, ii, no. 575; iv, no. 8. The value of the Yorkshire lands show a considerable increase since 1254.

⁹ *Yorks. Fines*, 1272–1300, p. 87.

¹⁰ Details are given in *E.Y.C.*, vii, p. 179.

¹¹ Apparently another son.

¹² *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, vi, no. 175.

¹³ *Yorks. Deeds*, iii, no. 89. This appears to be the arms of the Longvillers family of the elder line, and was probably derived from the Lascy arms, lords of Pontefract.

¹⁴ *Complete Peerage*, v, 204n; and ix, 491; Plantagenet-Harrison, *op. cit.*, pp. 444, 446; *V.C.H. Lancs.*, viii, 193–4; *V.C.H. Yorks.*, N.R., i, 84.

§2. THE NOTTINGHAMSHIRE LINE

This line descended from William de Longvillers who married Bertha the second of the three daughters and coheirs of Robert de Markham of Tuxford, co. Nottingham.¹ At the inquisition held on 30 March 1289, after the death of Robert de Markham, it was found that one of the latter's heirs was his grandson John de Longvillers, son of William de Longvillers and Bertha, Robert's daughter, John then aged fifteen having been born on 1 November 1273.² The interest of the Nottinghamshire line in Gargrave in Yorkshire, part of which was a member of the honour of Skipton, shows that William can be identified with the William de Longvillers who in 1275 was the defendant against Geoffrey de Neville and Margaret [de Longvillers] his wife for land and rent in Gargrave, of which John de Longvillers [I], Margaret's grandfather, was seised, William stating that he had been enfeoffed by John.³ Although no precise proof has been found it is probable that William was a younger son of John de Longvillers I,⁴ who certainly had a son named William, the grantor of lands in Farnley, Leeds, as noted above. It is significant that in 1344 Sir Thomas de Longvillers, younger son and ultimate heir of William de Longvillers, claimed the manor of Gargarve and land and rent in Armley against Sir Robert de Neville;⁵ and that in March 1360–1 Sir John de Longvillers, Sir Thomas's son and heir, died seised of land in Armley, held of Robert de Neville as of the manor of Farnley.⁶

The descent is as follows:

WILLIAM DE LONGVILLERS, probably a younger son of John de Longvillers I. It has been noted above that he married Bertha second daughter and coheir of Robert de Markham; and that in 1275 he was the defendant for land and rent in Gargrave. He had two sons John and Thomas, and as noted below a daughter Ellota. His widow married Sir John de Lisours as her second husband.⁷ It was stated that this marriage took place on 22 July 1279, when her son [Thomas] was two years old;⁸ but as the latter was born on 11 April 1279 (see below) the year cannot be correct and is perhaps an error for 1281. It can be presumed, however, that William de Longvillers died within the extreme limits of date 1278 and 1281.

JOHN DE LONGVILLERS, elder son and heir, born 1 November 1273; and in 1289 he was one of the coheirs of his grandfather Robert de Markham. He died before 11 October 1297;⁹ and at the inquisitions in that year held after his death it was found that he had held a third of the manor of Tuxford as a tenancy in chief for a third part of half a knight's fee¹⁰ with an interest in other lands in Nottinghamshire held of various superior lords, together with the manor of Glusburn in Yorkshire, held of Sir Robert de Steeton, a third part of which was held by Margaret de Neville in dower; his heir was Thomas his brother, aged nineteen.¹¹ On 26 October 1305 Alice his widow was granted a licence to marry at will.¹²

¹ *Cal. Fine Rolls*, 1272–1307, p. 260.

² *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, ii, no. 722.

³ *Yorks. Inq.*, i, pp. 279–80, from De Banco Roll, Trin., 3 Edw. I.

⁴ That William was a younger son of the main line is accepted in *Complete Peerage*, viii, 130n; but as William's elder son John was born in 1273 William must have been of the same generation as John de Longvillers II; he could scarcely have been a son of Eudo de Longvillers II as there suggested. In the pedigree in Plantagenet-Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 444, William is given as a younger son of John de Longvillers I, though without any proof.

⁵ *Yorks. Inq.*, i, 280, from De Banco Roll, Hil. 18 Edw. III.

⁶ *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, xi, no. 117.

⁷ *Ibid.*, iii, no. 620.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 'at the feast of St. Mary Magdalen 21 years ago [from the octave of Trinity, 28 Edw. I] at the said feast next coming, and then the heir was 2 years old and more.'

⁹ *Cal. Fine Rolls*, 1272–1307, p. 392.

¹⁰ This manor had been held by Robert de Markham in chief for half a knight's fee, together with the advowson (*Cal. Inq. p.m.*, ii, no. 722). The descent of the manor to Robert is given in Thoroton, *Nottinghamshire*, ed. Throsby, iii, pp. 219–21; in the window of the church were the arms of Longvillers, *sable a bend between six cross-crosslets argent*.

¹¹ *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, iii, no. 424.

¹² *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1301–07, p. 390.

SIR THOMAS DE LONGVILLERS, brother and heir. His proof of age was taken in 1300, when it was found that he had been born on 11 April 1279 and that he had a sister named Ellota, then living, whose proposed marriage to Henry de Sutton had not taken place.¹

An account of his public career is given in *The Complete Peerage*,² the inclusion being due to his summons in 1342 to a council, which however was not a parliament. In 1300 and 1306 he made grants of land in Glusburn;³ and in 1316 and 1346 he was returned as a joint holder of half a knight's fee in Tuxford.⁴

It is probable that he married Maud daughter of Adam de Creting.⁵ He died on 20 August 1349, holding in chief a third of the manor of Tuxford for a third of a moiety of a knight's fee and the advowson of a third of the church; his heir being John his son, then aged twenty-six and married.⁶ His daughter Elizabeth, wife of Robert Maluvel, will be mentioned below.

SIR JOHN DE LONGVILLERS, son and heir; born 1322–23. He died 9–13 March 1360–1, holding in chief a third of the manor of Tuxford for a third of half a knight's fee and other lands in Nottinghamshire which for the most part represented his share of the inheritance of his great-grandfather Robert de Markham, together with the manor of Gargrave, a member of the manor of Skipton, which he had demised to John de Pudsay for life, and land in Armley, held of Robert de Neville as of the manor of Farnley; mention is made of Elizabeth his wife, and his sons Thomas and John between whom as his heirs male by the custom of the soke of Oswaldbeck, co. Nottingham, a rent in Welham was divisible; his heir was his son Thomas, aged five and a half years at the preceding 12 March [1361].⁷

His younger⁸ son John died 30 May 1369, holding lands in Nottinghamshire of the soke of Oswaldbeck, which he had of the gift and feoffment of John de Longvillers his father; he died without issue, his heir being Agnes his sister aged fourteen.⁹

THOMAS DE LONGVILLERS, son and heir; born 1355. He died a minor 4 June 1369, holding a third of the manor of Tuxford and other lands in Nottinghamshire by inheritance from his father; his heir was Agnes his sister, aged fourteen years and more.¹⁰

Agnes de Longvillers married first Robert de Cromwell and secondly Reginald de Everingham, and died without issue.¹¹ In 1398 the heir was Richard Stanhope, son of John Stanhope by Elizabeth daughter of Stephen Maluvel, son of Robert Maluvel by Elizabeth daughter of Sir Thomas de Longvillers;¹² Richard Stanhope being first cousin twice removed of Thomas de Longvillers who died in 1369.

The arms of Longvillers of this line, *Sable, a bend between six cross-crosslets argent*, was quartered by the Stanhope family.¹³ These arms are on the seal of Sir John de Longvillers son of Sir Thomas de Longvillers attached to his charter of 21 March 1358–59, quitclaiming to Henry duke of Lancaster any claim to the castle and manor of Hornby and Melling and to all the lands in specified places which Sir Robert de Neville formerly held.¹⁴ The charter supports the suggested parentage of William de Longvillers, the an-

¹ *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, iii, no. 620.

² New ed., viii, 130. Cf. also *Knights of Edward I*, Harleian Soc., iii, 60.

³ *Coll. Top et Gen.*, vi, pp. 301–2.

⁴ *Feudal Aids*, iv, pp. 107, 115.

⁵ *Complete Peerage*, loc. cit.

⁶ *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, x, no. 30.

⁷ *Ibid.*, xi, no. 117.

⁸ Not his elder son and heir as in *Complete Peerage*, viii, 131.

⁹ *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, xiv, no. 40.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 41.

¹¹ *Complete Peerage*, viii, 131n, where her birth is given as 12 Nov. 1360, which conflicts with the 1389 inquisitions.

¹² *Ibid.*, and Thoroton, *Nottinghamshire*, ed. Throsby, iii, 242.

¹³ *Visitations of co. Nottingham*, Harleian Soc. vol. iv, p. 5.

¹⁴ B.M. Add. Ch. 20560; *B.M. Cat. of Seals*, iii, 201.

cestor of the Nottinghamshire line, as made above, if, as is natural to suppose, Sir John de Longvillers was in 1358 the heir male of the main Longvillers family.

§3.

There are some further members of the Longvillers family or those bearing the name whose place in the pedigree has not been determined:

EUDO DE HUTTON LONGVILLERS. In 1280 with Maud his wife he gave to Stephen son of Gerard de Bowes a messuage and 4 acres of land in Caldwell [par. Stanwick], to hold of them and Maud's heirs.¹ His christian name suggests that he was a member of the Longvillers family.²

HENRY SON OF JOHN LONGVILLERS, a minor in the king's wardship, held land in Gargrave in 1363.³ The reference to Gargrave suggests that he may have been the representative of a younger line of the Nottinghamshire family.

HUGH DE LONGVILLERS. He witnessed a charter of William de Neville and his wife Amabel, daughter of Adam son of Swain, 1159–*c.* 1180.⁴ This is not an original, and there is possibly an error for *Heudo*, *i.e.* Eudo de Longvillers I.

RALPH DE LONGVILLERS. In 1226 he was given 16½ acres of land in Badsworth by Colin Quatremars and Hugelina his wife (daughter of Eudo de Longvillers I), to hold for life, with remainder as to 2 acres to his son William and the heirs of his body.⁵

RICHARD DE LONGVILLERS. He was presented for institution to the church of Wharram Percy, 15 Jan. 1272–3; and occurs as rector in the following September.⁶ A Richard de Longvillers, possibly the same man, was the defendant against William son of Alan de Gargrave in 1267–68 for 2 bovates of land in Gargrave.⁷

ROBERT DE LONGVILLERS. He was rector of Badsworth and was granted land in Farnley by Sampson de Farnley; he had two sons each named John, to the elder of whom Thomas son of Sampson granted half that land, and John, styled John de Farnley, conveyed it to Margaret de Neville.⁸ The two brothers made an agreement for the two moieties of the land held by their father in Farnley.⁹ Robert formerly rector of Badsworth, presumably the same man, is mentioned as alive in a deed of *c.* 1246–1254.¹⁰ In the pleadings in the case relating to Badsworth church in 1426¹¹ a list of early presentations is given, and it is stated that a Robert de Longvillers was presented by Ivo de Longvillers *temp.* John; this list is neither complete nor accurate, but if the date is correct Robert could not have been a legitimate son of Eudo II. The most that can be said is that he may have been a son of Eudo I.¹²

¹ *Yorks. Fines*, 1272–1300, p. 43.

² In the pedigree in Plantagenet-Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 444 he is given as a younger brother of John de Longvillers II; no evidence is provided, but he was probably of that generation.

³ *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, xi, no. 312 (p. 247).

⁴ *E.Y.C.*, iii, no. 1681.

⁵ *Yorks. Fines*, 1218–31, p. 90.

⁶ *Reg. Giffard*, pp. 58, 196.

⁷ Plantagenet-Harrison, *op. cit.*, placing him as a brother of John de Longvillers II.

⁸ *Yorks. Deeds*, iii, nos. 87–9.

⁹ *Ibid.*, x, no. 167; two of the witnesses were Geoffrey de Neville (which gives the date *c.* 1268–85) and Thomas son of Sampson de Farnley.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, iii, no. 86.

¹¹ *Fasti Parochiales*, i, 20n.

¹² Plantagenet-Harrison, *op. cit.*, gives him as a brother of Eudo I, which seems impossible.

FOUR ANTIQUARIAN NOTES

By J. S. PURVIS

A YORK ACCOUNT ROLL FOR A.D.1537-1538

The binding of an Act Book in the Diocesan Registry of York (original number A.B.53) had been reinforced, according to a common mediaeval custom, by pasting in loose papers or pages torn from old books wherever such wreckage might be found. In the case here noticed this strengthening document was part of an account roll of some religious house, dated on internal evidence to cover the period from Autumn 1537 to Spring 1537/8, but defective at both ends. The surviving text runs as follows:

Item pro domo barbitonsorum	iiiis.
Item in oblacione misse eorundem	xiid.
Item pro domo cirothecariorum	iiiis. viiid.
Item in oblacione misse eorundem	xiiid.
Item pro anima Johannis Mason	vs.
Item a domino duce de Northfolke	vs.
Item pro vacca vendita quam dedit nobis dominus de Conyers	xis. vd.
Item in exequiis Johannis Mason	xiid.
Item in oblacione misse pro Magistro Johanne Evers	xxid.
Item pro anima Henrici Maltman	xxd.
Item pro anima domini Johannis Bath sacerdotis	xxd.
Item pro animabus Guidonis Dawneye et Johanne consortis sue	iiis. id. militis.
Item in oblacione misse piliariorum	viid.
Item in oblacione misse pertatorum	viid.
Item in elemosina civitatis pro termino Nativitatis	xxs.
Computatur in festo Sancti Thome Apostoli Anno 1537.	

Item pro anima (blank) Dobson	iis. iiid.
Item pro anima Matildis Shawe	iiiis. iiid.
Item pro bono statu venerabilis domini Abbatis Monasterii Sancte Marie	iiiis. iiid.
Item pro anima Elizabeth uxoris Guidonis Mylner	xiid.
Item pro (blank) Worsley	xiid.
Item pro obitu civitatis (?)	xs.
Item in oblacione misse eiusdem	xs.
Item pro anima Willelmi Haxby	xiid.
Item pro furfure vendita	iiiis.
Pro bono statu domini prioris de Burton	iiiis. iiid.
Item pro anima Magistri Johannis Shawe nuper maioris huius civitatis	vs.
Item pro anima Ricardi Harbart	vs.
Item pro anima Ricardi Rawdon	viid.
Item pro anima Johannis Dicson	iiid.
Item pro anima Roberti Jacson	iiiis. iiid.
Item pro anima Ricardi Banys	xiid.
Item pro anima Johannis Nelson	iiid.
Item pro anima Ade Mosar	xiid.
Item pro anima Thome Scotton quondam maioris huius civitatis	viis.
Non quia tenens habetur in materiebus pro reparacionibus	viis.
Item pro anima Magistri Johannis Marshall	xs. pro termino Sancti Martini.
Item pro anima Johannis Malthows sacerdotis	vis.
Item pro anima domini Jo. Roclif militis	xs.
Item pro anima domini Thome Metham et Elizabeth consortis sue	xxis. vi.
Computatum est feria 6 ante festum Annuncionacionis beate Virginis Anno 1537.	

Item pro anima Magistri Joh. Boseby Aldermanni huius civitatis	xs.
Item pro orto quem tenet Robertus More	iiiis. iiid.
Item pro orto quem tenet Willelmus Marshall	iiiis. iiid.
Item pro orto quem tenet Antonius Parke	iiiis. iiid.
Item pro ollis venditis enneis	xvis. iiid.
Item pro anima Thome Scotton quondam maioris huius civitatis	xviiiis. pro toto anno.
Item pro anima Johannis Malthows sacerdotis	viis. iiid.
Item pro anima Johannis Marshall quondam vicecomitis huius civitatis	vs.

Item pro animabus domini Joh. Roclyfe militis et Margarete consortis sue (These last three items 'pro licencia')	xiis.
Item pro anima Joh. Beseby quondam Vicecomitis huius civitatis	vis. viiid.
Item pro anima cuiusdam innominati per quendam Augustinensem.	xxd.
Item pro anima Willelmi Thruslay Computatum est feria 6 (?) ante festum Annunciacionis beate Virginis anno Domini 1537.	xxd.

Item in pixide Sancti Francisci	xiid.
Pro mensa Item pretium (?) piperethe (?) per sex ebdomadas	iiis.
Item pro anima Joh. Stevynson	xiid.
Item a Thoma Shereburn pro ambulando	vd.
Item pro anima Roberti W.	vis. viiid.
Item pro anima Joh. Malthows sacerdotis	vis.
Item pro anima Joh. Marshall nuper Vicecomitis Ebor.	xs.
Item pro anima domine Elizabethe Conyers	iiiis.
Item pro anima Joh. Roclife militis et Margarete consortis sue (The last three items 'pro termino Pentecostes').	xiiis. iiiid.
Item pro domo aput portam altam	viiis.
Item pro anima Magistri Thome Scotton quondam maioris huius civitatis	iiiis.
Item in processione die Sancti Jacobi	xxd.
Item pro bobo statu Katherine Chapman Priorisse de Thykhed Computatum est feria 6 in festo S. Paulini Episcopi et Confessoris Anno domini 1537.	iiis. iiiid.

Item pro animabus Guidonis Dawney militis et Johanne consortis sue	iiiis. vid.
Item pro finali concordia inter conventum et Joh. Bachelar pro domo in Mekilgate	vis. viiid.
Item pro anima Johannis Burton principalis (?) servientis ad clavas	iiis. iiiid.
Item pro limitacione Civitatis (?) pro termino S. Joh. Baptiste	xs.
Item pro anima Magistri Christoferi Stappulton armigeri	vis. viiid.
Item pro anima Elizabethe Cottan	xiid.
Item pro animabus domini Thome Metham militis et Elizabethe consortis sue	xiiiis.
Item pro anima Gilberti Godson	xxd.
Item pro anima Thome Scotton quondam maioris Civitatis Ebor. habe in priore compoto.	iiiis.
Item confraternitite S. Johannis Baptiste	vs.
Item pro bono statu Johanne Baker	iis.
Item pro anima Roberti Lulley	xiid.
Item ex residuo pecunie de Roclife	xviiiis.
Item pro mille tericidiis (?)	xvd.
Pro animabus domini Thome Metham militis et Elizabethe consortis sue	nota prius
Item pro furfure vendito	iiiis.
Item pro drageto vendito	iiiis.
Computatum est feria 6 in festo S. Mathei Apostoli Anno Salutis nostro 1537.	

Item pro anima Ricardi Blancharde	iiiiid.
Item pro obitu conventus	xs.
Item in oblacione misse eiusdem	xis.

Cetera desunt.

There is no indication which would identify the religious house concerned in these accounts. It was certainly a York house, and the number of trade Guilds mentioned is remarkable.

A LONG-LOST YORK WILL

Tudor wills made on active service must be of considerable rarity; when these have a romantic history and also contain a notable illustration of a line in Shakespeare the interest is probably greater still. Such is the will of Thomas Slater of York made during one of Henry VIII's wars with France in 1544. Slater, with other citizens of York, was serving as a soldier in the North of France. They had no doubt been called up as militia men. During the siege of a town which is called 'Mutterell', which is probably a 'Wipers' soldiers' version of Montreuil (sur Somme), Thomas Slater fell sick, and called to his

'cabin' some of his York friends and the Company Clerk, who wrote down his will. This original will still exists amongst the Probate records of York, in remarkably good condition, a little rubbed at the folds and rather grubby on what was the outside; this condition is explained by its history. After making this will at the 'Front', Slater recovered and was given sick leave or discharge to England. He entrusted the will to a fellow-soldier, who no less than thirty years after appeared as a witness in a Consistory Court's case about Slater's estate, for he had apparently forgotten about his first will and had made another. Here is this man's account of what followed the act so long before: 'and afterwards when Thomas Slater for his health's sake got licence to depart into England which was not past a month after his will making he at his departure left the will with this witness, who put the same between the lining and the outside of a pair of his hose which he did then wear, there being a red hose and the other leg a blue. And afterwards when this witness was come home he kept the hose until within these three or four years last past and did not wear the same any more after his coming home and did not remember the will until by chance about three or four years ago did rip and cut in sunder the said hose, at which time finding the will and causing it to be read' . . . (he himself could not read?) . . . 'he did then call to memory that it was Thomas Slater's will which he did make and cause to be written the time and place before deposed.'

The text of this recovered will is now given. Attention should be directed to the instruction for the shooting off of 'ordnances at the tyme of buriall for my soule knelle,' as an exact illustration of the last line in the play of *Hamlet*.

IN THE NAME OF GOD AMEN. In the yere of our Lorde God a thousand five hundreth fortie and fyve the secunde daie of Auguste I Thomas Slater of the Citie of Yorke mylner sick in bodie but hole of mynde and in perfite remembrance praised be God doe ordein make and declare my last will and testament in maner and forme following Furste I bequethe my soule unto God allmightie Our Ladye Sainte Marie and to all the hole companie of Heven and my bodie to be buried where it shall please God to call me to his mercie Also I bequethe unto the hack-butters of the Duke of Northfolkes Campe if yt shall please God here to call me 2 barrells of bere what some ever yt coste and 10s. and they to shoote off all ther ordnances at the tyme of my buriall for my soule knelle Also I bequethe will and give unto Thomas Slater my sonne my howse in Jobbergate and my howse at Holgate ende withe all and singulaer the appurtenances to the same two howses belonging And two horse mills and a Crabbe mill to him and to his heirs. Also I bequethe unto my said sonne Thomas Slater all my leases of my farmehoulde that is to say a farmeholde at Holgate which I have of the Citie of Yorke during 4 yeares and also Stanke Howse with all the closes during 4 yeres Also I bequethe unto my sister Agnes Dunne one red kirtle and a fustian kirtle a gowne a hatt and a white cappe. The residue of my goodes, my dettes paid and my will fulfilled, I give and bequethe unto Thomas Slater my sonne, Anne and Maude Slater my daughters whom I make my full executors of this my last will and testament to dispose for my soule. And John Forman, Robert Eldon, William Thompson talor and Raufe Blades I will be supervisors of this my last will and testament And they to have for their paynes that is to saye to John Forman a buff lether jerkyn and 10s., to Robert Eldon a worsted jacket guarded with velvet and 10s., to William Thompson a gowne lyned with foxe furre and 10s., and to Rauff Blades a doblet of bucke skynnes and 10s. and they to helpe and assiste my childer in deviding my goodes equallie amongst them by their discessions. Records hereof John Tarbotton joiner John Fuyller Anthony Carelell and Richard Gill yomen and everye of them to have 3s. 4d. Daited at Mutterell in Fraunce within the Duke of Northfolkes Campe the daye and yere above wryttyn.

Of the men named above, Tarbutton, Carlile, Thompson, Blades, Eldon and Gill can all be found in the Freeman's Rolls of York; Eldon and Blades were amongst the City Chamberlains in 1537 and 1544 respectively. Blades was entered as an apprentice pewterer in 1517. 'Mutterell' may be intended for 'Montreuil'. It will be remembered that *Hamlet* also had a volley at his funeral – 'Bid the soldiers shoot'.

FUNERAL ENTERTAINMENT—EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Sums paid by David Westropp of Whitby for the funeral expenses of Mrs. Anne Lawson.

Imprimis to Margaret Wood for a dozen quarts of Claret bought of her for							
and used at the Testatrix funerall	..	..	..	..	..	0. 16.	0
Item to Susanna Heath for the like	..	..	..	..	..	0. 16.	0
Item to Mary Biggin for one Dozen and a half of Claret bought of her and							
used at the Deceased's Funerall	..	..	..	..	..	1. 4.	0
Item to Elizabeth Cockfield for one dozen more bought of her and used as							
aforesaid	..	..	..	..	..	1. 12.	0
Item to Elizabeth Cockerell for 7 quarts of wine bought of her and used at							
the Testatrix funerall	..	..	..	..	..	0. 9.	4
Item for a quart of white wine and mace	..	..	..	..	..	0. 1.	6
Item for a pint of sack	..	..	..	..	..	0. 0.	13
Item for a pint of Geneva	..	..	..	..	..	0. 0.	5½
Item for four half Ankers of ale bought and used at the Funerall	..					0. 19.	0
Item for Ale	..	..	..	..	..	0. 1.	2
Item to Anth. Adamson for one Dozen and a half of Claret which as well							
as the aforesaid particulars was bought and used at the Testatrix Funerall	..	..	..	..	..	1. 4.	0
Item to Fra. Salkeld for Gloves for the said Funerall	..	..	..	..	..	0. 13.	6
Item to Mrs. Constable for Sugar Cinnamon and Cloves	..	..	..	..	..	0. 12.	4
Item paid for Lemmons 9d. for Bisketts 6d. for Rosemary 2s. 8d. and for							
Cheese 5s. 3d. all used at the Funerall	..	..	..	..	..	0. 14.	0
Item to Anne Petch for Sugar and Cinnamon used at the Funerall	..					0. 15.	3
Item paid for a Joint of Meat and a pound of butter then used	..	..	..	..	..	0. 1.	9
Item paid for the Coffin for the Testatrix	..	..	..	..	..	1. 7.	0
Item for white bread to the Ringers	..	..	..	..	..	0. 0.	2
Item paid for tolling the Great Bell and Ringing	..	..	..	..	..	0. 7.	0
Item paid to John Baker the Parish Clerk for Inviting to the Deceased's							
Funeral and for the Great Bell both this and the forgoeing being the							
Customary Fees for the parish	..	..	..	..	..	0. 5.	0
Item paid to the man for setting out the Psalm as the Corps were carried to							
the Church pursuant to the Testatrix request	..	..	..	..	..	0. 1.	0
Item paid for burying in Linnen it being the Testatrix desire to be buried therein	..					2. 10.	0
Item paid for a Silk hood for her to be buried in pursuant to her directions	..					0. 3.	0
Item paid to George Gill's maid for making the rooms ready in her Mrs' house							
for people to sitt in there and for cleaning of them	..	..	..	..	..	0. 1.	0
Item paid for Candles	..	..	..	..	..	0. 0.	6
Item paid for pipes and tabacco	..	..	..	..	..	0. 0.	3
Item paid for white sugar	..	..	..	..	..	0. 0.	2½
Item paid for Mace and Cinnamon	..	..	..	..	..	0. 4.	3

Two pennyworth of bread for this intolerable deal of sack!

STRANGE DOINGS BY ORDINATION CANDIDATES AT OXFORD

Ordination Papers of Francis Philips Hulme—Letter to the Archbishop dated 16 March 1825.

May it please your Grace

As I am informed by Mr. Porteus your Graces secretary that in addition to the County testimonials I lately forwarded, College ones are likewise necessary, I am under the necessity of trespassing for a few moments on your Graces time to state the reasons why I have them not to send, and I hope that you will have the kindness to excuse the apparent puerility of the story, as I hope it may in some manner tend to my exculpation.

Within a few days of my completing my residence at Oriel I was supping with a friend at Christ Church where I met a fellow collegian and old Schoolfellow; he became so inebriated in the course of the evening that I could not persuade him to leave the party before 12 o'clock and was myself over-persuaded to stay to take care of him. At length he started from the rooms and plunged into a pool that stands in the middle of the larger Quadrangle; this in some measure sobered him; but as he was without his college dress and in a very disreputable state, he entreated that I would save him from disgrace by getting him into the college over the wall: this I did, and as he mentioned my name in getting over, I was discovered by one of the Fellows who was, I suppose, near the spot. I say, *I suppose*, because I was not spoken to untill the next day, when as I could not deny the fact or palliate it, except by implicating my friend, I was desired to take my name off the books.

‘FOREIGN’ EXCHANGES IN THE EAST RIDING

By the REV. N. A. H. LAWRENCE

The following is a list of ‘foreign’ exchanges made with parishes in the East Riding – that is, exchanges with benefices outside Yorkshire. The list includes exchanges made with such parishes as were formerly in York diocese but in a different county such as Nottingham or those parts of Lancashire formerly in the Richmond Archdeaconry. It has not been continued beyond the year 1662.

The exchanges here noted number 148, and are spread over some thirty counties in addition to two abroad. Of these 148 exchanges, forty are not recorded in the York registers. There are several possible explanations for such omissions, but the following is the most probable. When an exchange had been arranged between A.B. of York diocese and C.D. of, say, Lincoln diocese, and the consent of the respective patrons and Ordinaries had been obtained, they could be instituted in their respective new parishes. Or they could both be instituted by the Archbishop of York, by commission from the Bishop of Lincoln. Or they could both be instituted by the Bishop of Lincoln, by commission from the Archbishop of York. In the last two cases the newly instituted incumbent would only need to be inducted into his new parish. The mandate for induction was sometimes noted in the ‘home’ register. Sometimes they seem not to have troubled to enter it. Many of the incumbents who appear in the lists without an institution date, known only through the institution entry of their successors, were probably instituted in this manner, and it is a matter of some difficulty to trace them, as they could have been instituted anywhere in England.

Of the forty institutions not recorded at York, no less than twenty-six are found at Lincoln, where such exchanges are excellently indexed. Another has been found at Norwich, through the kind offices of Mr. T. F. Barton. A search of other episcopal registers would doubtless yield more.

Some of the exchanges are noticed from Letters Patent. Experience shows that quite a number of Crown presentations remained without effect, as did (less frequently) Papal provisions. The fact that a presentation was made was not necessarily an indication that there was a vacancy. Papal provisions particularly were sometimes lamentably out of date, and one case has come to notice of a provision made by the Pope to Hornsea sixteen years after the vacancy had been filled.

The occurrence of an induction by itself in the registers is often an indication of an institution performed outside the diocese. One example will suffice. In 1520 Henry VIII presented one Maurice Byrchynshawe to Walkington. His institution has not been found and it might be presumed that this was just another Crown presentation which had not taken effect. But on 20 Nov. 1522, Wolsey’s register records the induction of one Christopher Wilson to Walkington, suggesting that possibly he had been instituted elsewhere by exchange. We are therefore not altogether surprised to discover that Byrchynshawe was instituted to Berrynarbor, Devon, ‘*on the resignation of Christopher Wyllson*’ on 12 Nov. 1522 . . . only eight days before Wilson appears in Walkington for his induction. Unfortunately the Exeter register does not give the certificate of exchange which would clinch the matter, but the coincidence of names and dates makes it virtually certain that this was an exchange.

A survey of the dates shows that the peak period for exchanges was from about 1360 to about 1420. Ninety-two of these fall within those limits. Before 1360 there are thirty-seven, the earliest recorded here being in 1319. From 1420 to the end of the century there are only seventeen, and one example each from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It should be emphasised that such a list has no finality and more exchanges may come to light.

The York Chapter Acts, here abbreviated as Act. Cap., are numbered according to Mr. Train's system in his lists of Nottinghamshire Clergy (*Thoroton Society Record Series*, Vol. xx, p. xi). References to Episcopal registers are always to York unless otherwise stated.

BERKSHIRE

South Moreton – Skirpenbeck	..	..	1337 (Reg. Wyvile, Sarum, ii, f. 52).
South Moreton – Sutton (Holderness)	..	..	1499 (Reg. Rotherham, i, f. 156d).
Wantage – Rowley	..	..	1408/9 (Reg. Bowet, ii, f. 17d).
Windsor (prebend) – Cottingham	..	..	1388/9 (C.P.R. 1385–89, p. 538).
(Institution not found, but the exchange did take place.)			
Wolverton – Market Weighton	..	..	1346 (Act. Cap., iv, f. 27).

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

Haversham – Everingham	..	..	1372 (C.P.R. 1370–74, p. 207).
(Exchange not verified.)			
Sherington – Langton	..	..	1405 (Reg. Repingdon, Lincoln, f. 426d).
Wootton – Driffield	..	..	1418 (Act. Cap., xi, f. 98).

CAMBRIDGESHIRE

Little Downham – Nunburnholme	..	..	1402 (Reg. Scrope, f. 65d).
Thriplow – Saltmarsh	..	..	1396 (Reg. Arundel, f. 51).

CHESHIRE

Malpas (moiety) – Brandesburton	1404 (Reg. Burghill, Coventry and Lichfield, f. 91d).
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CORNWALL

Phillack – Cherry Burton	1394 (Reg. Brantingham, Exeter, i, f. 151; C.P.R. 1391–96, p. 448).
St. Crantock (prebend) – Nunburnholme	..	..	1347 (Reg. Zouche, f. 185; Reg. Grandisson, Exeter, iii, f. 59d).

CUMBERLAND

Bootle – Kirby Underdale	..	..	1333/4 (Reg. Melton, f. 456).
Bootle – Skirpenbeck	..	..	1366 (Reg. Thoresby, f. 218d).
Gosforth – Thorpe Bassett	..	..	1434 (Reg. Kempe, f. 194).
Gosforth – Sigglescliffe	..	..	1471 (C.P.R. 1467–77, p. 267).
(Exchange not verified.)			
Uldale – Huggate	..	..	1375 (Reg. A. Neville, i, f. 53d).
Workington – Sutton-on-Derwent	1473/4 (Reg. G. Neville, i, f. 161d).

DERBYSHIRE

Bradley – Fridaythorpe	1417 (Act. Cap., xi, f. 92d).
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DEVONSHIRE

Berrynarbor – Walkington	1522 (Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, ii, part ii, 1122; Reg. Voysey, Exeter, i, f. 14; Reg. Wolsey, f. 67d).
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(Notification of exchange and the institution of one rector at Walkington are missing, but it is virtually certain that this exchange did take place.)

Charlton – Brantingham	..	..	1397 (Reg. Stafford, Exeter, ii, f. 33).
(Exchange probably included Deanery of Stafford.)			
Lifton – Scrayingham	..	..	1383 (Reg. A. Neville i, f. 64d).

DORSETSHIRE

Dorchester (Holy Trinity) – Withernsea	..	..	1385 (Reg. Ergham, Sarum, f. 70; C.P.R. 1385–89, p. 42).
Stour Provost – Beeford	..	..	1491 (Reg. Rotherham, i, f. 157).

DURHAM

Aukland (prebend) – Hornsea	..	..	1366 (Reg. Thoresby, f. 218d).
Boldon – Welton	..	..	1430 (Reg. Kempe, f. 351d).
Chester-le-Street (Deanery) – Lockington	..	..	1408 (Reg. Sed. Vac., f. 295).
Darlington – Walkington	..	..	1397/8 (Reg. Sed. Vac., f. 218).
Durham, St. Nicholas – Walkington	..	..	1396 (Reg. Arundel, f. 51).
Egglescliffe, and Musgrave (Westmorland) – Walkington. (Three-way exchange)	..	..	1349 (Reg. Zouche, f. 201).
Gainford – Foxholes	..	..	1428/9 (Reg. Kempe, f. 339).
Great Aycliffe – Eastrington	..	..	1330 (Reg. Melton, f. 490).
Heighington – Folkton	..	..	1401 (Reg. Scrope, f. 62).
Long Newton – Hotham	..	..	1319 (Reg. Melton, f. 277d).
Long Newton – Thorpe Bassett	..	..	1356/7 (Reg. Thoresby, f. 194d).

DURHAM (continued)

Long Newton – Londesborough	..	..	1344 (Mandate for induction, Reg. Zouche, f. 178d; probably instituted at Durham).
Norton – Settrington	..	..	1361 (Reg. Thoresby, f. 204).
Norton (prebend) – Catwick	..	..	1383 (C.P.R. 1381–85, p. 227; possibly instituted at Durham; the exchange took place).
Stainton-le-Street – Nafferton	..	..	1371 (Reg. Thoresby, f. 227).
Stanhope – Bubwith (moiety)	..	..	1323 (Reg. Melton, f. 291d).
Washington – Walkington	..	..	1332 (Reg. Melton, f. 493).
Whitburn – Bubwith (moiety)	..	..	1328 (Reg. Melton, f. 567d).
Whitburn – Lockington	..	..	1410 (Reg. Bowet, i, f. 175).

ESSEX

Chelmsford, St. Mary – Scrayingham	..	..	1474/5 (Reg. T. Kempe, London, f. 149d).
Colne Wakes – Etton	..	..	1367 (Reg. Thoresby, f. 219d).
Littlebury – Foxholes	1377 (Reg. A. Neville, i, f. 58).

HAMPSHIRE

Bentworth – Wressle	1341/2 (Reg. Sed. Vac., f. 64d).
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HERTFORDSHIRE

Tring – Brantingham	1344 (Reg. Bek, Lincoln, f. 109d).
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HUNTINGDONSHIRE

Huntingdon, St. Mary – Kirby Grindalythe	1417 (Reg. Bowet, i, f. 186d).
Yaxley – Brantingham	1347/8 (Reg. Gynwell, Lincoln, f. 390d).

KENT

Biddendon – Lockington	1398 (Reg. Scrope, f. 55).
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LANCASHIRE

Kirkby Ireleth – Westow	1446 (Reg. Kempe, f. 57).
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LEICESTERSHIRE

Harby – Beverley, St. Nicholas	1356 (Reg. Gynwell, Lincoln, f. 366d).
Norton-juxta-Twycross – Roos	..	..	1399 (Reg. Scrope, f. 57d).
Seagrave – West Heslerton	..	..	1408 (Reg. Bowett, i, f. 1).
Sharnford – Aldbrough	..	..	1357 (Reg. Gynwell, Lincoln, f. 368d).
Staunton Harold – Nunburnholme	..	..	1446 (Reg. Kempe, f. 57).

LINCOLNSHIRE

Barton-on-Humber – Withernsea	..	..	1440 (Reg. Kempe, f. 194d).
Beesby – Routh	..	..	1371 (Reg. Thoresby, f. 227).
Binbrook – Hotham	..	..	1350 (Reg. Zouche, f. 205).
Blyborough – Preston-in-Holderness	..	..	1415 (Act. Cap., xi, f. 82d).
Brant Broughton – Middleton-on-the-Wolds	..	..	1390 (Reg. Buckingham, Lincoln, ii, f. 97d).
Brattleby – Market Weighton	..	..	1410 (Act. Cap., xi, f. 63d).
Broughton-by-Brigg – Catton	..	..	1385 (Reg. Buckingham, Lincoln, ii, f. 97d).
Colsterworth – Rise	..	..	1411 (Reg. Repingdon, Lincoln, f. 50).
Eagle – Helperthorpe	..	..	1394 (Reg. Buckingham, Lincoln, ii, f. 74d).
Edlington – Barmston	..	..	1364 (Reg. Thoresby, f. 210d).
Fiskerton – Eastrington	..	..	1410/1 (Reg. Bowet, i, f. 275).
Gate Burton – Folkton	..	..	1412 (Reg. Bowet, i, f. 24d).
Haxey – Wharram Percy	..	..	1401 (Reg. Beaufort, Lincoln, f. 152).
Heapham – Foxholes	..	..	1375 (Reg. A. Neville, i, f. 53).
Kettleby – Reighton	..	..	1420 (Reg. Bowet, i, f. 193d).
Kirmingham – Bubwith (moiety)	..	..	1388 (Reg. Buckingham, Lincoln, ii, f. 37d).
Knaith – North Newbald	..	..	1410 (Act. Cap., xi, f. 62d).
Limber Magna – Preston-in-Holderness	..	..	1419/0 (Act. Cap., xi, f. 114).
Lincoln (Whitwell's Chantry in the Cathedral) – Goxhill	..	..	1407 (Reg. Sed. Vac., f. 286).
Lincoln, St. Peter at Pleas – Goxhill	..	..	1407 (Reg. Buckingham, Lincoln, ii, f. 29d).
Lincoln, prebend of Empingham – Bainton	..	..	1433 (Reg. Kempe, f. 11d).
Ludborough – Scrayingham	..	..	1418 (Reg. Bowet, i, f. 183).
North Coates – Nafferton	..	..	1360 (Reg. Gynwell, Lincoln, f. 143).
Owmby-by-Spital – Preston-in-Holderness	..	..	1396 (Reg. Buckingham, Lincoln, ii, f. 118).
Rauceby – Elloughton	..	..	1391 (Act. Cap., x, f. 18).
South Reston – Hutton Cranswick	..	..	1408 (Reg. Bowet, i, f. 10).
Scarcho – Etton	..	..	1331 (Reg. Melton, f. 314).
Sedgebrook – Hotham	..	..	1351 (Reg. Zouche, f. 208).
Sedgebrook – Hotham	..	..	1362/3 (Reg. Thoresby, f. 208).
Sedgebrook – Rowley	..	..	1400 (Reg. Scrope, f. 60).
Somerby-by-Brigg – Thwing	..	..	1340 (Reg. Bek, Lincoln, f. 13).

LINCOLNSHIRE (continued)

Stenigot – Wold Newton	..	..	1417 (Reg. Bowet, i, f. 187d).
Stickney – Brandesburton	..	..	1402/3 (Reg. Beaufort, Lincoln, f. 153).
Welby – Kirby Underdale	..	..	1335 (Reg. Burghersh, Lincoln, f. 60).
Westborough – Catton	..	..	1380/1 (Reg. A. Neville, i, f. 62).
Wilsford – Everingham	..	..	1389 (Reg. Arundel, f. 18).
Winterton – Full Sutton	..	..	1368/9 (Reg. Thoresby, f. 222d).
Wold Newton – Nunburnholme	..	..	1359 (Rev. Gynwell, Lincoln, f. 138d).
Wold Newton – Leven	..	..	1363 (Reg. Buckingham, Lincoln, i, f. 3)
Wold Newton – Nunburnholme	1428 (Reg. Kempe, f. 335d).

MIDDLESEX

Archdeaconry of Middlesex – Bainton	1443 (Reg. Kempe, f. 49d).
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NORFOLK

Bawsey – Lund	1404 (Reg. Scrope, f. 167).
Cressingham Magna – Settrington	1362 (Reg. Thoresby, f. 206d).
Mannington – Full Sutton	..	..	1382/3 (Norwich Institution Book vi, f. 87).

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Brington – Everingham	..	..	1390/1 (Reg. Buckingham, Lincoln, ii, f. 157d).
Bugbrooke – Rowley	..	..	1470 (Reg. Chadworth, Lincoln, f. 191).
Cotterstock (chantry) – Etton	..	..	1439 (Reg. Alnwick, Lincoln, f. 124).
Courteenhall – Langton	..	..	1365 (Reg. Thoresby, f. 214).
Northborough – Sproatley	..	..	1335 (Reg. Burghersh, Lincoln, f. 211).
Northborough – Rowley	..	..	1419 (Reg. Bowet, i, f. 192).
Rockingham – Hornsea	..	..	1366 (Reg. Thoresby, f. 218d).
Stoke Albany – Hotham	..	..	1390 (Reg. Buckingham, Lincoln, ii, f. 167).
Titchmarsh – Welton	..	..	1390 (Reg. Buckingham, Lincoln, ii, f. 167).

NORTHUMBERLAND

Archdeaconry of Northumberland – Lockington			1405 (Reg. Sed. Vac., f. 245d).
Ingram – North Grimston	..	..	1638 (Act. Cap., xviii, f. 15d).
Kirknewton – Burythorpe	..	..	1346/7 (Reg. Zouche, f. 184).
Morpeth – Folkton	..	..	1402 (Reg. Scrope, f. 65d).
Morpeth – Beeford	..	..	1404 (Reg. Scrope, f. 67d).

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

Blyth – Wharram Percy	..	..	1416/7 (Reg. Bowet, i, f. 186).
Carlton-in-Lindrick – Wharram Percy	..	..	1386/7 (Reg. A. Neville, i, f. 85).
Clarborough – Burnby	..	..	1405 (Reg. Sed. Vac., f. 245d).
Clayworth – Brandesburton	..	..	1408 (Reg. Sed. Vac., f. 292).
Dunham-on-Trent – Preston-in-Holderness	..	..	1363 (Act. Cap., vii, f. 53d).
East Drayton – Garton-in-Holderness	..	..	1381 (Reg. A. Neville, i, f. 63d).
Edwinstowe – Owthorne	..	..	1356 (Reg. Sed. Vac. 'F', f. 85).

(The reference is to a lost volume of the Chapter Acts. Torre is now the only authority for this, but the exchange did take place.)

Edwinstowe – Skirpenbeck	..	..	1404 (Reg. Scrope, f. 67d).
Finningley – South Dalton	..	..	1346 (Reg. Zouche, f. 183d).
Grove – Holme-on-Spalding-Moor	..	..	1431 (Reg. Kempe, f. 357d).
Kneesall – North Cave	..	..	1356 (Reg. Thoresby, f. 194d).
Newark (chantry) – Melton (chantry)	..	..	1397 (Reg. Waldby, f. 8).
Normanton-upon-Soar – Burton Agnes	..	..	1350 (Reg. Zouche, f. 204).
Ruddington – Sproatley	..	..	1348 (Reg. Zouche, f. 192d).
Sibthorpe (chantry) – Goxhill	..	..	1397 (Reg. Waldby, f. 5).
Southwell (Hospital) – Catwick	..	..	1364 (Reg. Thoresby, f. 209d).
Staunton – Sculcoates	..	..	1372 (Reg. Thoresby, f. 228).
Sturton-en-le-Steeple – South Dalton	..	..	1346 (Reg. Zouche, f. 183d).
Sutton-by-Retford – Burnby	..	..	1391 (Reg. Arundel, f. 26).
Sutton-on-Trent – Kirkburn	..	..	1409 (Reg. Bowet, i, f. 168).

OXFORDSHIRE

Rotherfield Peppard – Cherry Burton	1383 (Reg. Buckingham, Lincoln, ii, f. 297d).
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RUTLANDSHIRE

Glaston – Thwing	1350 (Reg. Zouche, f. 205).
Tickencote – North Newbald	1406 (Reg. Repingdon, Lincoln, f. 225).

SOMERSETSHIRE

Hinton St. George – Hotham	1335/6 (Reg. Shrewsbury, Bath and Wells, Canterbury and York Society, p. 259).
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STAFFORDSHIRE

Stafford (Deanery) – Brantingham 1396/7 (see under Charlton, Devon; the C.P.R. reference shows that the Deanery as well as the church of Charlton was included in the exchange, but this is not mentioned in the Exeter records).

SURREY

Merstham – Scrayingham 1325 (Reg. Melton, f. 564).
Southwark, St. Olave – Burton Agnes .. 1363 (Reg. Thoresby, f. 209).
Streatham – Sculcoates 1352 (Reg. Zouche, f. 213d).

WESTMORLAND

Dufton – Thwing 1409 (Reg. Bowet, i, f. 171d).
Musgrave, see Eggescliffe (Durham) above.

WILTSHIRE

Salisbury (prebend of Cherminster Bere) – Cottingham 1435/6 (Reg. Kempe, f. 15d).

WORCESTERSHIRE

Evesham – Etton 1337 (Reg. Melton, f. 326).

FRANCE

Arras (prebend) – Cottingham .. 1362 (Reg. Thoresby, f. 206).
Beauvais (prebend) – Hornsea .. 1331 (C.P.L. ii, p. 326)
(Presentation only, but the exchange did take place.)

THE PAINTED GLASS IN GRAY'S COURT, YORK

By J. T. BRIGHTON

ADDENDUM

Since the article on the painted glass in Gray's Court was submitted to the last volume of this Journal it has been decided to clean and relead some of the more worn and cracked panes of glass by Henry Gyles. Mr. Laisenby of the Minster Yard was approached and upon viewing the panes said he had seen similar oddments in the workshop. In due course he discovered three more panels of seventeenth century glass. Two of these matched the two pairs of Hitch monograms on the staircase of Gray's Court. The initials and the dates in both cases were identical though the spray of leaves over each of the dated monograms was slightly different in style.



The third pane was a flower piece (see illustration) with a tulip in the Dutch manner. This is now to be inserted into the blank space in the alcove window alongside the other seventeenth century flower piece. The writer has not seen any other examples of flower pieces by Gyles, though a fragment with a similarly striped tulip is to be seen in the south aisle of St. Helen's Church, York.

This interesting discovery of three further pieces (one of the monograms is in a fragmentary state) does not help to answer the question of the origins of the whole group. Presumably the present seventeenth century glass in Gray's Court came from the Minster workshop at the turn of this century but whether it had been brought from Leathley Hall at some previous date is not known. It is just conceivable that the glass was never put into the Hall and was among the many pieces and oddments that Ralph Thoresby saw in Gyles' house after the artist's death in 1709.¹ The fact that the glass is so miscellaneous in its nature may support this, and some of the panes – especially the monograms in triplicate – may have been trial pieces or pieces never despatched.

What happened to all Gyles' materials on his death is not known. In his will he left some pictures to his nephew, Samuel Smith, the Toft Green bell-founder, whilst Ralph Thoresby certainly took some of the artist's drawings and cartoons for his collection. It seems very likely that some of the glass and glass-making equipment came into the possession of William Peckitt who eventually appears to have moved into Gyles' house on Micklegate Hill.

¹ *Diary*, II, 62.

Peckitt's materials were in turn sold by auction following the death of his daughter Harriet, aged ninety, in 1866. The Gyles glass may have been purchased there. Certainly John Ward Knowles, the Stonegate glazier, attended the sale and bought some Peckitt relics and at least one piece of glass by Henry Gyles.¹ He in turn passed them on to his glass-painting son, the late J. A. Knowles, who bequeathed some of his Peckitt collection to the Victoria and Albert Museum.

It is true then that glass paintings have tended to circulate in York and this may well have been the case with the Gyles glass now in Gray's Court and the newly discovered associated pieces.

¹ This is an heraldic crest of a cockerel (of the Ingram family?) in the lunette of Miss Knowles' house in Stonegate.

THE SAVING OF A YORKSHIRE ESTATE: GEORGE LANE-FOX AND BRAMHAM PARK

By J. T. WARD

Several classic examples of aristocratic indebtedness in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have attracted the attention of historians. The fall of the 2nd Duke of Buckingham and Chandos was a melancholy warning to Victorian landowners during his own lifetime; through politics, entertainment, collecting, land buying and litigation he had contrived to accumulate over £1,500,000 of debt before his financial collapse in 1848. The 1st Marquess of Ailesbury reached an almost equally dangerous position in the 1830's, through rash building and large family provisions, but was saved by careful trustees. Another Yorkshire landowner, the 6th Duke of Devonshire, spent so much on buildings that even he, a great magnate, was compelled to sell his East Riding estate; he left debts of £1,000,000 on his death in 1857. Family charges amounted to over half of the 7th Duke of Bedford's encumbrance of over half a million in 1839; and in the 'forties debt charges consumed £20,000 of Ailesbury's gross income of £54,000, £60,000 of Devonshire's £200,000, £45,000 of the 3rd Earl Fitzwilliam's £150,000 and £26,000 of the 2nd Earl of Durham's £40,000 (he having inherited £635,000 of debt in 1841).¹

Such debts arose from many causes, but few led to the tragedy of the Buckingham sales. Careful Victorian retrenchment and an aversion to Regency profligacy saved some estates, while others were aided by rearrangements of family portions, large-scale agricultural improvements and the rise in mineral and urban incomes. Many new debts were incurred not for traditional gambling, entertainment or political purposes but for ventures which themselves promoted an increase of income. Thus Sir James Graham of Netherby owed a total of £200,000 to the Equitable Assurance Society by 1838, but used the debt partly to consolidate previous borrowing at a lower rate of interest and partly to improve his estate. And the 7th Duke of Devonshire alternately supported and encumbered his great rural properties by his pioneer industrial ventures at Barrow.² There were many similar examples.

The purpose of the present paper is to examine the problems facing the owners of a 'second-line' estate in the nineteenth century and the methods by which they were solved.

I.

The Lane-Fox family of Bramham Park near Wetherby was descended from William Fox, a landowner at Grete in Worcestershire in the reign of Edward IV. In the seventeenth century Joseph Fox served with the Army in Ireland, where he married Thomasine Blayney, the widow of Sir Henry Pierce and daughter of the 2nd Lord Blayney. His son Henry (d. 1719) first married Jane Oliver of Clonodfoy and in 1691 established the family's fortune by marrying secondly Frances Lane, the daughter of Sir George Lane of Tulske, the Irish Secretary and later 1st Lord Lanesborough. Henry Fox's son George succeeded to the large Lane estates on the death of his uncle James, the 2nd Viscount, and in 1751 assumed by Act of Parliament the additional surname of Lane.

¹ See F. M. L. Thompson, 'The End of a Great Estate' (*Economic History Review*, 2nd Ser., viii, 1, Aug. 1955), 'English Landownership: The Ailesbury Trust, 1832-56' (*ibid.*, 2nd Ser., xi, 1, Aug. 1958), 'English Great Estates in the 19th century, 1790-1914' (*Contributions to the First International Conference of Economic History* (Paris, 1960), pp. 385-97), *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (1963), *passim*; D. and E. Spring, 'The Fall of the Grenvilles, 1844-1848' (*The Huntington Library Quarterly*, xix, 2, Feb. 1956); David Spring, 'English Landownership in the Nineteenth Century: A Critical Note' (*Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd Ser., ix, 3, Apr. 1957), 'The Earls of Durham and the Great Northern Coalfield, 1830-1880' (*Canadian Hist. Rev.*, xxxiii, 3, Sept. 1952), 'The English Landed Estate in the Age of Coal and Iron, 1830-1880' (*Journal of Economic History*, xi, 1, Winter 1951).

² Graham MSS., by courtesy of Sir Fergus Graham, Bt., K.B.E.; S. Pollard, 'Barrow in Furness and the Seventh Duke of Devonshire' (*Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd Ser., viii, 2, Dec. 1955).

George Fox-Lane (?1696–1773) was Tory M.P. for Hindon in 1734–1741 and for York in 1742–1761. He further enlarged the family's property in 1731, when he married Harriet Benson, the daughter and heiress of Robert, Lord Bingley. Robert Benson was a self-made Tory (and later Whig) who sat for Thetford in 1702–1705 and for York in 1705–1713. He became a Commissioner of the Treasury in 1710 and was Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1711 to 1713, a Privy Councillor in 1711–1714 and from 1730, Queen Anne's Ambassador to Madrid in 1713–1714 and Treasurer of the Household for King George II in 1730–1731. Queen Anne's favour led to a Crown grant of land on Bramham Moor, where Benson built his great mansion in the first decade of the eighteenth century. Created a Baron in 1713, Benson supplemented official receipts by acting as a director of the South Sea Company from 1711 to 1715.

On his marriage, Fox-Lane succeeded to most of the Benson estates; Harriet brought him £100,000 and an annual income of £7000. In May 1762 he was himself created Lord Bingley, taking his title from the township where the Bensons had long been lords of the manor – although the Bingley property had passed for life to Benson's natural daughter, Lady Goodricke. Bingley's only legitimate son, Robert, born in 1732, succeeded to the York seat in 1761 – after failing in 1758. Although twice married – to Mildred Bouchier of Benningborough and to Lady Bridget Henley (daughter of the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Northington) – he died without issue in May 1768. According to Horace Walpole, General Burgoyne was Bingley's illegitimate son. But when the Baron died in 1773, the title became extinct.¹

Lord Bingley devised his lands in England and Ireland to his 15-year-old nephew James, the son of Sackville Fox and Ann Holloway, who also inherited the Lanes' Irish estates and name. A man of the world, scholar, raconteur, traveller and philanthropist, Fox-Lane sat in the Commons for Horsham as a supporter of his friend William Pitt, who offered to revive the Bingley peerage for him; Fox-Lane, however, was proud of belonging to 'one of the very few old English families, [being] a commoner (not a trader) of high birth and fortune'. Unfortunately for that fortune, he became a friend of the Prince Regent. Another Yorkshire squire, Sir George Wombwell, 3rd baronet, was said to be the only friend of 'Prinny' who was not financially ruined by the association.²

Fox-Lane married the hon. Marcia Pitt, daughter of the 1st Lord Rivers, in July 1789 and died in April 1821, leaving four sons and one daughter. The entailed estates passed to the eldest son, George (who was generally named Lane-Fox), but £300,000 was settled on the widow and the younger children, William Augustus, Sackville Walter, Thomas Henry and Marcia Bridget. Fox-Lane's wife died in London in August 1822, and it was reported that property worth between £8,000 and £10,000 a year then passed to her family. William (1796–1832) served in the Grenadier Guards and married Lady Caroline Douglas; his second son succeeded to the Wiltshire property of Lord Rivers and assumed the name of Pitt-Rivers by Royal Licence in 1880. Sackville entered politics as a Tory and in 1826 married Lady Charlotte Osborne, the only daughter of the 6th Duke of Leeds. Thomas entered holy orders and died without issue; and Marcia married the hon. Edward Stourton, second son of the 16th Lord Stourton, dying in 1826, two years before her husband was created a baronet, as Sir Edward Vavasour of Hazlewood Castle.³ In general, the younger children were financially secure.

George Lane-Fox, who succeeded to the estates at the age of 28, was a sporting squire who represented Beverley and Pontefract before retiring from politics in 1841 because of ill-health. He was active in Yorkshire society as a Yeomanry major and a Deputy

¹ G. E. C(ockayne), *The Complete Peerage*, ii (1912), 177–178; *Burke's Landed Gentry* (1898 edn.), i, 545; R. V. Taylor, *Biographia Leodiensis* (1865), 173–174; Sir Lewis Namier and John Brooke, *The House of Commons, 1754–1790* (1964), ii, 466–467, iii, 19; J. T. Ward, 'A Nineteenth Century Yorkshire Estate: Ribston and the Dent Family' (*Yorks. Arch. Jour.*, xli, 1, 1963); on Bramham Park see N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England. Yorkshire: The West Riding* (Penguin Books, 1959), 141–143.

² Burke (1898), *op. cit.*, i, 545; Taylor, *op. cit.*, 283–286, 445; J. Wilkinson, *Worthies, Families and Celebrities of Barnsley and the District* (1883), 114–118.

³ Taylor, *op. cit.*, 285–286; Burke (1898), *op. cit.*, i, 545, 1260; *Burke's Peerage* (1845 edn.), 1006–1007.

Lieutenant. But agriculture was his principal interest, and he was keenly concerned in the movement for agricultural improvements. He started the annual shows at Bramham Park and was a vice-president of the Wetherby Agricultural Society. He improved the new lands enclosed by his father under the Bramham Enclosure Act of 1807 and spent considerable sums – some £1300 in 1826, £1000 in 1827, £2500 in 1828, £4300 in 1829 and £3300 in 1830 – on estate repairs and improvements.¹ But his good intentions were not enough and his affairs became increasingly difficult, in several ways.

II.

The young squire does not appear to have been unduly rash in his expenditure, judged by the standards of his time. Certainly he found it necessary to take a London house for the Season. His father had paid £630 *per annum* for 45 Dover Street for six years from 1808, and the family later took a lease in Old Bond Street. But gentry with much smaller properties had London houses. Undoubtedly, the maintenance of Bramham Park and its great gardens was costly; but when the mansion was ravaged by fire in July 1828 the squire moved to a smaller house on the estate. Lane-Fox sought to benefit from new sources of income. Since 1797 the family had drawn mineral rents from Allerton Bywater colliery. In 1821 Lane-Fox sold about £10,000-worth of timber, and in the following year he leased his lead mines at Rimmington for 21 years. In 1823 he even called in surveyors to report on the possibility of minerals under Bramham Park itself. And he held shares in the Aire & Calder and Calder & Hebble Navigations, the Barnsley Canal and the Leeds & Liverpool Canal (which had bought land from his father).² Yet his financial position gradually worsened.

Part of the trouble lay in the family's domestic affairs. James Fox-Lane's will had starved the estate of capital by lavishly providing for his wife and younger children. This difficulty continued. In 1814 George Lane-Fox had married Georgiana Henrietta, the daughter of Edward Pery Buckley of Minestead Lodge and his wife, Lady Georgiana West. They had one son and two daughters, but the marriage failed and in 1824 a deed of separation was negotiated, under which Mrs. Lane-Fox received an annuity of £500. Lane-Fox and his wife parted bitterly, but in January 1826 Lane-Fox proposed a reconciliation. Mrs. Arbuthnot advised her friend to accept the offer, but to make certain that the financial arrangements were satisfactory. However, by 1827 Mrs. Lane-Fox appeared to be accepting the long-continued blandishments of the 6th Lord Chesterfield, and Mrs. Arbuthnot, now much less friendly, thought he was 'wasting himself'. By 1829 Chesterfield and Mrs. Lane-Fox were virtually living together, offended the Duke of Wellington by staying unchaperoned at Walmer Castle and caused a stir in High Society by issuing invitations to the Doncaster races. Mrs. Arbuthnot 'would not act the *Madame Commode*' and now found Mrs. Lane-Fox 'a person . . . to whom it was impossible to give advice'. Although far from prudent herself, she wished her contemporaries would '*pull up* a little and set their faces against the barefaced liaisons that were becoming the fashion'; Chesterfield's arrangement was 'too bad'. Other social gossips were equally shocked. Thomas Creevey met the couple at the Duchess of St. Albans' in 1828 and at Lady Sefton's (where they 'came together and sat together all night', among other 'most notorious and profligate women') in 1829. And in October 1830, when Chesterfield surprised everyone by announcing his marriage to the hon. Anne Forester, it was Charles Greville who carried the news to the harshly-rejected mistress. Even Mrs. Arbuthnot was angry at Chesterfield's 'barbarous' act, believing that he had dropped Mrs. Lane-Fox because when she finally yielded and for two years lived with him he had 'felt the inconveniencies of his attachment' through Society avoiding him. Mrs. Lane-Fox could only affect not 'to care a pin' in public, but actually protested even to Wellington. She consoled herself with the friendship of the Prince of Orange, and by 1834 her house, noted Greville,

¹ Lane-Fox MSS. in Leeds City Library, by courtesy of Colonel F. G. W. Lane-Fox, to whom I am indebted for further information.

² Lane-Fox MSS., *passim*; J. T. Ward, 'West Riding Landowners and Mining in the Nineteenth Century' (*Yorkshire Bulletin of Economic and Social Research*, xv, 1, May 1963).

had become 'the great rendezvous of a considerable part of the Cabinet . . . It certainly was a droll connexion'.¹

The heir to the estate, the second George, had expensive tastes as a young man. Educated at Eton and Christ Church, he was rusticated from Oxford because of his excessive devotion to sport. He was a regular racegoer, a member of the Four-in-Hand Driving Club who often drove the Tadcaster stage coach and the Glasgow mail, and he hunted four or five times weekly. When, in 1837, he married Katherine Mary, the daughter of John Stein, a former M.P. for Bletchingley, his father provided a jointure and pin-money. Lane-Fox's elder daughter, Georgiana Marcia, lived at home, but her sister, Frederica Elizabeth, was married in 1845 to the hon. Adolphus Frederick Octavius Liddell, a Fellow of All Souls and eighth son of the 1st Lord Ravensworth. Lane-Fox had to provide for both Liddells, along with increasing sums to his wife and various retired retainers and workers. Frederica Elizabeth alone had £20,000 settled on her in 1845.²

Through these trying years Lane-Fox attempted to maintain his estates with reasonable efficiency. In 1837, when financial troubles were reaching a serious state, he reviewed his expenditure on

Repairs and Improvements on his Yorkshire Estate from 1825 to 1837 inclusive, with a General Estimate of the Sum expended in Substantial Improvements for the benefit of the Property not necessary for Mr. Fox as Tenant for life to have laid out if he had not been anxious to have brought the Estate into the best possible condition.

The steward, Thomas Kell, reported that repairs and improvements had cost over £4200 in 1831, £3000 in 1832 and 1833, £2800 in 1834, £3100 in 1835, £2400 in 1836 and £2100 in 1837. The estimated expenditure on 'substantial improvements for the future benefit of the Property' in the same years was over £2700, £1100, £1400, £1900, £1700, £990 and £1200. Between 1825 and 1837 repairs and improvements cost £33,574. 11. 1. and long-term improvements £18,235. 13. 3. Average annual expenditure was something over £4300 – a fairly high recurrent investment for a gross income which amounted to rather under £20,000 by 1837.³ In order to maintain his level of expenditure Lane-Fox turned to that saviour of Victorian landowners, an insurance business. But by 1839 the British Commercial Insurance Company was threatening to inaugurate legal proceedings against him over a debt of £80,000.

III.

The Lane-Fox Yorkshire estates lay mainly in Bramham, Rigton, Bardsey, Alwoodley, Walton, Grimston, Netherton, Elsack and Rimmington. There were smaller properties at Lotherton, Oglethorpe, Wothersome, Collingham, Scarcroft, Wrenthorpe, Bingley, Farnhill, Hamblethorpe, Skipton, East Halton and Carlton. House rents brought in £151. 2., and the coal rights at Allerton Bywater (where the surface land had been sold to Thomas Davison-Bland of Kippax Park) were a valuable source of income. In 1837 the total rent amounted to £17,377. 1. 7. Woods added £1269 and the land in hand was worth £1176 *per annum*.⁴ But by the 1840's Lane-Fox's affairs were becoming progressively worse. In 1838 he mortgaged some of his property to Edward Marjoribanks and Sir Edmund Antrobus, and thereafter became increasingly indebted to the two bankers, after disentailing the estates. He secured a mortgage of £50,000 in 1838 and a further 80,000 in 1839, adding £27,000 in 1841, £15,000 in 1842 and £25,400 in 1846 – a total of £197,400. He managed to make only one small repayment, of £1450, in 1841. The debts might be transferred, by both creditors and debtor, but such sums remained as huge burdens on the estate. By 1848 Lane-Fox's mortgages with Messrs. Coutts amounted to £195,450, with Messrs. J. W. and G. Farrer £21,000 and with Marjoribanks' trustees £10,000. Three bonds made the total indebtedness £232,799. 10. 0.

¹ Francis Bamford and the Duke of Wellington (eds.), *The Journal of Mrs. Arbuthnot, 1820–1832* (1950), i, 167, 175, 286, 300, 301, 407, ii, 2–3, 147, 301–303, 306, 392, 396; John Gore, *Creevey* (1949 edn.), 287, 308, 318; C. C. F. Greville (ed. Henry Reeve), *A Journal of the Reigns of King George IV and King William IV* (1875), ii, 133, iii, 140; Lane-Fox MSS. cxi, 13.

² *Yorkshire Post*, 3 Nov., *The Field*, 7 Nov. 1896; Lane-Fox MSS.

³ 'An Account of Money expended by George Lane-Fox, Esq. . . .' (Lane-Fox MSS., lxxxiii, 39).

⁴ 'Rental of George Lane-Fox Esquire's Yorkshire Estates, 1837' (Lane-Fox MSS., lxxxiii, 7).

By 1846 Lane-Fox and his son resolved that new arrangements must be made for the management of their debts. Their legal adviser, Burrell, proposed in October that all the estates should be charged in mortgage to Marjoribanks and Antrobus for the sum required and that the Bowcliffe estate should be taken in reconveyance from the devisees of Fenton Scott and (with all lands bought since 1838) used as security with the bankers. Furthermore, Lane-Fox should demise all his estates, except Bramham, Oglethorpe, Bardsey, Collingham and Scarcroft woods, to his son for 99 years, while the son should arrange that all the rents and profits of the estates should be paid into the Farrers' bank in a joint account though the bank should act only on his own orders. After accepting this arrangement, father and son worked out their expenses between 22 July and 1 November 1847. Interest of £3464. 18. 1. was due to Coutts, £509. 13. 9 to James Farrer's executors and £194. 3. 4. to Marjoribanks' trustees. Lane-Fox himself drew £2250 quarterly and his estranged wife (who had negotiated for the payment of her debts and an additional annuity in 1843) took £546. 1. 11. a quarter. George's wife received only £100 half-yearly, as did Mrs. Liddell, while Liddell had £150 per quarter, plus £50 as auditor, and George was paid a quarterly sum of £750. Sundry small pensions and fee farm rents made total outgoings £8155. 7. 1. by mid-October. In contemporary circles £9000 a year for the owner of such an estate and £3000 for an heir who had broken the entail would not be considered too generous. But there were further expenses. 'Mr. Kell's drafts during the above period last yr. am^{td} to £1400. 9. 3.', and £2491. 14. 11. was due to Farrers, making the total estimated expenditure £12,047. 11. 3. for 101 days. The only expected income was £823. 3. 4. from the Aire & Calder Navigation and (if the 1846 sum were repeated) £750 from coal rents. Consequently, by 1 November 1847 the current account would be overdrawn by £10,474. 7. 11. The Yorkshire rents were not yet due, but, as the harassed squire noted,¹

since this year commenced, nothing has been remitted on account of the Irish Estate, and from the present state of Ireland it is quite uncertain whether any and what remittance will be made therefrom.

The Ireland of the Famine paid little to its landlords. With his affairs in this state, Lane-Fox died on 15 November 1848.

IV.

On succeeding to the estates, the new squire inherited nearly quarter of a million of debt and annual payments totalling £14,092. 8. 7. Interest on £204,399. 10. took £8414. 9. 6., family payments £4570, pensions £466. 5., the rent of a house and stables in Eaton Square £370 and insurances and miscellaneous items £271. 14. 1. His account with the Farrers stood at £3467. 19. 2.: 'the recent receipt of the Yorkshire Rents has placed the account in Cash', he noted, 'but there are payments to make this month and the next for Interest &c. between 5 and 6000 pounds'.

Lane-Fox now started the long task of saving the estate. By 1848 only £1950 of the mortgages had been paid off, but in 1851 and 1852 he paid a further £7737. 10.² A valuable new source of income was the sale of land to the railways. The family initially disliked the brash newcomer to the countryside; in 1845 George Hudson complained at a meeting of the York & North Midland Railway that the Earl of Harewood and Lane-Fox had objected to the construction of the Harrogate line. But in April 1846 Lane-Fox sold Harrogate land to the company and in May agreed to sell land also to the Lancashire & Yorkshire Railway. His son followed this lead, selling strips to the Lancashire & Yorkshire, the Leeds & Bradford, the Great Northern, the Midland, the North Yorkshire & Durham, the North Eastern, the Rotherham, Sheffield & Goole, the Skipton & Wharfedale, the Sligo, Leitrim & North Coast and the Waterford &

¹ 'Mr. Lane-Fox's Mortgages, 17 February 1853'; 'G. L. Fox, Esq., Annual Payments' (2 Dec. 1848); 'Copy of Mr. Burrell's Opinion . . .' (19th Oct. 1846); 'G. L. Fox, Esq. and G. L. Fox Junr. Esq. Account Current', 1847. (Lane-Fox MSS., *passim*).

² 'G. L. Fox, Esq. Annual Payments' (2 Dec. 1848); 'Memorandum as to Affairs . . .' (2 Dec. 1848); 'Mr. Fox's Mortgages', 17 Feb. 1853 (Lane-Fox MSS., *passim*).

Tramore Railways. He bought shares in the Sligo line, the pioneer City of London & Southwark Subway and other companies.¹

Another kind of help came from Lane-Fox's uncle, Sackville Walter, now a Protectionist M.P. His wife, Lady Charlotte, died in 1836, leaving two sons and two daughters, the eldest son becoming Lord Conyers and Darcy (and Count Mertola in the Portuguese peerage) in 1859 on the death of the 7th Duke of Leeds. The 6th Duke, who died in 1838, was a large Yorkshire landowner, whose North and West Riding estates produced some £24,500 in 1821. While the entailed estates passed to his son, the 7th Duke, Leeds left his London mansion and personal property to his son-in-law. In 1847 it was decided that rather than help to clear Lane-Fox's debts his uncle would use part of the Leeds revenue to bring up his children.² As Lane-Fox had three sons and three daughters this arrangement was no doubt very helpful.

However carefully Lane-Fox saved on personal expenditure, certain payments were essential. After nearly five years as life tenant, his situation was still difficult. Between 18 May and 1 November 1853 the estate account was estimated to receive either £11,274. 9. 6. or £11,774. 9. 6. The total was made up of a balance of £6731. 2. (or £7231. 2. in another estimate), Aire & Calder dividends of £617. 7. 6., Irish rents of £2770 (as in 1852) and coal rents of £1156 (also estimated on the previous year's receipts). Family payments would take £5157. 8. 1., interest £4486. 18. 7., and estate expenditure (following 1852 accounts) £1560. 17. 6., leaving an estimated balance on 1 November of £69. 5. 4. (or £569. 5. 4.). The estate costs were obviously unavoidable – and were scarcely over-generous. Equally obviously, the monthly interest had to be paid. Even the family payments seemed inescapable. Lane-Fox himself took £3000, his wife £97. 1. 8., his mother £970. 16. 8., the Liddells £388. 6. 8. and his aunt Georgiana the same; and small pensions and allowances amounted to £312. 16. 5.³

This situation was embarrassing for one of the largest landowners in Yorkshire and Ireland, and it had serious consequences for the estates. At a time when other mid-century landowners were engaged in great improvement schemes, the Lane-Fox lands were starved of capital. In 1852 the Yorkshire agent, Kell, called in William Smith to survey the property. Smith's report told a sad story and he was obviously embarrassed in sending it to Kell. 'I am sorry not to have it in my power to have given a more favourable account of the condition of the Property', he told Kell in October.

but having learnt from you and from some of the Tenants, in whom I had reason to place confidence, that you had not been provided with the means for several years to make the necessary improvements on the Estate, or even to effect the ordinary repairs, it was not to be wondered at that many of the Tenants would neglect their duty by allowing their Premises to become dilapidated.

I have considered it necessary to express my opinion strongly in order to show the necessity of a considerable outlay of Capital by the Owner of the Estate, together with a revision of the lands so as to allot them more convenient for occupation and which may *enable* you to have the Estate so arranged that will *enable* the Tenants to farm their land to the best advantage, for thus only can they be expected to do well for themselves and the Estate.

He carefully admitted the possibility of errors and insisted that he did not intend to offer any criticism of Kell. But the attached report, based on detailed examination of each tenanted farm, offered little consolation. At Bramham and East Halton estate properties were mixed with freeholds, making it difficult to apportion the land conveniently. Property at Barwick-in-Elmet, Clifford, Wothersome, Rigton, Bardsey, Elsack and Carlton was badly managed; Wothersome, Rigton, Bardsey, Elsack, Rimmington, Steeton, Farnhill and Hamblethorpe needed draining; the Grimston cottages were in a bad state; fences and repairs were required in several townships; land at Bingley should be let in small lots, because its nearness to industry made it valuable. Only the

¹ York & North Midland Railway report (1845); Lane-Fox MSS., *passim*; J. T. Ward, 'West Riding Landowners and the Railways' (*Journal of Transport History*, iv, 4, Nov. 1960).

² Leeds MSS. in the Yorkshire Archaeological Society's collection, Leeds, by courtesy of the late Duke of Leeds; *Complete Peerage* vii (1929), 516; Lane-Fox MSS.

³ 'Estate Account – George Lane-Fox, Esq., . . . 1853' (Lane-Fox MSS., lxxxiii, 31).

Skipton land (where the Earl of Thanet's 3,526 acres had an annual value of £12,499 in 1840) was in a good state.¹

Such a report must have appeared almost mortal to a man financially harassed yet deeply proud of his lands. Certainly, he took for himself twice as much as was spent on the estate, but his household and 'social' expenditure was moderate when compared to that of many contemporaries. Lane-Fox carried out the almost obligatory duties of a prominent landowner, as a magistrate, a Deputy Lieutenant of Yorkshire and Leitrim and High Sheriff of the latter county in 1846 and the former in 1873. Such work, coupled with sporting interests, involved considerable expense; but the squire indulged in none of the expensive vices which attracted some of his fellow-squires. His popularity was undoubted, and an obituary writer recalled over forty years later that²

about the year 1856 the whole body of Mr. Lane-Fox's tenantry came forward and offered to raise their rents for him. That complimentary offer was declined in kindly and grateful words . . .

While the farmers proceeded to present Mrs. Lane-Fox with a portrait of her husband by Sir Francis Grant, the squire reluctantly decided that the last hope of saving his estate was to sell some portions of it.

V.

In 1855 and 1856, as prosperous years opened for British agriculture, Lane-Fox sold sizeable acreages at Skipton, Bardsey, Seacroft, Clifford, Alwoodley, Bingley, Netherton, Boston and on the Grimston estate at Dunnington. In 1859 he negotiated an exchange of his mineral rights at Allerton Bywater with John Davison-Bland of Kippax. Further Bingley land was sold in the 1860's and 1870's, and the manor house at Gawthorpe was sold to a Bradford manufacturer, John Horsfall, in 1854. Properties at Henbury and Westbury in Gloucestershire were sold in 1872, and ten years later Lane-Fox sold his manorial rights over the Bingley market, together with town property, to the local Improvement Commissioners for £800. In addition, land was regularly disposed of to railway promoters, at Bardsey, Halton, Horbury, Rimmington, Skipton, Stanley-cum-Wrenthorpe, Thorner, Thornton and Roscommon. In 1857 and 1888 estates in Waterford were sold, and waterworks undertakings bought land at Bingley, Halton, Eccup, Keighley and Addlebeck.³ With his new money, Lane-Fox began to pay off debts, improved his estates and granted annuities.

The Irish lands remained very large in area. In April 1876 Lane-Fox still owned 5219 acres in Waterford and 18,850 acres in Leitrim, according to a return for the 'New Domesday' survey by B. Banks, the secretary to the Irish Local Government Board; the rateable values were reported to be £4350. 10. and £7524. 18., respectively. Four months later the Irish Government published a second Return, roughly similar to those published for England, Wales and Scotland; here Lane-Fox was credited with 5422 acres in Waterford and 18,890 in Leitrim, with annual valuations of £4490 and £7321 respectively. Lane-Fox himself later confirmed the first acreages and estimated the gross annual values as £3000 and £6000.⁴ He took considerable interest in Irish affairs, serving in local government and encouraging railway construction around his seat at Dromahaire.

Lane-Fox's main interests, however, lay in the West Riding. Here the 'Sporting Squire' was a popular figure in the hunting field. For 48 seasons he was Master of the Bramham Moor Hunt, which was founded by George Fox-Lane in the 1740's and which

¹ William Smith to Thomas Kell, 19 Oct. 1852, 'Report on the Yorkshire Estates of George Lane-Fox, Esq.', by William Smith, 1852 (Lane-Fox MSS., lxxxiii, 5, 6); 'Skipton Valuation, 1840' (Skipton Estate MSS., in the Y.A.S. collection, by courtesy of the Lord Hothfield).

² Burke (1898), *op. cit.*, i, 545; *The Field*, 7 Nov. 1896.

³ Lane-Fox MSS., lvii, 1, 2, 3, lxix, 3, xl, 6, lxxiv, 31, etc.; lxxxvii, 8, 11-12, lxxii, 42, lxxxviii, 10, lxxxvii, 3, lxxiv, 49, etc.; cxiv, 33; ci; sale catalogues in *ibid.*; Harry Speight, *Chronicles and Stories of Bingley and District* (1904), 145; E. E. Dodd, *Bingley. A Yorkshire Town through Nine Centuries* (Bingley, 1958), 134.

⁴ *Land Owners in Ireland. Return . . .* (Dublin 1876), 174, 304; *Owners of Land (Ireland)* (Dublin, 1876), 93, 155; John Bateman, *The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland* (1883 edn.), 174.

attracted a large following from the industrial towns.¹ He was a patron of John Nicholson, 'the Airedale Poet', to whom he erected a memorial at Bingley, and he served on many charitable committees. Early in 1846 he was asked by his close friend, William Busfield Ferrand of St. Ives, to contest the West Riding seat against Viscount Morpeth, but declined on the grounds of ill-health. No doubt he was influenced then, and on several later occasions, by his financial troubles. But he played a vigorous part in County Tory politics, bellowing out an old-style philosophy from the hustings. In 1868 he was a leader of the successful Conservative campaign in the Eastern division of the West Riding, condemning Free Trade for having produced 'bacon at 3½d. a pound and . . . Mr. Gladstone's very beastly claret'. His aversions, *The World* once reported, were 'Roman Catholics, Radicals and pheasant preserves, the latter being his especial abomination'.²

The protection of the Land – its agriculture, sports and inhabitants, including 'Charley Turnip-Top', the labourer – was at the root of Lane-Fox's attitudes: he saw himself as a defender of gentle rural society against 'the sewage from the towns'. Mechanical innovations were anathema, and foreign travel was ridiculous. 'Pray why should she go abroad?', he asked, when a guest expressed surprise that a fellow-visitor had never seen the Continent. 'I have never been abroad. Bramham, Yorkshire and England are good enough for me.' His later holidays were spent at Torquay, but the High Society of the Metropolis which had once enmeshed his mother had little attraction for him. His satirical bluntness at sporting occasions became as famous as his hunting achievements and devotion to traditional ways. 'A thousand thanks for your kind present of Grouses,' he wrote to Ferrand in 1877:³

You never forget me and I am so glad to be reminded of happy days on the old Moor. Now the old style of shooting has gone out, how few men now have a Pointer. Downes asked me to shoot with him on his Moor near Whitby. I said I was too old and idle. He begs me to come and sit on a horse and see his Pointers working. I hear it is a beautiful sight – he says people tell him he is mad because he takes such delight in this old-fashioned and sportsmanlike style of killing his Grouses.

To a man with such tastes business management did not come easily. Yet Lane-Fox joined the undertakers of the Aire & Calder Navigation, during their long struggle with the railways. He did not enjoy the experience and in 1862 told the chairman, William Aldam,⁴

As there is to be a new Director . . . chosen at the Meeting to be held on the 14th, I write a line to you to ask if you think I might resign in the hope that my son might be chosen to fill my place. You know how useless I am as a Director – my son might perhaps take to the work and by degrees become useful.

Lane-Fox devoted himself to his estates.

In 1873 the official *Return* on landowners reported that Lane-Fox had 15,017 acres in the West Riding, with a gross estimated rental of £21,896. 1. 0., and ten years later, as the 'golden age' was allegedly passing, the old squire stated that about 15,000 acres had a gross annual value of around £17,000. The total English and Irish estates amounted to 39,069 acres in 1883, worth £26,000 *per annum*.⁵ The long fight to save the estate had succeeded, although much had been sold, including the mineral rights. In his later years Lane-Fox still maintained his interests, leading the Hunt in a black coat after his wife's death in 1873. His eldest son, George Sackville, was educated at Eton and Christ Church and served with the Yorkshire Hussars Yeomanry; the other sons, James Thomas Richard and Henry, joined the Grenadier Guards and the Royal Horse Guards respectively. The eldest daughter, Marcia, was unmarried, while Carolina Alexina married Major John Orred and Kathleen Mary married her cousin, Francis Liddell.

¹ G. T. Burrows, *Gentleman Charles. A History of Foxhunting* (1951), 56.

² Speight, *op. cit.*, 159, 181; papers in Ferrand MSS., by courtesy of the late Col. G. W. Ferrand, O.B.E.; *Yorkshire Post*, 3 Nov. 1896.

³ George Lane-Fox to W. B. Ferrand, 16 Aug. 1877 (Ferrand MSS.).

⁴ G. L. Fox to W. Aldam, 5 Jan. 1862 (Frickley Hall MSS., by courtesy of Col. R. J. P. Warde-Aldam, T.D.); see J. T. Ward, 'The Squire as Businessman . . .' (*Trans. Hunter Archaeological Soc.*, viii, 4, 1962).

⁵ *Return of Owners of Land 1873* (*Parl. Papers*, 1874, lxxii), ii, West Riding section, 36; Bateman, *op. cit.*, 174.

Along with the tragedy of his wife's death, Lane-Fox faced other blows. His sister, Lady Liddell, died in 1867 and his third son in 1876. Perhaps equally distressing to the stout Anglican sportsman was his eldest son's career. The charming, opinionated, fashionable George threw himself into the activities of the Tractarians in the 1860's, becoming especially interested in the restoration of monastic life in the Church of England – a scheme to which he drew young Charles Wood, later 2nd Viscount Halifax. In 1866, in his usual rapid fashion, he became a Roman Catholic, and only long conversations with Cardinal Manning convinced him that he had no vocation for the priesthood. This was too much for the old squire: a Papist, even a hunting, Tory Papist, was unthinkable at Bramham. George had given up his inheritance when he planned to become an Anglican monk, and, although he was later twice married and had ten children, it was never restored.¹ When Lane-Fox died, in November 1896, Bramham passed to James, whose eldest son, George, after a distinguished political career, accepted the revival of the Bingley Barony in 1933.

Whatever thoughts marred his pleasure, however, Lane-Fox could look with pride to one notable achievement: by careful management, sensible sales and personal moderation, he allowed Bramham to remain a great estate and his grandson to restore and return to Robert Benson's great house.²

¹ See J. G. Lockhart, *Charles Lindley, Viscount Halifax* (1935), i, *passim*.

² I am greatly indebted to Colonel and the hon. Mrs. F. G. W. Lane-Fox for helpful advice and for allowing me to quote from the estate papers; to the librarians and owners listed in the notes; and to Professor S. G. E. Lythe of the University of Strathclyde, who kindly commented on the text.

WHITBY 1958, SITE TWO

By PHILIP A. RAHTZ, M.A., F.S.A.

Summary

This note describes a small excavation some 500 ft. south-east of Whitby Abbey. Skeletons were located, with remains representing twenty-one individuals in the area excavated. Some, if not all, of the skeletons were of thirteenth century or later date. They were male and female of all ages including infants; the area is presumably part of the lay cemetery of the Abbey.

Introduction

Excavations arranged by the Ancient Monuments Inspectorate of the Ministry of Public Building and Works at Whitby in 1958 were principally in an area north of the Abbey (Site One) and these have already been described in this Journal.¹ A second site was dug at the same time in an area scheduled for destruction by a structure of the Royal Observer Corps. Its position is shown in Fig. 1 of Whitby 1958 as Site Two.²

The Excavation

In this area of some 50 ft. square, an excavation was made 20 × 10 ft., under the supervision of A. Pacitto. Below a depth of about 2 ft. of disturbed ground with post mediaeval material, human bones began to appear. Substantial parts of nine skeletons were defined at a depth of about 3 ft., continuing to about 4 ft., where the water table prevented further investigation; it was thought that there were no further burials below those defined. The nine skeletons were in varying states of incompleteness, and were clearly superimposed one upon the other. Among and above them were bones representing twelve other individuals. It is clear that this area is merely a small part of an extensive cemetery of considerable duration.

A ninth century 'styca' was found at about 3 ft., but all the other finds, mainly pottery, were of thirteenth century or later date; some of the sherds were at the lowest level among the bones, and there can be no doubt that the latest interments at least, and probably all the graves, were of mediaeval or later date. Skeletons defined were extended and oriented head to west.

The Finds

Apart from bones and the coin described by Mr. Rigold below, finds include the following:

Green stain representing a bronze ring some $\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter.

Lead stud, head 1 in. diameter, shank 1 in. × $\frac{1}{2}$ in., burred over at end; possibly from lead coffin.

Piece of daub, with 1 in. wattle impressions.

Five pieces of red sandy roof tile, probably of thirteenth century or later date.

Twenty-two mediaeval sherds; these are mostly of orange-brown cooking-pots of late thirteenth century or fourteenth century date, and include a squared rim similar to Whitby 1958, Fig. 5, no. 8; there are also a few glazed sherds of fabrics comparable with those found on Site One.

Hone fragment, square $\frac{3}{4}$ in. section.

The Coin

Mr. Stuart Rigold, of the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments, has kindly reported on this as follows:

'Styca' (Base Sceatta)

Obv. EVNRED R Pellet /

Rev. E \overline{W} VVYIIF Pellet (for EANWLF ?)

EANRED King of Northumbria 810-841

Coinage only after c. 830³

Moneyer (but not die?) shared with Abp. Eanwald (d. before 837)

cf. BMC Eanred no. 67 (from Hexham)

(from soil over Grave 1).

¹ Whitby 1958, by Philip A. Rahtz, *Y.A.J.*, xl (Pt. 160) 1962, pp. 604-618, hereafter referred to as Whitby 1958.

² I should like to thank A. Pacitto for his work on Site Two, and Rosemary Powers and Stuart Rigold for their specialist reports. The finds have been deposited in Whitby Museum.

³ See *British Numismatic Journal*, xxxviii, p. 227 ff.

The Human Bones, by Rosemary Powers, of Sub.-Dept. Phys. Anthropol. B.M.(N.H.)

The bones were extremely fragmentary and mostly disassociated. A few had been assigned grave numbers by the excavator, and those which proved on examination to be genuine burials are given their grave numbers below. Owing to breakage, scattering and decay most of the pieces were long bone shafts. Comparatively little data could be gathered except for the approximate age of the individuals. They are therefore listed below by age groups. A minimum of twenty-one people are represented; twelve immature, nine adults.

Foetal or New-born

Individuals 1-3 This age-group is represented by scattered fragments of long-bones, mostly unidentifiable, but three tibiae and two humeri of different sizes indicate that at least three individuals were present.

Infant

Individual 4 *Grave 3.* Fragmentary skeleton and skull (including teeth) of child aged about nine months.

Individual 5 Head of femur and petrous parts of skull of a child aged two years or less.

Individual 6 Fragments of skull (including petrous parts and some teeth) and skeleton of child aged about two years.

Individual 7 Fragments of skull and teeth of child aged about five years. Legs, a pelvic fragment and one tibia shaft were found elsewhere.

Juvenile

Individual 8 *Grave 5. Skeleton at lowest level.* Fragments of skull, teeth, pelvis, arm and legs of a child aged ten or eleven years. The metopic suture is open. Fragments of an adult skull were with this child.

Individual 9 *Scattered bones.* At least one other child of about this age was present.

Adolescents

Individual 10 *Grave 7.* Bones of legs, pelvis and forearms. Crushed skull of adolescent aged between thirteen and sixteen years, possibly the same individual.

Individual 11 *Grave 3, latest burial.* Bones of limbs, pelvis, shoulder-girdle and feet. The skull is absent, but may be accounted for by disassociated teeth and skull fragments of this age group.

Individual 12 Bones of arms, legs, pelvis and skull fragments. Age as determined by the teeth is about twelve years.

Young Adult Male

Individual 13 A humerus and femora of adult size retaining partly open epiphyses, and fragments of a young male skull with an open metopic suture might all belong to the same individual, aged between seventeen and twenty-one.

Adult Male

Individual 14 *Grave 1.* Bones of limbs and fragments of skull of a robust adult male probably aged over forty years. Some female bones were mixed with this skeleton.

Adult Female

Individual 15-21 The remaining bones appear to belong to adult females, at least four being present, and possibly six or more may be represented. Two disassociated groups of long-bone shafts account for two more near *Grave 1*.

Grave 9 is represented by the bones of the thorax and arms of an adult female. There are several groups of extremely eroded long-bone shafts, probably representing female burials.

The only pathology noted in this series was a small dental abscess in a fragment of mandible, which also displayed some ante-mortem tooth loss.

RECENT EXCAVATIONS AT THE SLACK ROMAN FORT, NEAR HUDDERSFIELD

By J. K. T. HUNTER, T. G. MANBY AND J. E. H. SPAUL

The Roman Fort at Slack, situated on the north-western side of Huddersfield, W.R. Yorkshire, was extensively excavated in 1913–15 by P. W. Dodd and A. M. Woodward on behalf of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society.¹ In their report the excavators included an account of discoveries made on the site from the eighteenth century onwards and a review of the work undertaken on the Bath-house site in 1865–7 by the Huddersfield Archaeological and Topographical Society.² In 1925 the whole body of evidence from Slack was synthesised by Professor I. A. Richmond.³

The recent series of excavations began in 1958 and continued until 1963, the 1958–61 excavations being undertaken for the Tolson Memorial Museum, Huddersfield, by T. G. Manby and J. Middleton. The 1962–3 excavations were undertaken jointly by the Tolson Memorial Museum and Heath Grammar School, Halifax, whose Sixth Form pupils worked under the direction of J. K. T. Hunter and J. E. H. Spaul. Owing to the needs of agriculture, excavation could only be carried out in the late autumn and winter months. As a consequence of the very wet nature of the site, excavation was particularly difficult and the work was constantly hampered by waterlogging and the need to drain the trenches. The present report deals with the results of these excavations which were planned to shed light on the nature and extent of the occupation of the Annexe, to re-examine the fort's defences and locate the exact site of the Bath-house. The report is divided into four parts, the first three dealing with the excavations in the Fort, Bath-house and Annexe; the fourth part is an assessment of the status of the Slack Fort in the light of these excavations.

Acknowledgements

The excavators wish to record their great indebtedness to Mr. H. Jackson of Ealdfield Farm for kindly granting permission to dig on the Fort site and for the constant interest he took in the work. The excavations at Slack, a scheduled Ancient Monument, were sanctioned by the Ministry of Public Building and Works. Permission to excavate in the Annexe area was readily granted by Messrs. L. Morton and J. Saxton. The finds from the excavations were presented by the landowners to the Tolson Memorial Museum, Huddersfield.

The 1962 and 1963 excavations owe much to the encouragement of Mr. W. R. Swale, Headmaster of Heath Grammar School. The work undertaken by the following pupils of Heath Grammar School under the very difficult conditions merits their particular mention:— P. M. G. Aspinall, D. Bland, R. P. Bond, R. H. Burbury, C. Gledhill, C. J. Longbottom and P. F. Owen.

For advice and assistance with the preparation of this report, the writers wish to record their thanks to Messrs. H. K. Bowes, B. R. Hartley, F. H. Thompson, R. P. Wright and Miss C. M. Johns. The late Professor Sir Ian Richmond kindly read the report in manuscript and his comments are gratefully acknowledged.

PART 1—THE FORT

By T. G. MANBY

The 1913–15 excavations traced the defences, road system and many of the buildings within the fort.⁴ They showed the rampart to be of turf with a stone footing beneath the

¹ Dodd & Woodward, 'Excavations at Slack 1913–15', *Y.A.J.*, xxvi (1922), 1–92.

² Fairless Barber, *Y.A.J.*, i (1870), 1–11.

³ Richmond, *Huddersfield in Roman Times* (1925), 30–48.

⁴ Dodd & Woodward, *op. cit.*, 11–44.

outer edge, with one, and in places two ditches beyond. It was suggested by Prof. I. A. Richmond that the stone footing might represent the foundation for a later wall revetting the front of the rampart, replacing earlier wooden defences. A total of five partial or complete sections were cut through the ramparts on the north, east and south sides between 1960 and 1963; two of these on the east and south sides also sectioned the intervallum roads. (Fig. 1.)

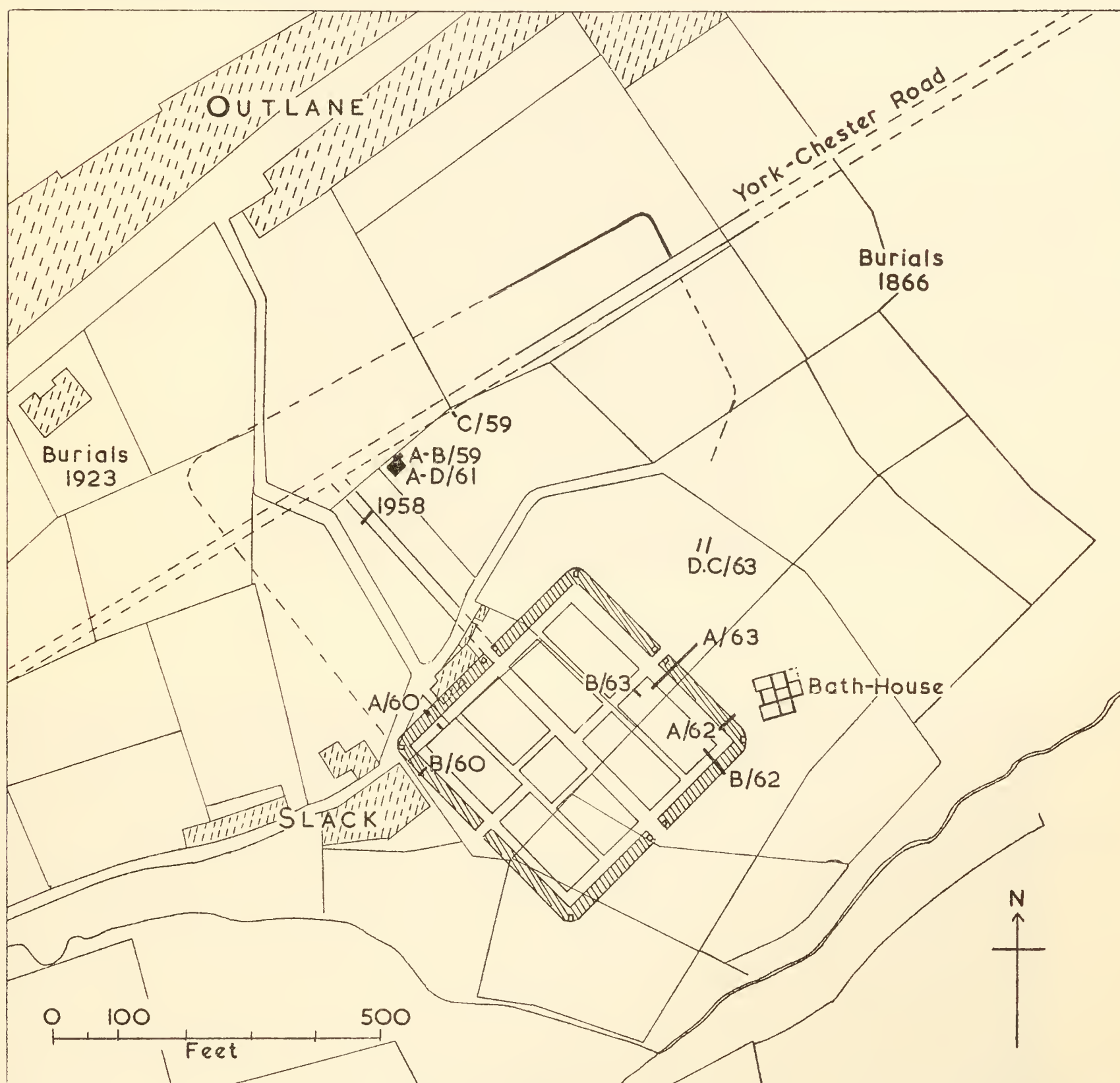


FIG. 1.

Trench A/60

Two trenches were laid down in the garden west of the farmhouse to cross the line of the rampart footing and the inner edge of the intervallum road. In both trenches black garden soil with modern rubbish rested directly on undisturbed subsoil, all trace of any road or rampart structure having been removed. Only at the extreme northern end of the northern trench did any features remain and the southern side of the V-shaped fort ditch was found (Fig. 2). The upper filling was brown sandy clay with grey sandy soil below, and resting on the sloping side of the ditch were occasional flat pieces of undressed stone and in the soil were scattered particles of charcoal.

Trench B/60

A section was excavated across the western rampart between the west gate and the north-west corner of the fort across a length of rampart still visible as a bank $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high, and not explored by the earlier excavators.

The stone footings consisted of a single layer, 4 ft. in width, of undressed flat stones laid directly on the subsoil (Pl. I). The inner edge of the footing was overlapped by a bank of laid turves resting directly on the old land surface which was marked by a thick, dark brown, fibrous layer. The turves were indicated by similar streaks and formed a bank 1½ ft. high. Covering the laid turves and footing was a layer of brown soil covered by the modern turf and top soil except at the western end of the trench where a layer of stone chippings, with nineteenth century pottery, intervened (Fig. 2).

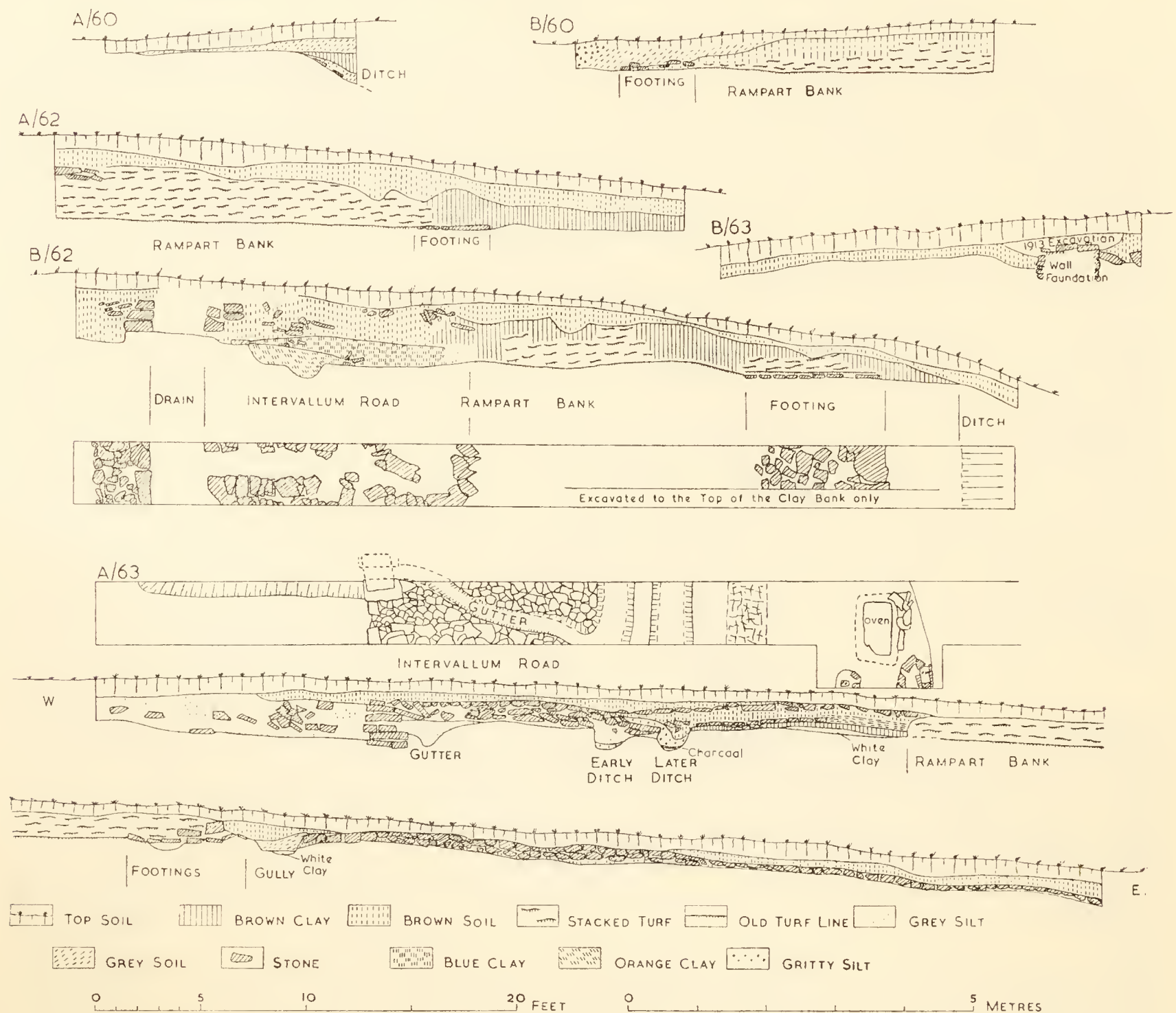


FIG. 2.

Trench A/63

A 100 ft. section extended from west of the intervallum road across the rampart and over the pitched area east of the rampart found by the 1913-15 excavators (Fig. 2). The trench was between the east gate of the fort and the modern field wall and was intended not only to investigate the rampart and intervallum road, but to look for any evidence of a filled-in ditch or drains beneath the extensive pitched area outside the fort.

The rampart footing again consisted of a single layer of flattish stones, 5 ft. wide, laid directly on the old surface, but the outer edge of the footing had a second course of large stones (Pl. II). All these stones were laid without mortar and the interstices filled with fibrous black soil like the old landsurface and the vegetation side of the stacked turves. Beneath the centre of the footing was a shallow hollow, 1 ft. 9 ins. wide and 6 ins. deep running parallel to the footing, filled with fibrous black soil and a number of small flakes of red tile. The rampart bank was composed solely of turf, covering most of the footing and resting on top of the large stones of the second course of the footing. The



PLATE I.



PLATE II.
Rampart footings and gulley.



PLATE III.
Rampart footings and pitching.



PLATE IV.
Intervallum road and ditch.

turf bank survived to a height of 1 ft. 3 ins. and it was 20 ft. wide after its western side had been cut back to make room for a cookhouse in the intervallum area.

Along the eastern side of the footing was a flat bottomed gulley, 2 ft. wide, with a thin lens of white clay at the bottom and grey soil above. The filling contained a few small stones and a flagon neck. At the eastern edge of the gulley the layer of pitching began (Pl. III); for the first 19 ft. it was a thick layer of worn sandstone rubble. At this point was a hollow in the pitching, 1 ft. deep, filled with fragments of red tile, and beyond this point the pitching was a single layer of stones with a rougher, less worn, appearance.

The interior of the fort showed evidence of three phases connected with the intervallum road. The earliest phase was a road of sandstone rubble, 15 ins. thick and 10 ft. 9 ins. wide, with a U-shaped ditch on the eastern side. The ditch was 1 ft. 9 ins. wide, a layer of gritty silt covered the bottom and above it was grey silt with occasional small potsherds. Through the road metalling a gutter had been cut, into the underlying clay, across the full width of the road. This was to drain the area west of the road where there was a layer of soft grey silt 2 ft. thick with large stones, a piece of tile and, in its upper portion, potsherds, charcoal and iron nails. A natural hollow must have existed in this area and the western edge of the road had been built up to cross it. A gutter had been made through the road to drain off the water that collected in the hollow and a culvert entrance was made in the western edge of the road. Only one side of this was within the trench, but the wall was five courses high and capped by a single cover slab.

In the second phase the width of the road was increased by 3 ft. on the eastern side, and a second roadside ditch was dug to replace the fill up of the earlier ditch and gutter across the road (Pl. IV). The lower portion of the gutter was filled with the same fine grey silt found west of the road which also filled the culvert entrance up to the cover stone. The upper part of the gutter was filled with stones in grey silt with a large portion of a stamped mortarium amongst it (Fig. 5.1). The second road ditch was also U-shaped and above a thin layer of gritty silt was a layer of charcoal 1 in. thick. A gritty silt covering the edge of the road and partially filling the upper portion of the ditch contained pieces of tile, potsherds and glass fragments. The roadside ditches would, presumably, have run south to join the eastern end of Drain U-U, at the south-eastern corner of the fort.¹

The intervallum space had been used at this time as a cook-house site and the back of the rampart bank had been cut away to give more space. A layer of brown clay had been laid down to support a floor of flattish stones and two post holes were found, packed with clay and stones, the rectangular posts having rotted away. North of the post holes was the base of an oven consisting of a rectangular slab of sandstone 2 ft. 6 ins. by 1 ft. 3 ins. by 2 ins. thick, laid on a bed of clay and with the base of a clay wall around it (Pl. V). The surface of the slab was burnt black and the clay was burnt red on the interior. Around the oven base, especially on the west side, was much charcoal mixed with potsherds and in one place three distinct charcoal layers could be recognised.

The third phase in this area was the covering of the intervallum area and the later roadside ditch with a layer of brown clay supporting a pitching of very large flattish stones extending from the back of the rampart on to the intervallum road. On the surface of the pitching were potsherds, tile fragments and nails and it was covered by brown clay below the modern top soil.

Trench A/62

Section across the north-east rampart between the east gate and the corner tower. The rampart footing was 3 ft. 3 ins. wide consisting of a single layer of flattish stones resting on undisturbed subsoil; the stones of the outer edge were large and formed a regular edge. The turf rampart bank overlapped the footing and survived to a height of 2½ ft. Covering most of the footing and extending east of it was a thick layer of sticky brown clay. No trace of a ditch or pitching were found in the 9 ft. length of trench

¹ Dodd & Woodward, *op. cit.*, 42.

excavated east of the rampart footing. At the western end of the trench the back of the stacked turf bank was covered with a pitching of large stones with dirty grey soil in between, mixed with charcoal and potsherds. All these features were covered by a layer of brown soil directly beneath the modern turf and topsoil (Fig. 2).

The position and quality of the pitching resting on the western side of the turf bank resembles the upper pitching over the intervallum area in Trench A/63, and is likely to be the same feature.

Trench B/63

This trench was 20 ft. west of the end of Trench A/63 and at rightangles to its northern side. There was no trace of the grey silt layer found in Trench A/63 and the undisturbed subsoil was 1 ft. higher than in the extreme western end of the latter trench. This trench crossed the foundation wall found by the 1913–15 excavators along the southern side of the main east-west road of the fort. A small trench at right-angles to the wall face dug by the earlier excavators to examine the foundation was cleared out (Pl. VI): the previous excavators had also dug along the top of the foundation. The foundation, 3 ft. wide, consisted of four or five courses of roughly dressed stone set in a foundation trench. On its northern side a layer of pitching represented the main road and in the brown soil between the stones were potsherds and nails (Fig. 2).

South of the foundation the subsoil was covered with brown soil without any trace of pitching, a few potsherds, a flake of brown flint, a piece of window glass, and a few pieces of roofing and building tile lay on the undisturbed subsoil.

Trench B/62

A section across the south-east rampart from the lip of the ditch to the northern side of the intervallum road drain (Fig. 2). The rampart footing was a single layer of flat stones, resting on the undisturbed subsoil, 6 ft. wide with thicker large stones forming the outer edge. The rampart bank was composed of stacked turf and grey and yellow clay. The turf covered the rampart footing completely but behind, over and in front of it was a yellow-brown clay which formed the rest of the rampart bank except for a further mass of turf 4 ft. behind the footing.

The intervallum road was composed of large un-dressed stones mixed with earth and had an irregular surface. The northern side of the road was marked by a drain (U–U of the 1913–15 excavators); this had a wall of dressed and mortared stones on the northern side, backed by rubble and tile fragments in brown soil with an occasional sherd. The drain had been dug out by the earlier excavators but potsherds and tile fragments still remained in the disturbed soil. A rough gulley led out of the drain into the road, and beyond the limits of the present trench the gulley cut into a pit; under the road it was circular at the deepest part, filled with orange clay with blue clay at the top, and terminating at the southern side against a mass of decayed stone. In the soil filling of the gulley were potsherds and tile fragments; there was no indication that it had been explored in the earlier excavations.

Discussion

The recent excavations at the Slack Fort produced no further evidence relative to the foundation date of the fort and no grounds to regard it as anything but an Agricola foundation of A.D. 79. Throughout its life the fort was enclosed within a turf and clay rampart with wooden gates and towers. The stone footing beneath the outer edge of the bank was not intended to be a wall foundation since it is not substantial enough for this purpose and is unbonded. This footing was intended, as the 1913–15 excavators suggested,¹ to secure the front edge of the rampart bank and to stop it slipping forward on the clay subsoil of this very wet site; a similar footing existed at the Agricola fort at Newstead.² The additional layers of large stones fronting the footing in Trench A/63 are presumably a local feature connected with the presence of a gateway a few feet away.

¹ Dodd & Woodward, *op. cit.*, 12.

² Richmond, *Pro. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, lxxxiv (1947).

The evidence of three phases of construction within the fort shown in Trench A/63 can be compared with the three phases recognised by Richmond.¹ The first intervallum road with the early road-side ditch belongs to the initial building of the fort in A.D. 79 as well as the road in Trench B/63. The timber barrack blocks in the fort, represented by post holes and sleeper trenches located by the 1913–15 excavators, also belong to this first phase. The barrack block west of Trench A/63 was numbered Site X by them and was marked by post holes, hearths and doorways. But north of the modern field wall the earlier excavators were puzzled by the scarcity of post holes and described the area as showing 'signs of disturbance'. Presumably they were confused by the thick layer of grey silt and stones located at the western end of Trench A/63 filling up a natural hollow in the ground. The silt indicates that a pool of standing water existed here and the gutter was made through the intervallum road to drain off the water into the roadside ditch. The pool was evidently not successfully drained, since silt continued to collect, and the waterlogging would have been aggravated by filling of the gutter during the second phase, when the intervallum road was widened. The pool continued throughout the Roman occupation and the large stones in the upper part of it were presumably dumped in an attempt to fill it up. However, silting continued into the Middle Ages—as is illustrated by the presence of a sherd of mediaeval gritty ware. The existence of this pool would have rendered this part of the site unsuitable for occupation and this would account for the absence of post holes of Building X in this area.

The second phase of construction shown in this trench, the widening of the road and the new road-side ditch, was contemporary with the establishment of a cookhouse in the intervallum area; the charcoal layer in the ditch is likely to have come from the firing of the oven. A similar cookhouse evidently existed on the opposite side of the east gate, as the 1913–15 excavators located the remains of a rectangular oven between the east gate and their site XII, which was a stone-built cookhouse.² The date of the second phase must be in the early second century, since the mortarium in the upper infilling of the gutter has a stamp regarded by Mrs. B. R. Hartley as not later than the time of Hadrian, but found in Flavian deposits also.³ The presence of fumed grey ware with lattice decoration associated with the oven and the later ditch show they were used down to c. A.D. 125, if not later. Richmond suggested that the granary of the Slack fort, its headquarters building and workshop were rebuilt with stone walls and tiled roofs in the reign of Trajan about A.D. 100 and further building activity was indicated by the enlargement of the bath-house about A.D. 104. All these buildings were associated with tiles stamped COH IIII BRE.⁴ If the wider road and the cookhouse are part of this Trajanic reconstruction in the early years of the second century, the third phase might be Richmond's suggested Hadrianic reconstruction of about A.D. 120. Richmond considered that the bath-house and stone barracks were also built at this time.⁵ During this last reconstruction the second-period cookhouse in Trench A/63 was abandoned and the area levelled and covered with large pitching. Similar pitching was located on the back of the rampart bank in A/62 and the purpose of it might have been to create a new intervallum road immediately behind the rampart bank. To this last reconstruction belongs the stone-built cookhouse (Site XII) in the north-east rampart, built to replace the earlier cookhouse nearer the east gate. The bulk of the pottery preserved from Site XII indicates that it was largely in use between c. A.D. 125 to 140.

The rebuilding work of c. A.D. 120 also included the double barrack block (Site IX), further barracks were intended and the foundations were started on Sites VIII and XI. The rebuilding ceased at this point; Dodd and Woodward⁶ and Richmond⁷ suggested that this was due to the withdrawal of the Slack garrison about A.D. 122–125 as part of the military reorganisation of Northern Britain by Hadrian. However, the pottery

¹ Richmond, (1925), 46–8.

² Dodd & Woodward, *op. cit.*, 35.

³ Petch, *Lincs. A. & A.S.R. & P.*, 8 (1958), 15. Also in Hayes & Rutter, *Wade's Causeway* (1964), 91.

⁴ Richmond, *op. cit.*, 46–7.

⁵ Fairless Barber, *op. cit.*, 29–30.

⁶ Dodd & Woodward, *op. cit.*, 84–5.

⁷ Richmond, *op. cit.*, 47–8.

evidence, especially the dark grey fumed ware, shows the fort was still occupied until A.D. 140, if not later. The garrison after c. A.D. 122–5 must have been a small one, certainly not at cohort strength if only the newly built double barrack block was available for occupation. The earlier timber barracks on Sites VIII and XI would have been demolished to make way for the rebuilding, but the situation on Sites V, VI, VII and X is obscure.

Further evidence of a reduced occupation is the distribution within the fort of the dark grey fumed ware cooking pots, dishes and bowls. Pottery of this kind obtained by the 1913–15 excavators was concentrated in the north-eastern quarter of the fort. This suggests that this was the only portion of the fort permanently garrisoned after A.D. 122 and if the double barrack block was the only one available for occupation, the garrison would only have been of century strength. A late occupation of this limited extent, requiring only a portion of the fort, suggests an interpretation of the long wall foundation running along the south side of the road from the east gate to the headquarters building (Trench B/63). This is now explicable as a compound wall, erected to separate the occupied north-eastern quarter from the rest of the fort. The arrangement of post holes between the east gate and the end of the foundation (which was built across the end of the intervallum road), coupled with a cut-away portion of the rampart bank, indicates the provision of some form of gate to gain access to the area south of the wall. The arrangements at the western end of the wall foundation are unknown. The western side of such a compound could have easily been made by walling across the roads between the north rampart, the granary, the workshop and the headquarters building. Such a feature would not have been expected or looked for by the 1913–15 excavators and is a feature to be sought in future excavation.

The retention of a small garrison at Slack after A.D. 122–125 contrasts with the next fort west along the road, Castleshaw. This was reduced in size in a Trajanic reconstruction to accommodate about a century and the fort was abandoned in the Hadrianic reorganisation.¹ It is not impossible that the Castleshaw garrison was transferred to Slack when the Slack cohort-sized garrison was moved north at this time. From a military point of view the construction of stone defences at Slack was not considered worthwhile in the Hadrianic building programme. The end of the military occupation at Slack might fall between A.D. 140 and 160 on the pottery evidence; pottery types that could still have been in use as late as the end of the second century are extremely scarce.

PART 2—THE BATH-HOUSE

By J. E. H. SPAUL

PREVIOUS HISTORY

The first account of the external bath-house is given by Whitaker in his *History of Manchester*. At that time there was a mound 3 ft. high and approximately 30 yds. in circumference under which, at a depth of 9 ft., were the foundations of a stone building with brick floors, with a hypocaust 12 ft. by 8 ft. supported on brick pillars to the east of it. It is barely possible that this hypocaust was removed in 1824, and rebuilt at Greenhead, whence it was transferred to and re-erected in Ravensknowle Park; its present dimensions of 14 ft. by 12 ft. may be an increase caused by removal.

The first plan of the bath-house was published in 1872² and the excavation report mentions the disturbance caused by Whitaker and suggests that some of the destruction encountered in 1865 and 1866 was due to him. Four heated rooms, one unheated room and a courtyard were found; some significant details of the construction of the rooms (numbered for convenience as shown on the accompanying plan (Fig. 3)) were recorded. Room 1 (south-west corner) had small tile pillars capped with larger tiles, supporting 2 ft. square slabs under a thick layer of strong concrete. Room 2 (north of 1) heated

¹ Richmond, *op. cit.*, 56–7. Mr. F. H. Thompson has informed the writer that recent excavations at Castleshaw have produced nothing to alter the dating sequence for this site.

² Fairless Barber, *op. cit.*, 29–30.

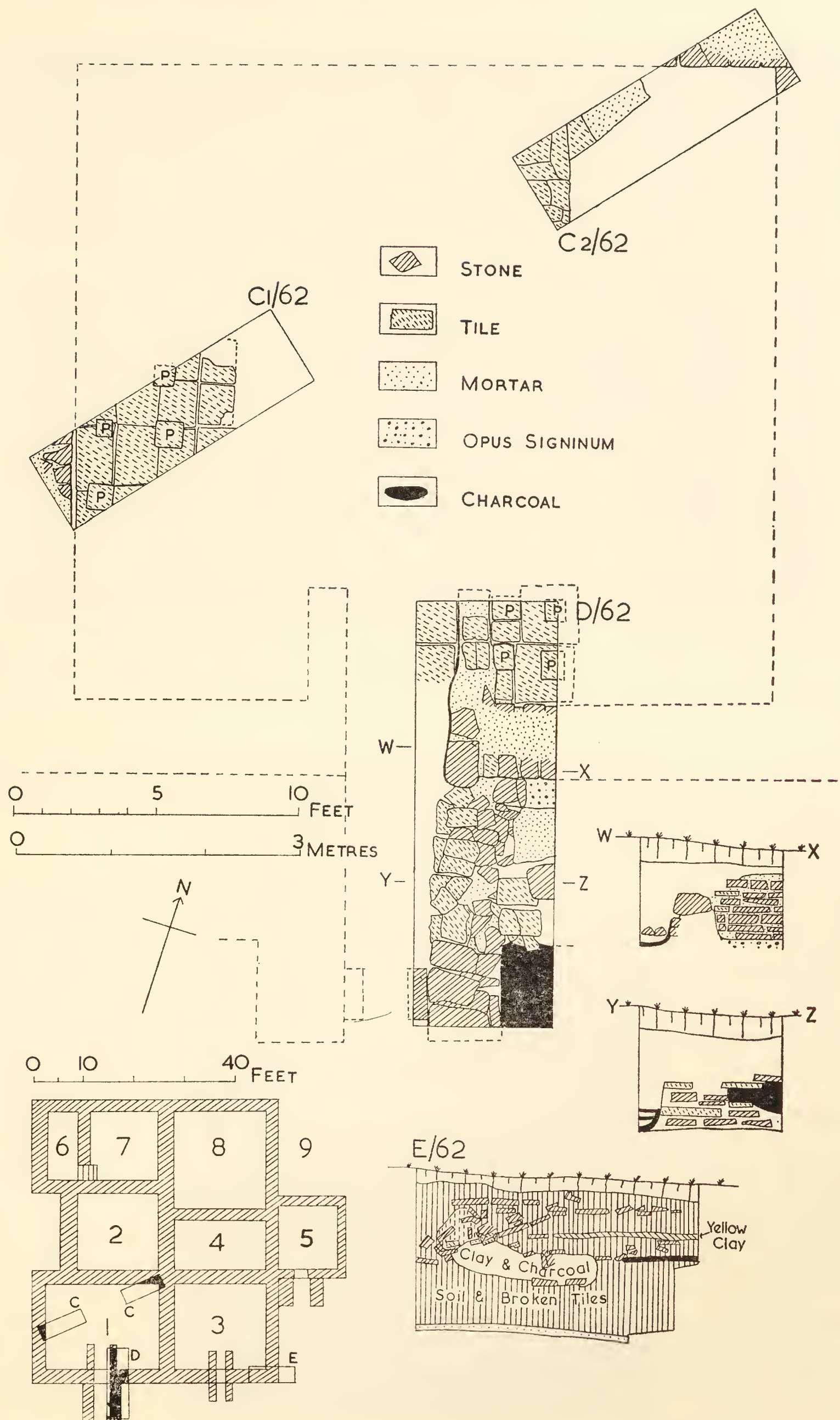


FIG. 3.

from Room 1 through two arches, had stone pillars. Room 3 (south-east corner) was similar to Room 1 but heated independently. Room 4 (north of 3) provided evidence of alterations, for over the original lower floor of concrete (possibly a bath with apsidal end) was a layer of rubbish supporting a tiled floor of re-used deflanged roof tiles, and a shallow hypocaust with stone and tiled pillars brought the floor level to the same height as in Rooms 1, 2 and 3. North of Room 2 was a concrete floor (7); the filling below it, though not completely examined, contained several pieces of wall stucco, and covered a drain from a cold bath (6), on the west, to a courtyard (8) on the east. East of 8 was, suggested the report, the hypocaust (9) removed to Greenhead.

The account of the 1913–15 excavations includes¹ a summary of the bath-house differing in certain details. Basing their remarks on a hitherto unpublished plan (drawn by Rev. J. Hope), the authors state that Rooms 1, 2, 3 and 4 all had tiled pillars, that Room 2 had no stokehole, that the stokehole for Room 1 was tapering rather than rectangular in plan and that the openings between Rooms 1 and 3 are wider than shown. In addition, foundation walls for Rooms 6, 7 and 8 were found.

This same plan must be the basis for J. W. Cocking's 1924 plan given on p. 42 of I. A. Richmond's *Huddersfield in Roman Times*, though here again there are differences in detail, the main difference being in the appearance of Room 5 served by a separate stokehole (the measurements of which are identical with those of the Greenhead-Ravensknowle hypocaust), and minor differences in the shape of the stokeholes. Discussing the history of the Fort, Richmond remarks that the earliest bath-house, c. A.D. 80, consisted of two rooms, a cold room with plunge bath (4) and a hot room (5), with possibly a tepid room or lounge still undiscovered. The use of tiles stamped COH IIII BRE indicates the addition of a new hot room (2) to the bath-house c. A.D. 104. The altar to Fortune indicates use of the bath-house after the arrival in Britain of the Sixth Legion (i.e., by A.D. 122) as does the coin of Hadrian found by Watson on the floor of Room 4.

The major problem, however, to which an answer was sought in 1962 was the spatial relationship of the bath-house to the fort. The establishment of this relationship proved more difficult than at first seemed probable, and no attempt was made to seek answers to the other problems presented by this survey of the evidence.

EXCAVATIONS 1962 (Fig. 3)

In the slight hollow east of the east corner of the fort, Trench C/62 was laid out and the two trenches 10 ft. apart were opened. The principal difficulty immediately encountered was an infill of rubble, tile and stone which continued below the level of the wall found at the western end of the trench. The eastern sector was less hampered and a floor level was observed at a depth of 5 ft. 6 ins., which fortunately led to the lowest courses of another wall at the eastern end and its return. It was therefore possible to calculate the width of the room (since the floor level in both sectors was identical) and this fitted Room 1. To confirm this it was decided to open Trench D over the stokehole of Room 1. Clearance of the western sector of C was delayed by the falling in of the north side after heavy rain, and consequently no attempt was made to probe beneath the floor. Four hypocaust pillars were found *in situ*, two of 11 ins. tiles and two of 7 ins. bricks, resting on a floor of 18 ins. by 12 ins. tiles (Pl. VII). In the eastern sector, only three of these tiles were found, in a very broken condition, and no hypocaust pillars. The floor itself (which appeared to have been repaired), partly made of a mortar mix and partly of clay, rested on clay and stone packing over the bedrock, which dipped sharply into the angle of the walls. What was found agrees with the 1865–6 excavation report, in so far as only part of the hypocaust system in this room was complete.

Trench D/62 proved the stokehole to be in the correct position, but the outer wall of the room, built of stone and tile set in mortar, showed no trace of a hypocaust arch. Inside the room were four pillars of 7 ins. tiles, and a block of *opus signinum* almost *in situ* allowed an eastward extension of the floor to be cleared to reveal the bases of

¹ Dodd & Woodward, *op. cit.*, 8–11.



PLATE V.
Oven and third phase pitching in background partly removed.



PLATE VI.
Wall footing from south.



PLATE VII.
Bath-house.



PLATE VIII.
Bath-house flue.

two further pillars. At the end of the wall three large stones made a guiding wall for the draught, and this was carried on inside the room by a baffle wall of small stone in mortar joining the hypocaust pillars, as shown on the 1865–6 plan and omitted in 1924 (Pl. VIII). The large stones were covered with a charcoal deposit, but as they were not removed it is uncertain whether there is a charcoal layer beneath them. Their position suggests a partial blocking of a larger original opening.

Outside the room, the trench revealed several interesting features. A very rough floor of broken tiles with traces of charcoal on and around them, ran along the western side of the trench from the presumed arch. On the eastern side, at the same level, two large 18 ins. by 12 ins. tiles lay at right angles to the floor, as though covering a channel, though there were no traces of sides below. These appear to be the foundation of the complicated arrangement described in 1913–15, and shown on the 1924 plan, but no trace of walling was found on them. South of these two tiles was a thick deposit of charcoal – approximately two cubic feet were removed, containing some badly decayed bones, a whetstone and some fragments of shiny black cooking ware. This corresponds to the fuel deposit noted in the 1913–15 report.

This very rough floor proved to be lying on an earlier floor (Pl. IX) and one of its components had on its lower side the graffito described under 'Inscriptions'. The lower floor, separated from the later floor by clay and stone packing, appears to have lain at the side of the stokehole channel, for on its inner side the charcoal deposit ran vertically. As expected, this lower floor was in turn resting on clay and stone packing over the bedrock. On the inner side, the bedrock itself dipped, as though it had been hollowed out by the builders to make a channel for the fire. The channel itself showed evidence for three periods of use, separated by intervals of time sufficient to allow $\frac{3}{4}$ in. and 1 in. of soil to accumulate over the charcoal.

To confirm that Trenches C and D were in Room 1 and not in Room 3, a further Trench E was opened at what would have been the south-east corner. Trench E/62 proved to be very disappointing as far as structures were concerned, for although plenty of stone and tile was encountered, including a fragment of an *antefix*, none of it suggested a wall. At a depth of 6 ft., a thick layer of decomposing mortar suggested the presence of a lime slurry, but while this was still some way from bedrock it was well below the level at which a foundation should have appeared. Trench E was prolific in pottery, including one stamped amphora handle, and fragments of a very handsome large black jar.

CONCLUSION

Despite the absence of corroborative evidence from Trench E, it is fairly certain from the close relationship between what was found in 1962 and what was reported in 1865–6 and 1913–15, that Trenches C and D were in Room 1. The position of the bath-house in relation to the fort is now clear.

There is clear evidence for two periods of use in Room 1 stokehole as well as three phases of use in the earlier period.

The structural sequence of the bath-house is not yet clear, nor is the dating of the periods, and above all, there is the position of two more hypocaust rooms, the Greenhead-Ravensknowle and the Whitaker rooms, to be fitted into the existing complex.

PART III—THE ANNEXE

By T. G. MANBY

The existence of an annexe north of the Slack fort, along the main York-Chester Roman road was recognised by Dodd and Woodward.¹ Very little excavation was carried out by them in this area but three trenches located the enclosing ditch at the eastern end and traced it along the northern side.² The eastern limit of the annexe was

¹ Dodd & Woodward, *op. cit.*, 37–9, Fig. 35.

² *Ibid.*, 37–9, B1–B3.

assumed to link up with the natural gulley east of the fort and the western limit to be in line with the fort's west rampart.¹ The York-Chester road was sectioned in two places by Villy in 1915 and found to be 22 ft. wide with ditches along each side.²

Pottery recovered from these annexe excavations comprised sherds of Derbyshire ware,³ sherds of grey fumed ware cooking pots, bowls and dishes with lattice decoration; *cf.* Gillam's types 119, 220, 318. These indicated the annexe was occupied between A.D. 125 and the early third century.

As so little was known about the nature of the occupation within the annexe, further excavation was needed to shed some light on the internal lay-out of the area, the kind of occupation and its duration as well as to confirm the extent of the annexe area.

1958 Excavation (Fig. 4)

In December 1958 Mr. J. Saxton reported to the Tolson Memorial Museum the discovery of some stonework during the digging of a drain in the small field opposite the north gate of the fort. Examination showed the stones formed the core of a low ridge, about 20 ft. wide running north-west from the north gate of the fort towards the line of the Roman York-Chester road. It was at once obvious that this ridge was the road linking the fort with the main road.

A trench 3 ft. wide and 25 ft. long was laid down across the ridge and beneath the modern turf and topsoil a cambered road surface 23 ft. wide was found. Its surface had a worn appearance and the road was composed of large sandstone rubble with some soil, the stones were larger at the bottom and rested on undisturbed clay. On the western side of the road a road-side ditch was partly excavated. This was filled with grey sandy clay with occasional large stones and numerous potsherds, pieces of tile, slag and a fragment of blue glass bead.

On the eastern side of the road waterlogging prevented a search being made for a ditch. The examination of the drain trench dug across the field showed a layer of flattish stones 2 ft. 3 ins. wide and 11 ins. beneath the turf; this was suggestive of a wall footing and was 22 ft. east of the road. Between these stones and the road edge a large fragment of an amphora and sherds of Samian and fumed grey ware as well as pieces of tile were collected from the bottom of the trench or the upcast dug from it.

Trenches A-B/59 and A-D/61 (Fig. 4)

Excavation in the north-west corner of the large field east of the 1958 excavation was undertaken with the intention of stripping an area to search for structural remains. In 1959 two parallel trenches were laid down 10 ft. apart and in 1961 the intervening space was examined. Beneath the modern topsoil was a layer of brown clay increasing in thickness towards the west. An eighteenth-century field-drain dug into this clay consisted of a trench filled with rubble with pieces of Roman tile and amphora. The brown clay covered the archaeological deposits, represented by grey clay and stones, resting on the undisturbed clay subsoil.

The principal feature located by this excavation was a U-shaped ditch (Ditch 1) running north-south with a westerly extension at the northern end where the existence of a field drain prevented further excavation. The ditch had irregular sides and was filled with grey clay silt with some pieces of stone and tile amongst it as well as a scatter of charcoal, slag, pottery and glass. Ditch 1 was the eastern limit of a layer of stone pitching composed largely of flattish pieces and extending for 13 ft. to the west. A fragment of a millstone grit quern was incorporated in the western side of the pitching in Trench A/59. The southern limit of the pitching was located close to the northern side of Trench B/59. The pitching was covered by a layer of charcoal (layer 4) which extended west and south beyond the limit of the stonework. In the charcoal and resting on the surface of the pitching were potsherds, pieces of glass and pieces of tile; the pottery decreasing in frequency towards the west and south.

¹ Dodd & Woodward, *op. cit.*, 37; Richmond, *op. cit.*, Fig. 18.

² Dodd & Woodward, *op. cit.*, 37, Fig. 34.

³ *Ibid.*, 63, Pl. xxviii (1926), 305-6.

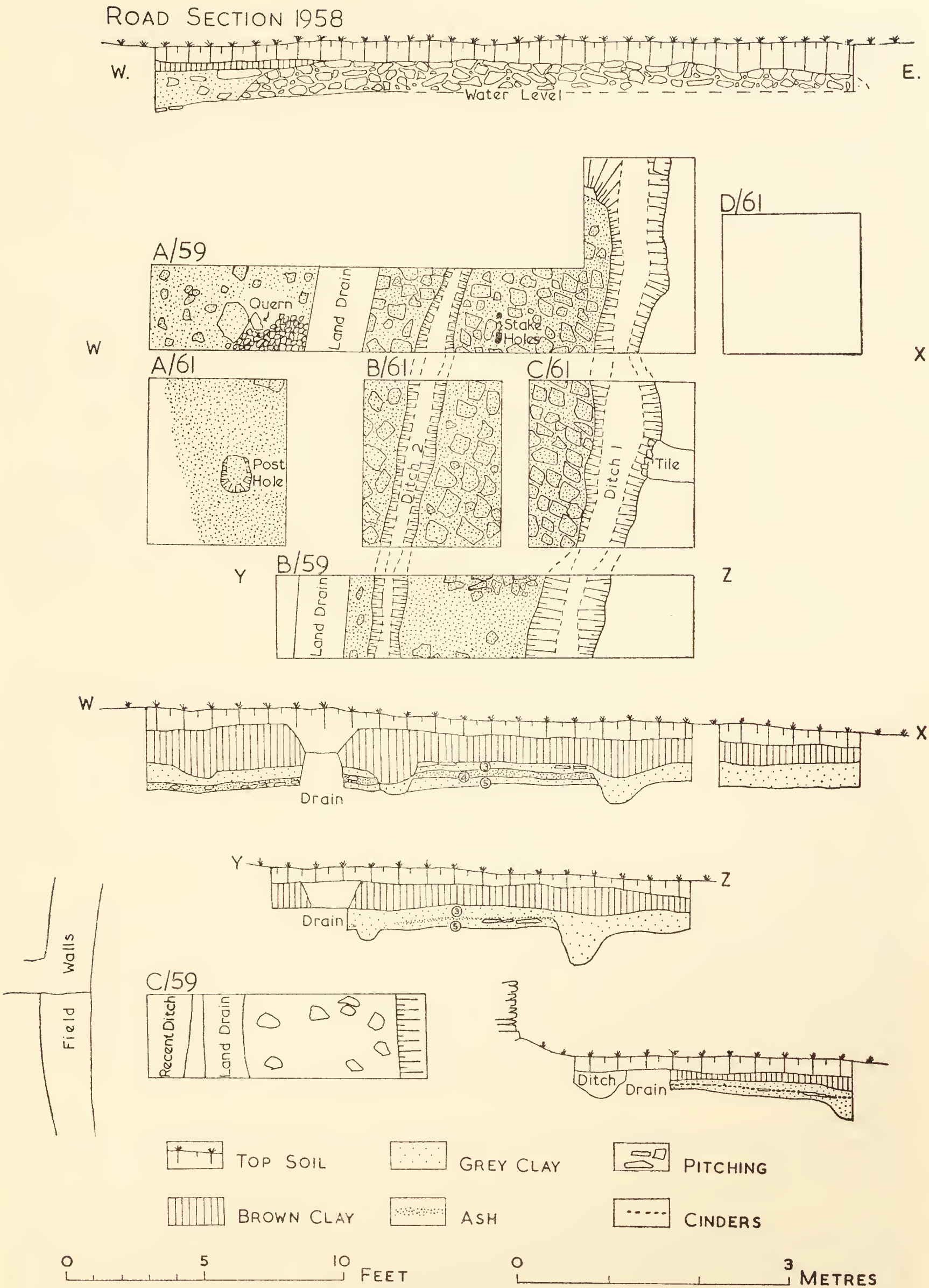


FIG. 4.

A narrow ditch (Ditch 2) had been cut through the charcoal and pitching and in its filling were occasional sherds and two stone discs. Between the charcoal and the brown clay was grey clay (layer 3) with occasional stones and a scatter of potsherds, glass and

tile. This was the only layer present on the eastern side of Ditch 1 where the charcoal and pitching were absent and only part of a large building tile was found bedded in the undisturbed subsoil.

Beneath the pitching layer on the western side of Ditch 1 was another layer of grey clay (layer 5) resting on undisturbed brown clay subsoil. In Trench A/61 there was an oval post hole, 16 ins. by 13 ins. by 13 ins. deep with stone packing and in Trench A/59 there was a pair of rectangular stake holes, 3 and 5 ins. by 3 ins. by 8 ins. deep, all penetrating into the undisturbed subsoil. Evidence of burning and charcoal in the north-east corner of Trench B/61 suggested the site of a hearth and in the grey clay layer was a scatter of potsherds and tile.

Trench C/59 (Fig. 4)

A trench 10 ft. long and 3 ft. wide in the same field as the previous excavation but opposite the end of a field wall dividing the two fields to the north. It was hoped that this trench would locate the southern edge of the York-Chester road on the projected line west from Villy's sections of 1915. However, the northern end of the trench was found to be occupied by a filled-in ditch of recent date with an eighteenth-century rubble drain beside it. In the southern portion of the trench beneath the modern turf and topsoil was a layer of brown clay (layer 2). Under this was a layer of grey clay (layer 3) containing pottery fragments, pieces of tile and slag. This rested on scattered stone pitching and cinders forming a continuous layer (layer 4). Beneath the pitching and resting on the undisturbed brown clay subsoil was another layer of grey clay with occasional stones (layer 5). This deepened at the southern end to fill a U-shaped ditch running east-west whose southern side was not located. In the filling of the ditch was a scatter of potsherds.

The pitching layer 4 does not accord with Villy's description of the road and the road must lie a little further to the north.

Trenches C and D/63

Two trenches were excavated on the eastern side of a shallow natural gully that runs down from the north-east corner of the fort into the Clough on the Fort's southern side. This gully had been assumed to mark the limit of the Roman occupation, protecting the paved area and bath building. Ploughing at this point turned up much stone and a few pieces of Roman tile suggesting occupation. Trench C was 35 ft. long and Trench D, 10 ft. to the north, was 25 ft. long and both were 3 ft. wide. In both trenches a thin layer of grey clay was found beneath the plough soil covering a layer of stone pitching with pieces of tile incorporated in it. Only in Trench C was the pitching removed and investigated down to undisturbed subsoil due to shortage of time.

The section in Trench C/63 was plough soil 6 ins. deep over a thin layer of grey clay deepening towards the west as the slope dipped towards the gully (layer 1). The pitching was of heavy undressed rubble, 1 ft. deep, intermixed with pieces of roofing tile with grey clay and pottery in the interstices. The rubble died out suddenly in the western 7 ft. of the trenches and only the grey clay remained, 1 ft. thick, passing eastwards again under the rubble and gradually decreasing in thickness until the rubble layer rested on the undisturbed clay subsoil. The grey clay at the western end of this trench was extremely rich in pottery, with some glass and occasional fragments of calcined bone.

Discussion

The excavations in the Annexe area of the Slack fort investigated only a relatively small portion of its total area. The line of the linking road between the fort and the main Roman York-Chester road was located. No actual buildings were recognised in the excavations, the pitching in Trenches A and B/59 and A-D/61 with the charcoal and slag suggests a backyard industrial area. Presumably the houses and shops of the Annexe lined the York-Chester road and the link road to the fort; and the very wet nature of the site required an extensive provision of drainage ditches. The pitching on the eastern side of the natural gully, Trenches C and D/63, might constitute the floor of a building, or equally it might be stones put down to gain hard standing on this wet site. However, these trenches show the occupation at Slack covered a wider area than was previously supposed.

The pottery evidence suggests little occupation in the last two decades of the first century, but increasing after A.D. 100 and most intensive in the period A.D. 125–160. Some further occupation down to A.D. 200 is possible. The plentiful amphora fragments, pieces of fine pottery and glass vessels all serve to indicate the prosperity of the Annexe's occupants. In addition to catering for the needs of the garrison this would also have been the last outpost for traffic using the moorland section of the York-Chester road. Clearly the reduction of the Slack garrison in *c.* A.D. 125 did not diminish the Annexe's prosperity. The final withdrawal of the soldiers in *c.* A.D. 140 did not end occupation of the Annexe. However, the building of the Blackstone Edge road as part of a new road pattern in the Central Pennines, based on the re-occupation of the fort at Ilkley,¹ must have isolated Slack from the mainstream of traffic and brought about the death of the settlement.

PART IV

THE ROLE OF THE ROMAN FORT AT SLACK IN THE LIGHT OF THE RECENT EXCAVATIONS

By J. K. T. HUNTER

The present report indicates that the Roman fort at Slack was, with decrease of size, in the occupation of a military garrison for sixty to eighty years. The period of occupation covers the transition from the conquest of Northern Britain under the Flavian emperors to the successive consolidation of the frontier under Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. Within these limits comes a reconstruction under Trajan of forts and fortresses within the military zone.

Trajanic building work at Slack was first described by I. A. Richmond and assigned to *c.* A.D. 104, a mid-way point in the period of widespread reconstruction in stone of military stations and particularly of their defences. The buildings concerned at Slack are to be recognised by association with roofing tiles bearing the unit stamp referred to above (p. 79). The reconstruction at Slack and Castleshaw forts comprised some intramural building in stone (and at Slack an addition to the bath-house), but the turf and clay defences of both were retained. At Castleshaw, however, if Richmond's original suggestion of simultaneity is correct, the form of the reconstruction was more drastic, namely the rebuilding of the entire defences within the area of the larger fort, in order to accommodate a reduced garrison. On present evidence we must suppose some local factor for the difference of treatment whereby at Castleshaw the fort was rebuilt and occupied under Trajan by a quarter-strength garrison, and at Slack, where occupation in any case seems more likely to have been continuous than at Castleshaw, the fort area and probably the unit strength remained the same. The enhanced status of Slack as against the fort at Castleshaw is to be presumed, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, on the basis not only of its size, but of the existence of a large civilian settlement, a commodious bath-house, the operation of the Grimsar tile and pottery kilns, and the later dedication early in the third century and within a few miles' radius, of altars by Roman citizens suggest settlement of time-expired soldiers in the district. At least it is reasonable to assume that the role of the fort at Slack remained the same in the Trajanic phase as in the Flavian, conforming, however, to the now principally administrative requirements of the area and of the period. Native Brigantian unrest and external feuding recur in the mid-second century and we must consider these requirements still stringent.

Since Professor Haverfield first expressed the view, the end of occupation both at Slack and Castleshaw has been regarded as Hadrianic and connected with the frontier works of A.D. 122 and the years immediately following. Indeed, an inscription from Ebchester in Co. Durham possibly dated A.D. 213–22 has been read as referring to the same auxiliary cohort² whose signature appears on the roofing tiles at Slack, though this

¹ Woodward, *Y.A.J.*, xxviii (1926), 305–6.

² Collingwood & Wright, *Roman Inscriptions of Britain* (1965), i, 1101.

offers no proof that the unit had not been replaced by another which continued in occupation at Slack after A.D. 122. The reading is confirmed by the discovery during excavations at Ebchester in 1964 of tile-stamps¹ recording the presence of the unit already familiar at Slack. The present report indicates the continued presence of a garrison for many years after A.D. 122, indeed as late as the reign of Antoninus Pius. With the abandonment of Castleshaw, at Slack alone was a garrison maintained in the upland section of the York-Chester road.

However, as this report suggests, physical reduction of the fort area at Slack is now witnessed for the first time in the building of a wall marking off the north-eastern sector. The most credible moment for this reduction is the Hadrianic settlement of the province, when the cohort was fully or partially withdrawn. General considerations, however, suggest that the stone barrack-block as well as the latest bath-house improvements belong to the last stage of the fort's occupation, and the fact that the rebuilding in stone of only one of the barrack blocks was completed was not due to the total withdrawal of the garrison, but to its reduction. The occasion of, and the reason for, the final withdrawal of the garrison are probably to be found in the accession of Antoninus Pius in A.D. 138 and the northward advance of the frontier to the Forth-Clyde line, an operation which inevitably drew from the Pennine forts every garrison which could be spared.

Some additional and not unimportant conclusions, however, have been made possible by the present excavations.

The fort at Slack in its original conception justified provision for a quingenary cohort at full strength. Though planted on an exposed and naturally ill-drained site near the 900 ft. contour, it attracted a large civilian settlement, the extent of which we may not yet be fully aware. On the other hand neither prestige nor strategy ever demanded more than an earthen rampart for the fort.

THE FINDS

POTTERY

Fort, Trench A/63

Early Road Ditch. Sherd of nodular rusticated ware, grey. Fragments of amphora and red ware.

Gutter through Road. (Fig. 5.1). Mortarium rim in orange ware, grey core. White, black and red grit. Worn stamp, appears to be GENIA(LIS) by comparison with examples previously found at Slack.² Gillam type 244, A.D. 110–150.³

Later Road Ditch. Lid in grey ware, string cut top. Sherds of rim and body of a fumed cooking pot with thin burnished lattice decoration. Amphora, yellow and buff ware.

Intervallum Area (Associated with oven). (Fig. 5.2). Mortarium rim, orange ware with dark grey core, dark sandy grits.

(Fig. 5.3). Beaker of thin brown ware, light grey surface.

(Fig. 5.4). Rim of cooking pot, brown, fumed grey surface. Gillam type 123, A.D. 125–160.

Sherds of fumed grey ware, red ware including a flagon handle, much yellow ware and pieces of amphora.

Pitching over Road and Intervallum. (Fig. 5.5). Bowl rim, soft grey ware with sandy grit.

Sherds of badly eroded Samian, amphora and yellow ware; sherd with linear rustication. Rim of a fumed dark grey ware cooking pot with a wavy line on the exterior of the rim and burnished lattice pattern below. *Slack* 1922, p. 64, No. 8. Fragments of yellow ware mortaria including a base.

Silt West of Road. Sherds of fumed grey ware, hard grey ware, yellow ware and pieces of hard thick grey with quartz and mica grit orange surface in one case.

Gulley in Front of Rampart Footing. Neck of a yellow ware flagon.

Fort, Trench A/62

All from the dirty soil and pitching resting on the rampart bank. (Fig. 5.6). Rim of flanged bowl in grey ware, outbent and reeded rim. *Slack* 1922, p. 65, No. 78; Gillam type 214, A.D. 80–125.

Sherd of Derbyshire ware, thick heavy grey with orange tones; this ware has been found in the Slack Annexe (*Slack* 1922, p. 63, No. 40). Derbyshire ware first appears on sites before the end of the second century.⁴ The rest of the pottery comprises sherds of amphora, red ware and linear rusticated ware.

Fort, Trench A/63

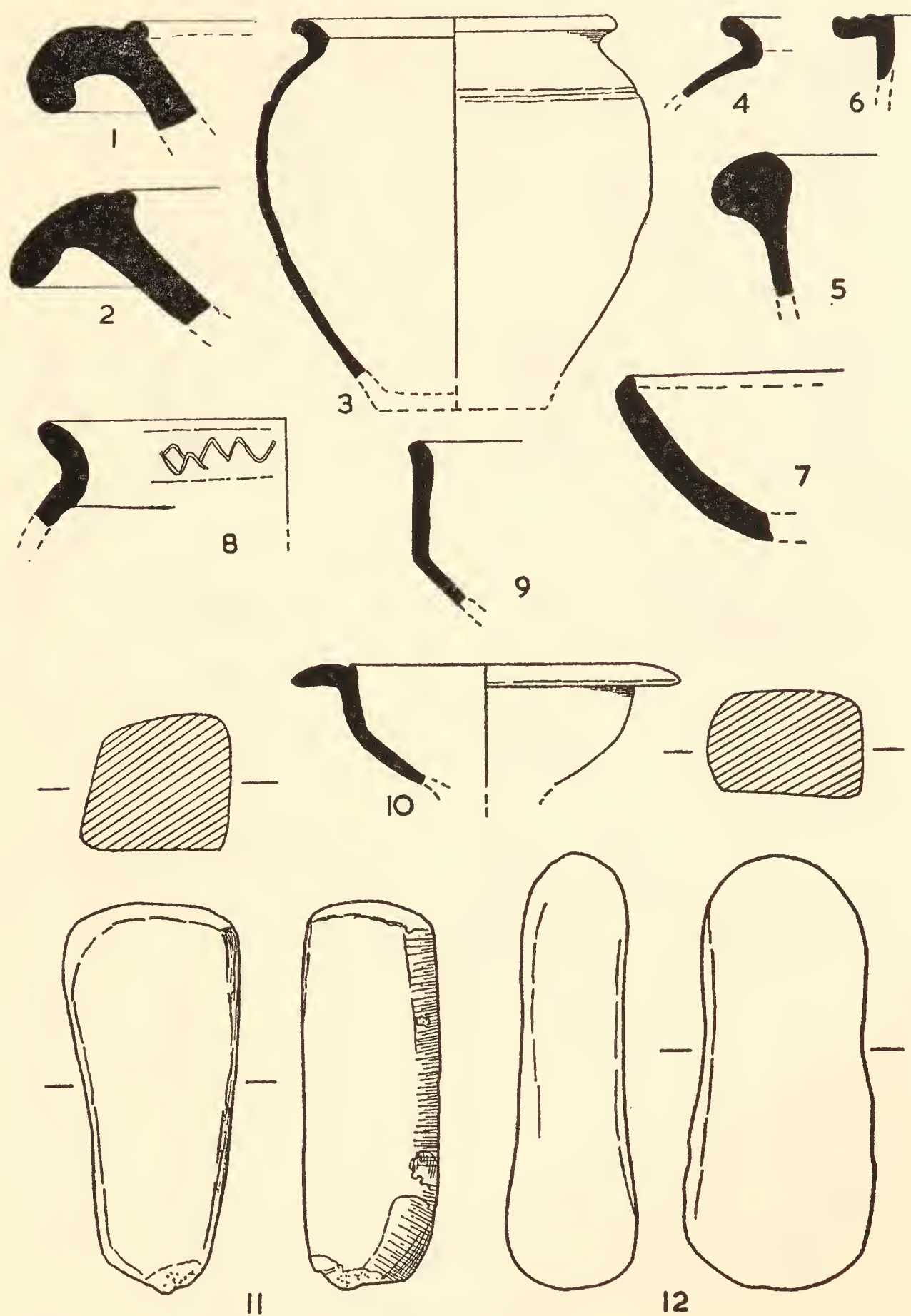
A base of an orange-coloured bowl with a moulded foot and two sherds of yellow ware came from the southern end of the trench. Two grey ware sherds, one fumed, from the road side pitching.

¹ Reed, Harper & Dodds, *Arch. Ael.*, xlii (1964), 178, Fig. 2.

² Dodd & Woodward, *op. cit.*, 70, No. 7, Fig. 44b. Note.

³ Gillam, *Arch. Ael.*, 4th Ser., xxxv (1957), 1–72. Referred to as Gillam with vessel type number and quoted dating following description.

⁴ Kaye, *Derbys. A.J.*, lxxxii (1926), 41.

FIG. 5. ($\frac{1}{3}$).**Fort, Trench B/62**

Under Road Material. A base of soft grey ware.

Road Make-up. (Fig. 5.7). Dish of hard grey ware. Gillam type 337, A.D. 70–100. *Slack* 1922, p. 66, No. 107. *Malton* p. 39, Fig. 7.13. Layer 7 with IX Legion stamped tiles, assigned to the second decade of the second century.

Gulley through Road. Sherds of amphora, yellow ware flagon, fumed grey ware and linear rusticated ware.

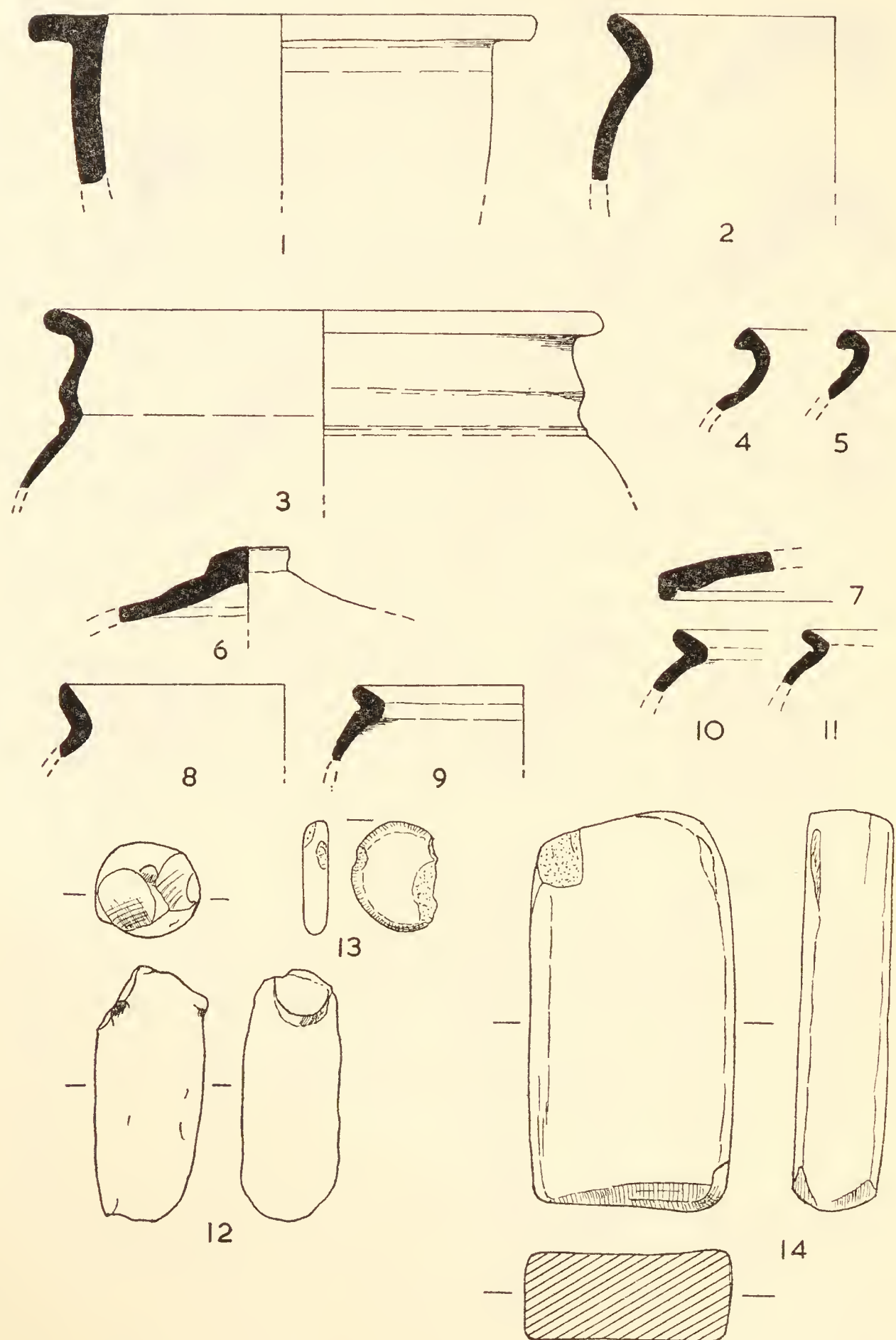
Surface of Road. (Fig. 5.8). Cooking pot of grey fumed ware with a wavy line below the rim. Gillam type 120, A.D. 125–160. *Slack* 1922, p. 62, No. 1 and A/62. Also a plain cup rim in sandy grey ware, sherds with linear rustication, yellow ware and a mortarium fragment in a yellow fabric.

North of Drain. (Fig. 5.9). Red bowl with partial black fuming on the exterior. *Langton*, p. 79, Fig. 25.24).

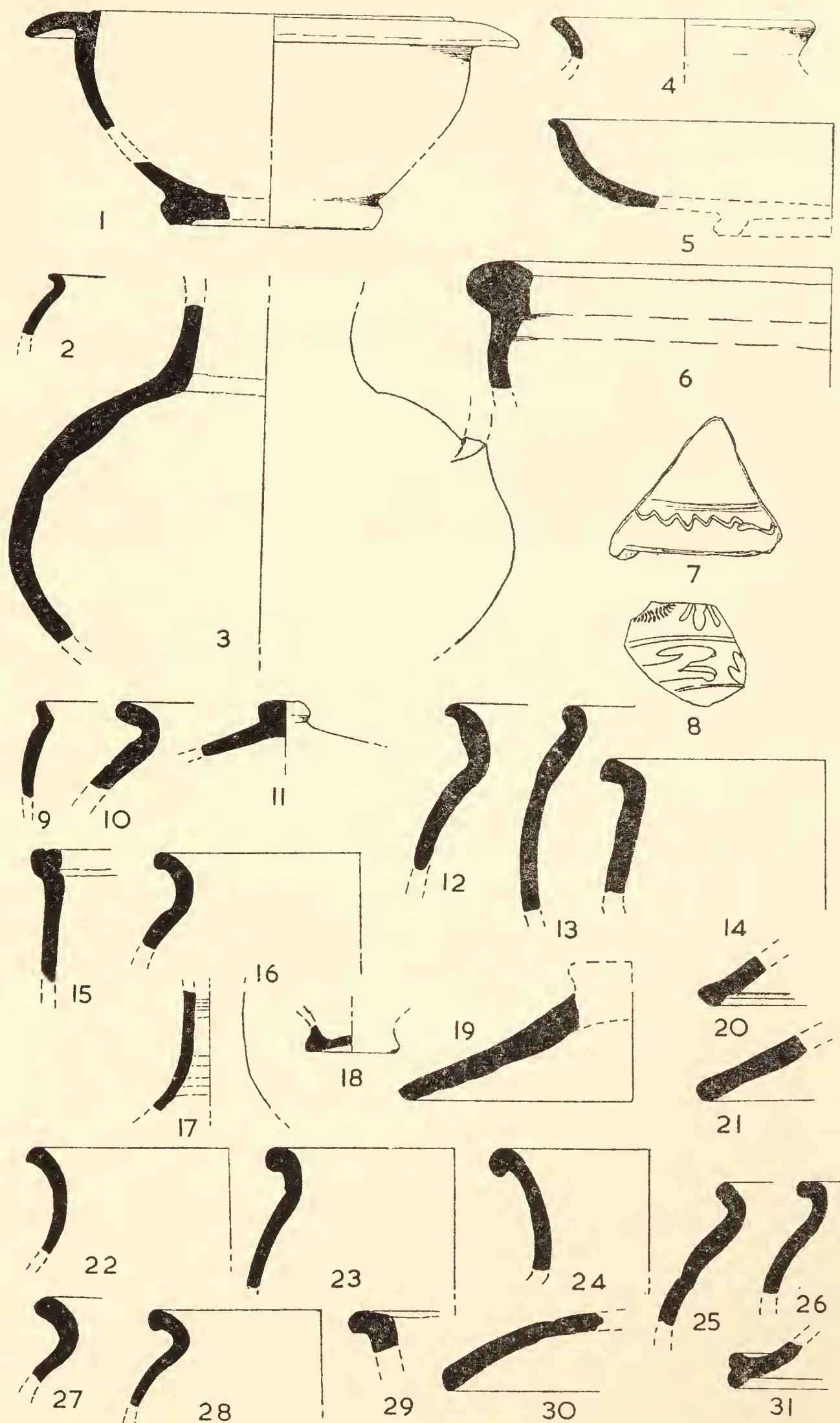
(Fig. 5.10). Small cup with flanged rim, hard grey ware. Sherd with neat rustication, rim and ring foot of a Samian bowl.

Bath-house (Fig. 6)

1. Bowl rim in hard orange ware with sandy grit. From the nineteenth century infilling of Trench C2.
2. Cooking pot rim of hard dark grey fumed ware, burnished exterior $5\frac{3}{4}$ ins. dia. rim. Gillam type 116, A.D. 125–150. *Slack* 1922, p. 62, Fig. 2. Fragment of a second similar vessel, and sherds with burnished lattice pattern. All from the charcoal deposit in the south-east corner of Trench D/62.

FIG. 6. ($\frac{1}{3}$).*Trench E*

3. Upper portion of a wide mouthed jar of dull, smooth grey ware.
 4. Rim of red ware, smooth surface with dark fuming on the exterior. *Slack* 1922, p. 64, Fig. 55.
 5. Rim of red ware with sandy grit.
 6. Top of a lid in hard light grey ware with string cut knob.
 7. Rim of a lid, grey ware, burnished exterior surface.
 8. Rim of a jar in hard coarse brown ware.
 9. Rim of a beaker, hard burnished dark grey with an horizontal incised line on the body.
 10. Rim of a beaker, grey ware with a burnished surface.
 11. Rim of small beaker, red fabric. Gillam type 167, A.D. 80-120.
- 3 to 11 came from the soil and rubble of Trench E/62 with two chips Samian, fragments of latticed decorated fumed cooking pots, sherds of rusticated ware with nodular and linear patterns and an amphora handle.

FIG. 7. ($\frac{1}{3}$).**Annexe 1958 (Fig. 7)***Road side Ditch*

1. Flanged bowl of yellow ware. 5 ins. dia. rim. Gillam type 294, A.D. 120-150.
2. Rim of beaker, coarse yellow ware, dark grey exterior.
3. Body of a yellow ware flagon, spring of handle.
4. Rim of a beaker, red with grey tones on the exterior. 3.5 ins. dia.

5. Rim of a dish with an everted lip, soft orange red ware. 8 ins. dia.
6. Rim of a wide bowl, pitted coarse dark grey ware, light grey core, $9\frac{3}{4}$ ins. dia. (Slack A/63, Fig. 5.5).
7. Lid fragment in light grey ware, incised wavy line between two concentric lines.
8. Sherd of a Samian bowl with parts of wreath and a running animal (dated by B. R. Hartley, A.D. 85–105). A total of ten pieces of Samian ware all abraded and in very bad condition came from the road side ditch. Of four base sherds, two belonged to form 18 vessels and another two to a form 37 bowl. Also in the ditch filling were large fragments of amphora, sherds of light and dark grey ware and small pieces of tile.

Annexe, Trenches A–B/59 and A–D/61 (Fig. 7).

Layer 5, grey clay beneath pitching

9. Jar of soft pitted grey ware, dark grey surface. A/61; also sherds dull grey body and base.
10. Rim of jar, orange-buff fabric, sharply outbent rim with horizontal line on the body. A/59.
11. Top of lid in a soft orange fabric. C/59.

Other pottery comprises sherds of yellow ware, flagons, and some very abraded Samian ware including parts of Central Gaulish bowls, Form 30 possibly BVTRIO (Trajanic-Hadrian) and DONNAVCS (Trajanic), also a sherd of Lezoux ware.

Layer 4, charcoal above the pitching

12. Cooking pot of burnished fumed black ware with soot coating. B/61. Gillam type 122, A.D. 125–160. *Newstead* 1947, p. 32, Fig. 7.17.
13. Cooking pot of dark grey fumed ware, burnished exterior, faint lattice decoration. A/59. Gillam type 118, A.D. 125–160. *Slack* 1922, p. 62, Fig. 11. Other pottery consists of two sherds of *hard burnishes*, dark grey ware with a faint wavy line, a sherd with linear rustication, part of a yellow ware flagon and a flagon handle with three grooves. There were six pieces of Samian ware (one a rim of a Form 37 bowl).

Layer 3, grey clay

Fragments of at least two dark grey fumed ware cooking pots of Gillam type 122 and a third of type 120 with a wavy line beneath the rim. A.D. 125–160.

14. A carinated bowl of smooth orange ware, $6\frac{1}{4}$ ins. rim dia. A/59. *Newstead* 1947, p. 32, Fig. 7.2. Flavian II A.D. 87–105, also at Chesterholm A.D. 79–125.
15. Upright rim with a groove on the top and another within, orange.
16. Cooking pot rim, smooth hard brown, grey exterior. $5\frac{3}{4}$ ins. dia.
17. Neck of small flagon, cream ware with an orange painted surface. D/61; and another fragment from Ditch 1.
18. Base of a small beaker, thin buff ware, dark grey core.
19. Lid of yellow ware, dark tones. $6\frac{3}{8}$ ins. dia.
20. Lid, dense gritty grey fabric, fumed surface. Groove inside.
21. Lid, brown, fumed surface.

Other pottery comprised a sherd of orange rough-cast beaker with dark brown surface, amphora fragments, and a mortarium base of light buff ware with white grit. There were eight very abraded sherds of Samian ware including a rim of Form 35 still retaining most of its smooth glossy surface. Form 35 cups are a rare form at the Slack fort, only represented by five examples and dated to the fourth quarter of the first century. (*Slack* 1922, p. 59.)

Ditch 1. Filling.

22. Jar rim, grey sandy fabric. $5\frac{5}{8}$ ins. dia.
23. Cooking pot, buff, grey core and surface. $5\frac{1}{2}$ ins. dia.
24. Jar rim, soft grey ware, buff surface. $4\frac{1}{4}$ ins.
25. Bowl of cream ware, orange surface with black tones.
26. Bowl of cream ware with a reddish surface.
27. Cooking pot rim, buff with grey core and surface. Other sherds with lattice decoration and one rusticated in this fabric.
28. Cooking pot rim, grey ware, black surface. $4\frac{3}{4}$ ins. dia.
29. Pie dish rim, dark reddish fabric. Gillam type 219, A.D. 125–150. This form is well represented at the Slack fort but in the dark grey fumed fabric.
30. Lid of black fumed ware. Found also in the Slack fort but not illustrated in 1922.
31. Lid rim of fumed black ware. *Slack* 1922, p. 6.

Another lid in a thick coarse grey ware with dark surface, very gritty.

Fig. 8.1. Cooking pot of black fumed ware, 5.6 ins. high, lattice decoration. Gillam type 132, A.D. 140–220. Sherds of other black fumed ware vessels including a rim but unclassifiable.

Other pottery from this ditch comprised fragments of amphora and two sherds of rough-cast beaker, buff with brown slip. The date range of rough-cast beaker is given by Gillam as A.D. 80–200; fragments of several of these breakers were found associated with the north-east rampart building (Site XII). *Slack* 1922, p. 64, Fig. 56. Gillam type 73, A.D. 90–140.

Annexe, Trench C/59

Filling of Ditch

Fig. 7.14. Sherds of a yellow ware flagon.

Fig. 8.2. Flagon neck of gritty red ware, purple tones on the exterior. *Slack* 1922, p. 67, Fig. 114 (at Newstead A.D. 80–105).

Also an out-bent rim of a carinated bowl in yellow ware like that from Fort Trench A/59; sherds of black fumed ware, red ware, linear rusticated ware and a single sherd of Samian.

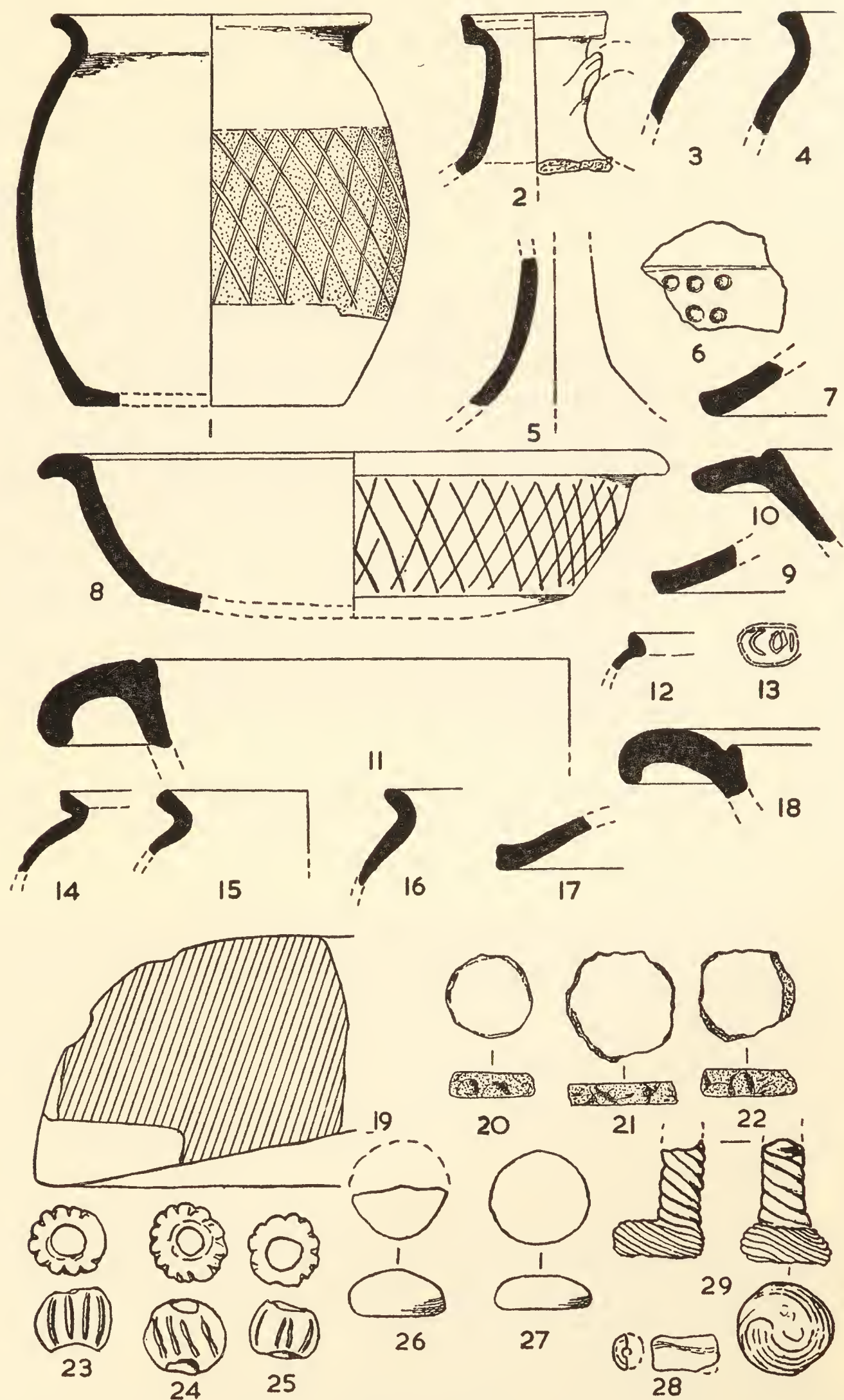


FIG. 8. ($\frac{1}{3}$).

Layer 3, grey clay

Base of a dark grey fumed cooking pot and a sherd of orange fabric.

Annexe, Trenches C-D/63 (Fig. 8)

Grey Clay Layer Western End of Trench C

- 3. Jar rim, brown fabric, grey surface. *Slack* 1922, p. 63, Fig. 29.
- 4. Jar rim, hand-made pitted brown ware with grey surface.
- 5. Flask neck, dark grey.
- 6. Sherds of dark grey fumed ware with applied pellets on the exterior. *Slack* 1922, Fig. 43b, No. 5; *Ilkley*, p. 273, Fig. 42.2 near Gillam type 70, A.D. 120-200.

7. Lid, grey ware.
8. Dish, fumed black ware, lattice decoration, 9 ins. dia. rim; Gillam type 307, A.D. 125–160; *Slack* 1922, p. 64, Fig. 66.
9. Lid, grey ware.
10. Rim of a flanged dish in orange ware with sandy grit. *Malton*, p. 57, Fig. 15.10, pre-fort occupation.
11. Mortarium in soft yellow ware, small lip, hooked over rim. *Slack* 1922, p. 57, Fig. 15.7; Fig. 17.1, pre-fort occupation.
12. Rim of a beaker, varnished ware, orange fabric, dark brown surface. Other pottery comprises pieces of amphora, a base and a three-grooved handle of yellow ware, two rims of Samian bowls form 37 and a base of form 18 or 18/31.

Amongst Pitching

13. Mortarium, hard orange, grit on flange, lower edge of rim missing, stamp in oval cartouche COI. Also fragments of a grey fumed cooking pot and numerous small sherds with lattice decoration. Sherds of red and yellow ware and amphora.

Above Pitching

14. Jar rim of hard smooth dark grey ware, reddish core. *Malton*, Fig. 16.11.
15. Jar rim, hard smooth sandy grey ware; 4 ins. dia.
16. Jar rim of soft reddish brown ware.
17. Lid fragment, grey with dark grey slip.
18. Mortarium rim, cream fabric. Near Gillam type 243, A.D. 100–140. *Malton*, Fig. 15.4 and 8, pre-fort occupation and Fig. 7.3. Trajanic material with 'Leg. IX' tiles. Also two abraded fragments of Samian, amphora fragments and two sherds with linear rustication.

Trench D. Above Pitching

A neck and double grooved handle of a yellow ware flagon; handle of a second flagon in dark grey ware; a fragment of fumed black ware and sherds of amphora.

GLASS

Fort, Trench A/63

Small pieces of a clear greenish vessel from the top of the grey silt west of the road, from the filling of the later ditch and the surface of the late pitching over the intervallum area.

Fig. 8.28. Portion of a glass bead split lengthwise. Dark green opaque surface with a darker vein. From the top of the grey silt west of the road.

Fort, Trench B/63

Piece of greenish window glass with a rounded bevelled edge, cast face on one side. .3 ins. thick. Also a small piece of a moulded glass vessel. Both from the brown soil south of the wall foundation.

Annexe, Trench 1958

A fragment of a melon bead of pale blue faience from the ditch filling.

Annexe, Trenches A/59 and C/61

Fig. 8.29. The end of a stirring rod of greenish glass with a twisted stem and offset foot. Filling of Ditch 1, A/59.

Fig. 8.26. A counter of opaque dark green glass, flattened underside. Filling of Ditch 1, C/61.

Fig. 8.23. A complete melon bead of pale blue faience, layer 3 B/61. Also fragments of two similar beads from layer 3 in C/61 and D/61.

Pieces of bottles in clear greenish glass were found in layers 3, 4 and 5. A piece of cast window glass with a rounded edge was found in layer 4 C/61.

Annexe, Trench C–D/63

Fig. 8.24 and 25. Two melon beads of pale blue faience.

Fig. 8.27. Half a counter of opaque white glass, flat underside. Beads and counter from grey silt at the western end of Trench C/63.

IRON

Badly corroded iron nails were obtained from Fort Trench A/63 from the surface of the road, the late pitching in the intervallum area and the top of the grey silt west of the road. Also from Fort Trench B/62 from the disturbed filling of the drain and the surface of the intervallum road. In Fort Trench B/63 corroded nails were found in the surface of the road from the east gate. In the Annexe Trenches A–B/59 and A–D/61 corroded nails were in the filling of Ditch 1.

STONE

Fort, Trench B/62

From the filling of the gulley through the road, half a disc of brown sandstone, $\frac{3}{4}$ in. diameter and $\frac{1}{4}$ in. thick, underside rubbed down.

Bath-house, Trench E (Fig. 6.13)

A broken disc of brown sandstone, edges rubbed down, 1.4 ins. diameter, .3 in. thick.

Bath-house, Trench D (Fig. 6.14)

A hone of brown sandstone, rectangular, 5.1 ins. long. Whetted down on the sides, faces and one end. From the charcoal deposit in the south-east corner of the trench.

Annexe, Trench A/59 (Fig. 8.19)

Portion of the upper stone of a quern in coarse grey millstone grit (Huddersfield White Rock). The diameter was about 6–8 ins. with two pecked grooves around the upper part. The lower part of the handle hole had been worn away by grinding. Incorporated in stone pitching.

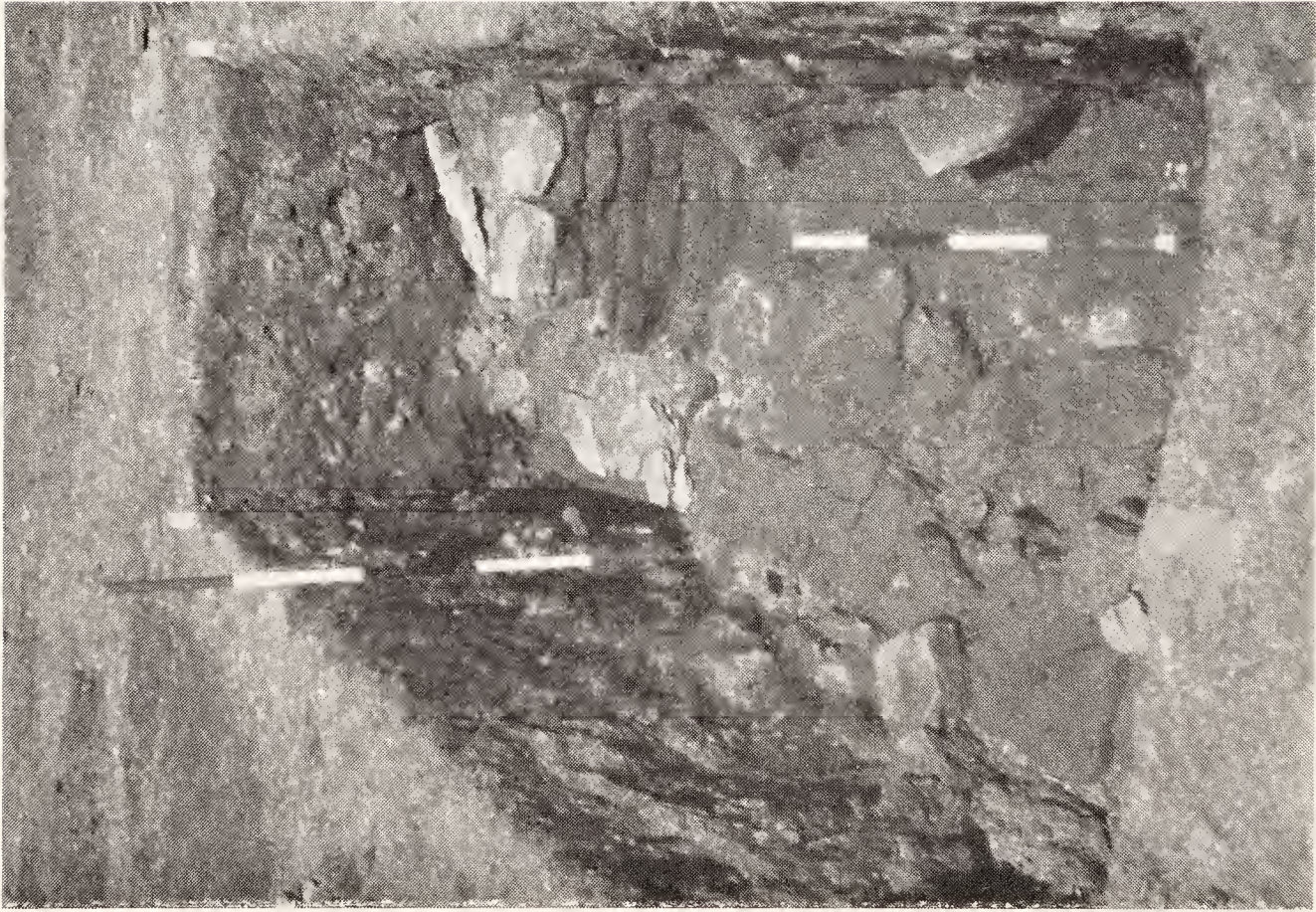


PLATE IX.
Stoke Hole, exterior, earlier floor.



PLATE X.

(Fig. 8.20-1). Two discs of local fissile sandstone with the edges chipped to shape. $1\frac{1}{4}$ ins. diameter by $\frac{3}{8}$ in. and $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins. by $\frac{5}{16}$ in. Found in the filling of Ditch 2.

SLAG

Pieces of slag and slaggy material were obtained from the Annexe Trenches, especially the 1958 road ditch and layers 3-5 and Ditch 1 A-B/59 and A-D/61. The fragments were a brown to black cindery material, glassy in places, some pieces had a burnt clay backing suggesting furnace lining. Analysis showed:—

Silica and silicates	up to 50%
Alumina and Aluminates	up to 25%
Iron Oxide and Salts	5-10%

TILES

The tile finds from the Bath-house excavations are described separately with a review of tile types from Slack as an Appendix.

Fort, Trench A/63

Fragments of flanged roofing tiles were obtained from the surface of the intervallum road and the later pitching. Pieces of red and yellow tile were also common in the upper filling of the later road ditch and the top of the grey silt west of the road. Pieces of a flanged roofing tile and a flat building tile, $2\frac{3}{8}$ ins. thick, were found filling a hollow in the pitched area east of the rampart.

Fort, Trench B/62

Tile fragments were common in the brown soil filling the gulley and covering the intervallum road.

Annexe, Trenches A-B/59 and A-D/61

Fragments of roofing tiles were plentiful in Layers 3-5 and the filling of Ditch 1. They were mostly red or orange in colour with some of buff tone. The greater part of a large red building tile, 3 ins. thick, was found embedded in the subsoil on the eastern side of Ditch 1.

Bath-house, Trench E (Fig. 6.12)

A cylinder of burnt clay with a pair of flattened facets at one end.

INSCRIPTIONS

1. Broken tile re-used in upper floor of Room 1 stokehole of the Bath-house $6\frac{1}{2}$ ins. (.160 m) wide, 8 ins. (.200 m) high, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins.-2 ins. (.045 m) thick, cursive script. Graffito cut before firing, lines 1-3 with softwood stick, line 4 with finer point (Pl. X).

PHILOD
TVS PH
A
PHIL

This is probably a writing exercise using the name PHILODESPOTUS, for which information we are indebted to Mr. R. P. Wright.

2. Stamped tile, Cartouche $5\frac{1}{2}$ ins. (.137 m) long, 1.8 ins. (.046 m) high, letters 1.1 ins. (.027 m) high.

COH III BRE

3. Stamped tile-fragment. Cartouche $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. (.090 m) long, 1.7 ins. (.043 m) high. Letters 1 in. (.026 m) high.

COH III

4. Stamped tile fragment. Cartouche 3 ins. (.080 m) long, 1.7 ins. (.043 m) high. Letters 1 in. (.026 m) high.

III

5. Stamped tile fragment.

C

6. Stamped tile fragment. Cartouche 1.2 ins. (.030 m) long, 2.2 ins. (.055 m) high. Letters unreadable.

7. Amphora handle, buff ware. Cartouche 0.5 ins. (.013 m) high.

C A

Nos. 2-7 all came from Trench E of the Bath-house.

APPENDIX: TILES AT SLACK

By J. E. H. SPAUL

The tiles collected from Slack and York and presented first to the Halifax Literary & Philosophical Society and then to the Bankfield Museum, were studied by Dr. F. Villy, B.A., of Keighley, before being transferred to the Tolson Memorial Museum, Huddersfield in 1922. Dr. Villy's study, published in 1911 as Bankfield Museum Publication No. 10, *'The Roman Remains from Slack'*, is the basis for this account.

- A. Roofing tiles-*tegulae*- flat elongated rectangular with a flange on the two longer sides. The length of the tile varies from 20 ins. (.510 m), the width 14-15 ins. (.355-380 m), thickness 1 in. (.026 m). The height of the flanges from 2-2.7 ins. (.052-068 m), thickness 1 in. (.026 m). The height of the flange varies from 2-2.7 ins. (.052-068 m), thickness 1 in. (.026 m), and some have a slight groove on the inside of the flange. The thickness of the flange varies from .9 in. (.022 m) to 1.4 ins. (.040 m). The underside of the flange also varies in treatment, some examples have a cuboid recess 2.8 ins. long (.074 m) by 1 in. (.026 m) by 1.4 in. (.035 m) at one end of the tile, others have a corner sloped

off (Fig. 9, 1 and 2). A few examples of the flanged tile also have a simple decoration cut before firing on the lower side. The fabric is a dull red (with blue streaks) or an orange red or blue-buff clay.

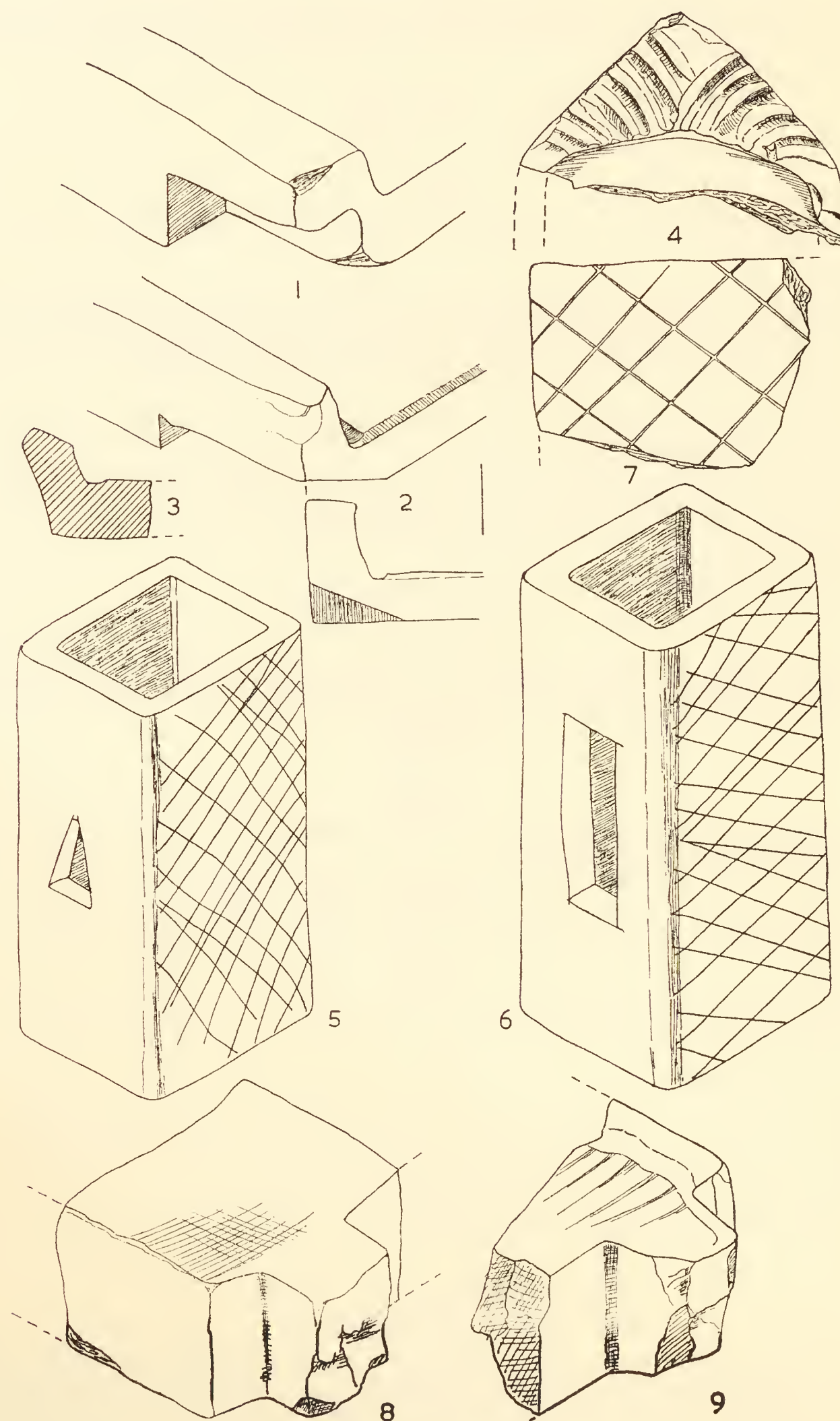


FIG. 9. ($\frac{1}{4}$).

- B.* Roofing tile-*imbrex*-curved tiles, semi-cylindrical, like a gutter. In length these are similar average $17\frac{1}{2}$ ins. (.445 m) to type A, their internal diameter being enough to span the flanges of two tiles in juxtaposition. The average thickness is .7 in. (.017 m). The fabric is orange red with red slip.
- C.* Roof edging tile-*antefixus*-variously shaped flat or decorated. One example was noticed in 1962, but unfortunately incomplete, the lower portion missing. The original height therefore is unknown,

its width was 6 ins. and its thickness 1 in. (.026 m). The decoration of the pediment was simple grooves (Fig. 9.4) and no trace of lettering could be seen on the cartouche. These tiles are associated with legionary buildings, but there are examples from Templeborough fort attached to the imbrex.¹

- D. *Flue-tiles-tubuli*- elongated, hollow rectangular in section, with a number of lateral openings. There appear to be three sizes.
1. 12.5 ins. (.318 m) × 6 ins. (.155 m) × 4.5 ins. (.115 m), thickness .8 ins.
 2. 14.0 ins. (.356 m) × 6.7 ins. (.170 m) × 5.5 ins. (.140 m) thickness .8 ins.
 3. 16.0 ins. (.407 m) × 7.0 ins. (.177 m) × 6.1 ins. (.155 m) thickness 1.0 in.
- These tiles are normally decorated on the inner face with a diamond pattern to provide a keying for the wall plaster (Fig. 9.8) but some have a wavy design as though made with a comb (Fig. 9.5 and 6). Decoration patterns were observed as follows:— 12-tooth comb squiggly, 12-tooth comb wavy, 6-tooth comb diamond, 6-tooth diamond overlaid with 3-tooth parallel. Fabric mostly orange red.
- E. *Building tiles-pilae*- flat, square or rectangular. These occur in many sizes ranging from 7.5 ins. (.190 m) square, 1.4 ins. (.035 m) thick, to 10.7 ins. (.270 m) square, 2.7 ins. (.070 m) thick. One surface is usually smoother than the other, and there is normally no decoration. The fabric is mostly orange red, or dull red (Fig. 9.7).
- F. *Building tiles-pilae*- circular. (Dr. Villy's account.) 8.5 ins. (.215 m) in diameter, 2.25 ins. (.057 m) thick, orange red fabric (not illustrated).
- G. *Voussoir tiles*. Two examples of this type, both incomplete, were found in the 1962 excavations at the bath-house and they appear to be from the same mould. Dimensions are :— length unknown, width 4.4 ins. (.110 m), thickness 2.5 ins. (.064 m). The tenon is set to the side of the end (Fig. 9.8 and 9) and is 1.4 ins. (.035 m) square section. These tiles were used in the construction of a barrel vault and indicate that the bath-house had some of its rooms roofed in this manner. Excavations in 1964 at the Grimscar kiln site, which supplied the tiles used at Slack, has produced complete examples of these voussoir tiles. They measure $16\frac{1}{4}$ ins. long, 13 ins. wide and 3 to 2 ins. thick and 14 ins. long, 12 ins. wide and 3 to $1\frac{3}{4}$ ins. thick; on the long sides there are square tenons at each corner.
- H. *Floor Tiles*- flat rectangular. 18 ins. (.460 m) by 12 ins. (.305 m) by 2 ins. thick (.050 m).
- The use of the various tiles is well known. A, B and C make a decorative roof, D provides channels for hot and warm air, E and F make up pillars which support the floor of the hypocaust, H is the floor tile.

¹ May, *The Roman Forts at Templeborough* (1922), 41 and 122, Pl. xxxvii A-D.

NEVILLE CASTLE, KIRKBYMOORSIDE EXCAVATIONS 1963 and 1965

By ANN M. DORNIER

Site (N.G.R. sheet 92 : 697869)

Neville Castle, Kirkbymoorside, is situated at the southern limit of the North York Moors, which slope fairly steeply down to the Vale of Pickering. It is on the southern end of a spur of land formed by the deep valleys of the Hodge Beck on the west and the river Dove on the east, and lies between the 275 ft. and 300 ft. contours. There is a clear view over the Vale of Pickering, but as the ridge rises gently northwards the prospect is somewhat obscured. The subsoil is a jurassic sandstone with pockets of shales, liassic clays and ironstones.

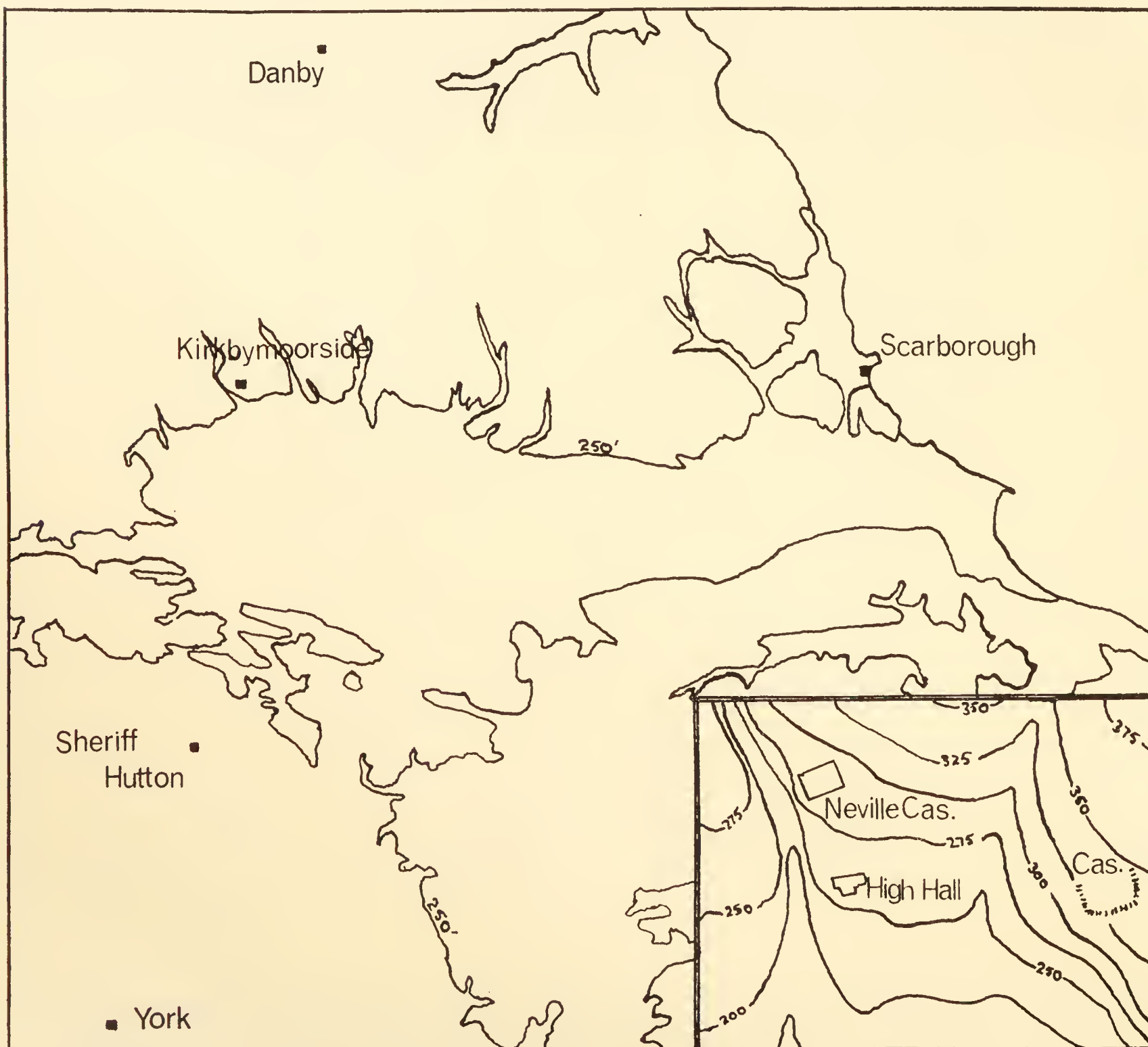


FIG. 1. Map 1.

*Documentary Evidence*¹

The manor of Kirkbymoorside, which was in the Ryedale Wapentake, included Bransdale, Farndale and the hamlet of Gillamoor. The succession of ownership is documented from the beginning of the thirteenth century, but there is no written reference to the buildings on this particular site until late in the sixteenth century.

By 1200 Kirkbymoorside was held by the Stuteville family, after a dispute with the Mowbrays lasting several generations;² and according to local tradition they inhabited the moated castle to the east (Fig. 1).³ In 1233, on the death of Nicholas Stuteville, the manor was divided between his two daughters Joan and Margaret, the former marrying Hugh Wake;⁴ but on Margaret's death in 1255 her share passed to Joan and Hugh Wake.⁵ Their grandson, John Wake, enfeoffed Edward I of his lands in 1298, and they were regranted to him in fee simple.⁶ During the minority of his son John, Kirkbymoorside came in turn into the custody of Henry de Percy, the Ballardi of Lucca and the King.⁷ By default of any direct male line it passed to Elizabeth and Sir John Neville at the beginning of the fifteenth century.⁸ It remained in the Neville family until 1569 when Charles, Earl of Westmoreland, and Christopher Neville, who had leased Kirkbymoorside from Charles' father Henry, were attainted for their part in the Yorkshire Rebellion and their possessions declared forfeit to the Crown.⁹ It continued to be held, however, by Henry's widow, who leased it to Ralph Bowes, a farmer, who, after her death, was still able to renew the lease in 1595.¹⁰ In 1602 half the park was granted to a certain John Gibson for the lives of himself and his sons.¹¹ James I granted the manor of Kirkbymoorside to Charles, Duke of York, in 1605.¹² In 1616 the King granted it to George, Viscount Villiers,¹³ and it was sold by his son the Duke of Buckingham to pay off his debts before 1687.¹⁴ In 1695 it was purchased by Sir Charles Duncome, whose descendant, the present Lord Faversham, is still the lord of the manor of Kirkbymoorside.¹⁵

In a survey of 1570 the building is described as a sixteenth century hunting-lodge of the Nevilles which was 'but symple for an erle, but a good house for a gentleman of worship', the park was 2½ miles in circuit and 'Well replenyshed with fallow deere'.¹⁶ Nevertheless, if the writer is comparing it with such establishments as Raby Castle, it may not have been quite as modest as its description implies. In a Particular drawn up in 1616 there appears the following clause:

It appeareth by a Survey taken by Edmond Hall and William Humberston gent' in the xijth yeare of the said late Queene Eliz; that the Scite of the said Mannor is scituated on the side of a Parke, builded all of Stone and covered with Leade and slate, and served for a removing house for the Earles of Westm'land, when their pleasures weer to hunt and take pastyme in that Countrie, And that the said parke was verie well planted with woode and Tymber and was well replenished with Fallow Deere and Conteyneth in Compasse twoe Myles and a halfe and in measure by the Pole of xx^{le} feet Clxxvij acres wherin was one Keeper and had for his fee lxs. xd.¹⁷

Excavations

Excavations were carried out in the orchard which forms the north-east corner of a roughly rectangular area, with a long east-west axis, which had previously been a farm-yard, and which may preserve some of the plan of the second building on the site.¹⁸ The ground slopes naturally from east to west, but at some stage after the north and east field walls were built the area was levelled, so that there is a considerable overburden at the west end, whilst at the east end the ground is razed almost to the top of the natural

¹ The principal documentary sources are noted in *V.C.H. Yorks., N. Riding*, vol. i, pp. 511-514; some references, together with topography of Kirkbymoorside, are contained in 'Historia Rievallensis', Rev. Eastmead 1824.

² Roger de Hoveden iv, 18.

⁴ *Excerpta e Rot. Fin.* (Rec. Com.) i, 249; *Cal. Close*, 1231-4, pt. 340.

⁵ *Cal. Close*, 1234-7, p. 208.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1313-17, p. 113.

⁹ *D.N.B.*; *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1566-79 passim.

¹¹ *Pat.* 44, Eliz., pt. xvi, m. 25.

¹³ *Pat.* 14, Jas. pt. xxvi, no. 1.

¹⁵ Eastmead, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

¹⁷ *Ms. ZEW.* b. 49, Co. Record Office, Northallerton.

¹⁸ Farm buildings to S. are all that remain; base for hayrick uncovered in N.E. corner of orchard.

³ Eastmead, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

⁶ *Cal. Pat.*, 1292-1301, p. 391; *ibid.*, p. 392.

⁸ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 4 Hen. V, no. 51.

¹⁰ *Pat.* 37, Eliz. pt. v, m. 35.

¹² *Pat.* 3, Jas., pt. xii.

¹⁴ *D.N.B.*

¹⁶ *Misc. Bks. Exch. & K.R.*, xxxvii, 386.

rock.¹ Excavations by Mr. B. K. Davison in 1962 at the west end revealed remains of what are probably the north and south ranges of a building standing to sill height with the contemporary ground level about 7 ft. below the present surface.²

In the orchard the surface of the natural rock was about 1 ft. 8 ins. below the present level. On top of the natural there was a spread of broken stone roofing-tiles, which thinned towards the east except under the north field wall, suggesting that this was the result of the levelling-up operations. Above this was a layer of yellowish brown sandy soil containing sherds from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century. The topsoil was composed of black earth which had probably been brought in from elsewhere.³ Virtually the only structural remains in the orchard itself were the post-holes and traces of the sill walls of Phases I, II and III. The sill walls were set in shallow foundation trenches in the north-east corner, but as the ground sloped to the east and the south they rode over the top of the surface, so that some walls have disappeared completely with only the post-holes remaining as a guide. The remains located under the field walls indicate that most of the present orchard surface is below the ground level of Phases IV and V, and as they appear to rest on the rock with no foundations one cannot assume too readily that no wall ran across the site (see section C-D, fig. 3).

Phases I, II and III.

Phase I is principally represented by a building with its long axis south-west-north-east at least 40 ft. in length. It is of cruck construction, feature *a* (trench 6i) being the internal stylobate for a cruck; this may be the west gable end, particularly as at this point there is a sill wall running north-west-south-east immediately to the west of the stylobate, but it is possible that it is an internal bay and that the building extends further west as there is a posthole on the correct alignment and at the correct spacing along the sill wall. As an integral part of the sill, wall posts were erected at about 12 ft. intervals. The only walling that was preserved for any length (see section A-B, fig. 3) was stepped up as the ground sloped away, presumably in order to maintain a horizontal sill on which to rest the timber-framed superstructure. The wall was one stone in width. The position of the cruck stylobate and the remains of a plaster floor to the north indicates that this was the south wall of the building, which may have been a hall.

A second building (trench 1), aligned north-south, may also belong to Phase I. The ground surface to the south and east may have been slightly higher than the building, as a single line of stone (feature *b*, trench 1) seemed to act as a revetment. The building was similar in construction to the other Phase I building, although there was no evidence of timber uprights. There was a great deal of charcoal within the building, which was possibly a kitchen.

Phase II consisted of the addition of a building to the east end of the (?)hall, which projected to the south. Its construction involved the demolition of the (?)kitchen. The existence of an area of burnt clay may indicate that this addition was also a kitchen, although there may be some other explanation for the clay, and the building may in fact be a solar wing.

In Phase III this extension seems to have gone out of use. The east end of the (?)hall was walled off, and to the east of this a shallow clay-lined (?)water tank (feature *c*, trench 1) was inserted, partly overlapping the foundation gully of the east wall of Phase II. Sealed in the gully was a fragment of fifteenth/sixteenth century Hambleton ware.

Phases IV and V.

The substantial nature of the masonry of Phases IV and V is in marked contrast to the earlier buildings and seems comparable to that at the west end of the site which suggests a fifteenth/sixteenth century date.⁴ In trenches 5i and 5ii there was a projecting course of blocks at the base of the wall which appear to be the foundations of Phase IV, although it

¹ Their foundations are about 1 ft. 6 ins. above orchard level.

² Information kindly supplied by excavator.

³ The area is known to have been used as local rubbish tip.

⁴ The writer is indebted to Dr. Eric Gee of the Royal Commission, York, for pointing this out.

KIRKBYMOORSIDE 1963 & '65

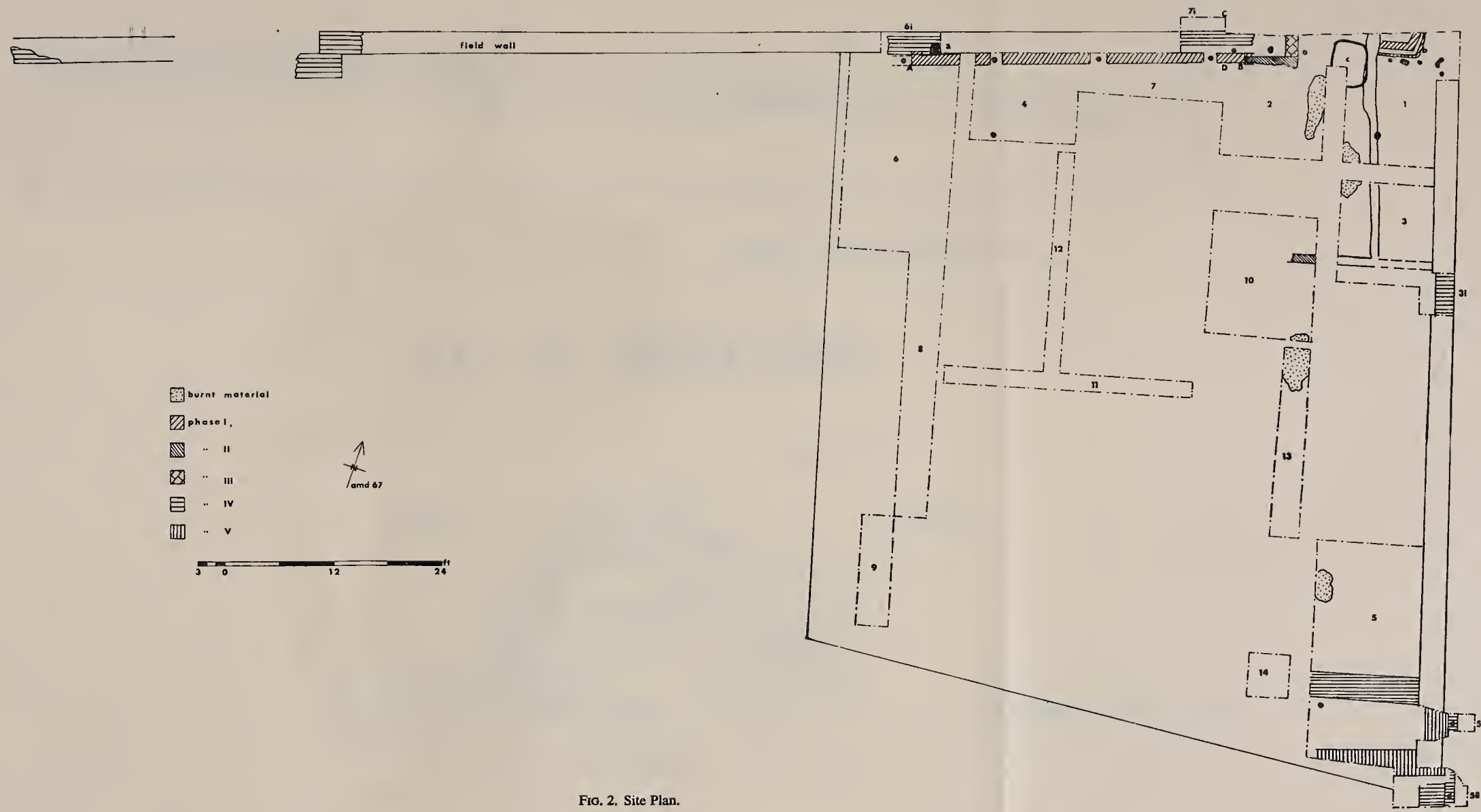
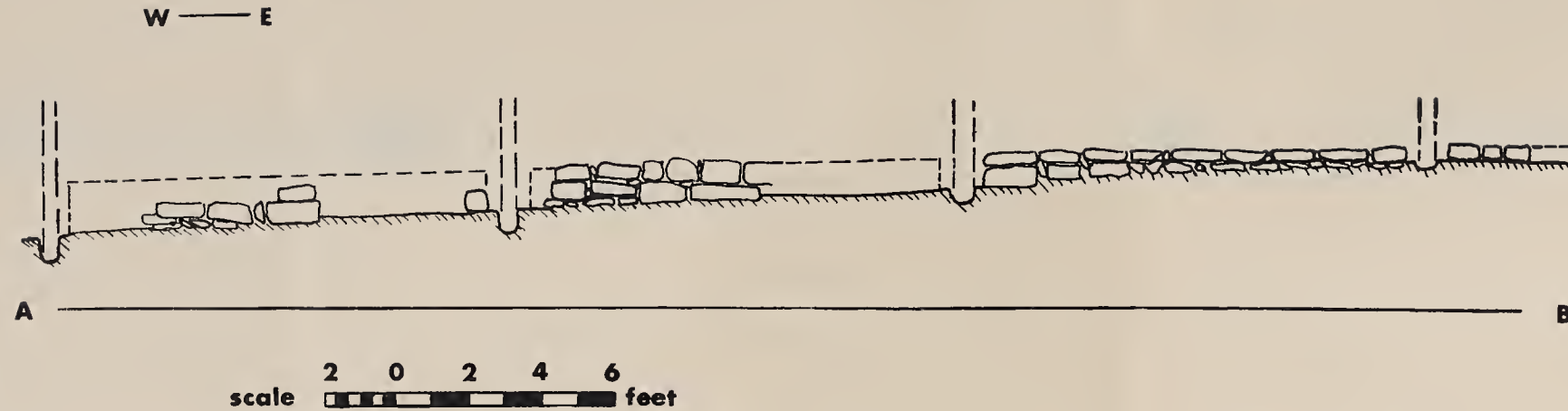


FIG. 2. Site Plan.

SECTION A—B



SECTION C—D

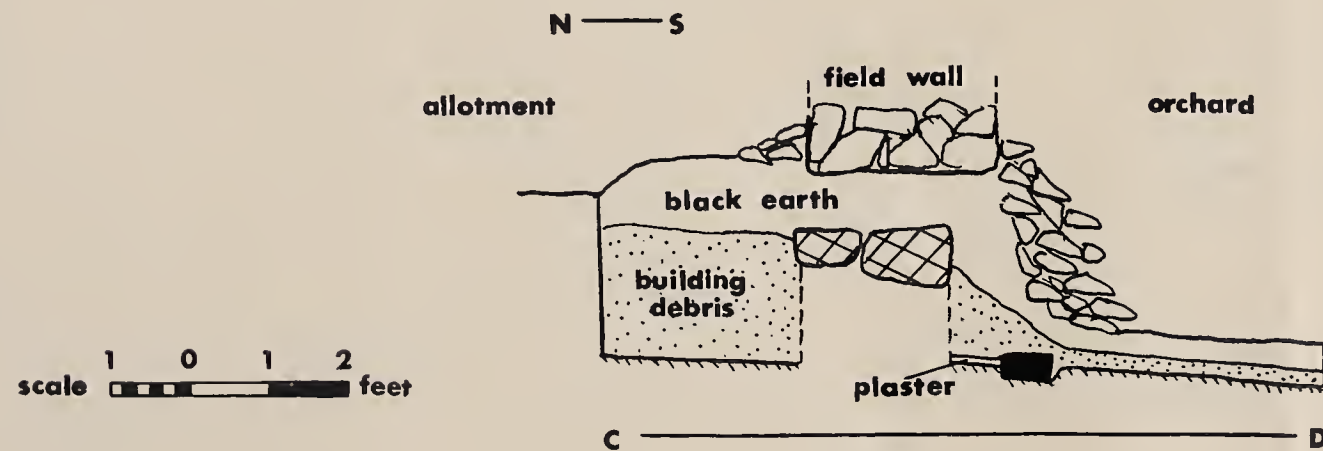


FIG. 3.

is possible that they are the remains of an earlier wall. Phase V has been interpreted as a remodelling of part of the building complex of Phase IV, but the walling in 6i, 7i, and 3i and at the west end of the site may belong to V rather than IV and represent a major rebuilding. No walls of Phases IV and V were found to cross the orchard.¹ One could be within a hall, but it is possible that this area was an open courtyard, and the buildings located represent the north, east, south and west ranges.

*Pottery*²

Owing to the levelling operations there were virtually no stratified mediaeval layers. Only three sherds were unquestionably stratified: (1) sherd in the foundation trench of remaining sill wall of Phase I building of uncertain date, (2) green glazed roofing tile in the building débris overlying the (?)hall wall and under the wall of Phase IV, also of uncertain date, (3) sherd sealed under the trough of fifteenth/sixteenth century Hambleton ware. Most of the mediaeval pottery was found in the spread of broken roofing tiles, the top of which had obviously been disturbed when the site was robbed and levelled as later sherds were also found.³ Where the tiles were still several inches thick at the west end the bottom of this layer consistently produced thirteenth to fifteenth century sherds together with two sherds of the twelfth century. The majority of the pottery and tiles were probably made in local kilns and generally exhibit the characteristics of the mediaeval products of the area. A few sherds, however, can be identified with more localised types: there are examples of Hambleton ware ranging from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century; a few sherds of thirteenth to fourteenth century vessels and possibly one of the sixteenth century from York;⁴ an example of Scarborough ware of perhaps the early fourteenth century;⁵ a couple of sherds from vessels from the Humber basin of fifteenth century date; and a sherd from perhaps an early sixteenth century Cistercian jug. There were several ridge tiles with the matt green glaze used in this area from the late fourteenth to the sixteenth century, together with a few unglazed roofing tiles; and there was also a green glazed tessera similar to those found in the mediaeval pavements of the local abbeys (see Appendix).

*'High Hall'*⁶

This house lies to the south of the castle site (see map 1). It was built at the beginning of the seventeenth century and is unlikely to have been erected so near to the castle if the latter was still in use. This would imply that it had been finally abandoned by that date and that the High Hall became the new manor house.

Architectural Fragments in the Garden of 'High Hall'

There is no actual evidence that these two fragments came from the Neville Castle site, but they are unlikely to have come from the Church, and it seems reasonable to suppose that they were taken from the nearby building: (1) base and capital of a half-engaged column, probably of a doorway, c. 1300, (2) part of a square-headed window with a blind spandrel of late fifteenth to sixteenth century date.

Summary

The earliest buildings on the site may have been a hall with a separate kitchen block. At some stage the (?)kitchen was demolished to make way for an eastward extension to the (?)hall, resulting in an L-shaped building; the addition may have been a kitchen or a solar wing. In the fifteenth/sixteenth century this addition went out of use, and possibly the site became an open area, particularly in view of the (?)water tank. It is probable that there are more extensive remains of this early building complex to the north of the orchard. There is no conclusive evidence to suggest that it was a manor house, though this is extremely likely. It is possible that it was established as a separate household when the manor was divided in 1233, but this date seems a little early for the evidence as it

¹ But see above, p. 100.

² Most of the pottery was kindly identified and dated by Mrs. J. Le Patourel.

³ The local toll-booth is reputed to have been built with stones from this site.

⁴ Cf. *Arch. J.*, cxvi, p. 96, no. 4.

⁵ Cf. Rutter's 'Medieval Pottery in the Scarborough Museum', 1961, p. 33, no. 38.

⁶ This house, and the architectural fragments were dated by Dr. Gee.

stands at present; and it may just be that a manor house of a less defensible and more comfortable nature was desired, and the castle to the east abandoned in favour of this site. The pottery suggests that it continued to be occupied until the end of the fifteenth century/beginning of sixteenth century, when it was demolished to make way for a different type of building. The Neville family rebuilt many of their establishments about this date; and they seem to have adopted the fashion of building their manor houses in a quasi-military style. The plans of the ones at Sheriff Hutton¹ and Danby² have been preserved: the buildings were ranged round a central courtyard with towers at the four outside corners. The remains of Phases IV and V at Kirkbymoorside suggest that this courtyard plan was adopted, although it is not certain whether there were any towers. It seems likely that this manor house fell into general disrepair after the attainder of Charles, Earl of Westmoreland in 1569; and was possibly unoccupied after the death of Henry's widow in 1595 if not before. By the time that the manor had passed to George Villiers in 1616 it would have required extensive repair and, perhaps more important, by that date a more sophisticated type of dwelling was required. In consequence a new manor house, the present High Wall, was built on a new site further south.

APPENDIX

SPECTROPHOTOMETRIC ANALYSIS OF TILES

This spectrophotometric analysis was made possible by Mr. J. le D. Spencely of Roughdales Brickworks Ltd., St. Helens, who kindly arranged for the samples to be analysed by The British Ceramic Research Association. Eight representative fragments of the unglazed mediaeval tiles were analysed. It is hoped that it will thus be eventually possible to associate them with a particular local kiln. (*samples dried at 110°C*)

Silica	67.9	70.1	66.1	73.3	69.7	73.4	68.9	64.7
Titania	1.05	0.84	1.71	0.86	0.84	0.84	1.71	1.42
Alumina	18.9	15.8	19.3	15.2	15.6	15.0	17.6	24.6
Ferric oxide	6.48	6.36	5.30	5.34	5.88	5.38	5.48	3.50
Manganic oxide	n.d.*	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.
Lime	0.40	0.75	0.93	0.51	0.89	0.52	0.67	0.59
Magnesia	1.32	1.32	0.80	1.33	1.88	1.29	0.93	1.17
Potash	2.72	2.66	2.73	2.68	3.39	2.49	2.51	2.10
Soda	0.34	0.42	0.28	0.35	0.63	0.29	0.32	0.22
Lithia	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Loss on ignition	0.54	1.82	2.66	0.66	0.84	0.78	1.64	1.96
Total	99.66	100.08	99.81	100.23	99.66	99.99	99.77	100.27

* N.d. denotes not determined.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to record my thanks to the owner, Mr. Stuart Cooke, for his ready co-operation, and to Misses Gabrielle M. Spencely and P. McClure, Mrs. P. Barron, and Messrs. Steven J. Taylor, Robert Moore, David Barron, and Paddy Devlin, who assisted in the excavation. My other debts are acknowledged in the text.

¹ *V.C.H. Yorks., N.R.*, vol. ii, p. 172.

² *ibid.*, p. 334.

A LOST LINK WITH LAURENCE STERNE

By JOHN H. HARVEY, F.S.A.

It has long been known that *Tristram Shandy* was refused by several publishers but was ultimately brought out in 1760 by the author, with the help of £100 put up by a certain Mr. Lee of York. The identity of this friend of Sterne's, and benefactor of literature, has remained mysterious. Although various persons with the common surname of Lee were in contact with Sterne at different periods of his career,¹ none of them appeared to fit the brief description given of this liberal backer.

The story of the publication goes back to anecdotes of Sterne collected by John Croft, F.S.A. (1732-1820) and sent to Caleb Whitefoord in 1795.² Croft and his family were on very close terms with Sterne, who was vicar of Stillington, of which village the Crofts were the squires. There can be no doubt of the authenticity of John Croft's information.³ In his own words the story runs:—

'After some time a Mr. Lee a Gentⁿ of York and a Bachelor of a liberall turn of mind lent him (Sterne) One hundred pounds towards the Printing of the Work, which took place in the year 1760, when the two first volumes of *Tristram Shandy* were first printed at York and about 200 Copys printed.'

The problem of identification lies in the discovery of a Mr. Lee who was, in the eighteenth-century sense, a gentleman, unmarried, resident in York, and with literary leanings. The lack of any directories so early as 1760 leaves no opportunity for the easy discovery of those of the gentry who resided in York at the time. The perusal of subscription lists and of published correspondence of the period has likewise hitherto proved fruitless.⁴

A probable answer has at last appeared as a by-product of research into the architectural history of York and the builders and occupiers of its wealth of Georgian houses.⁵ In spite of the lack of certain sources, such as directories, there is a considerable body of evidence relating to the owners and occupiers of York houses, notably in the registers of conveyances and mortgages brought before the Lord Mayor for enrolment.⁶ From the deeds enrolled, as well as from material in the York newspapers of the period, it can be shown that two areas of the city were, in mid-Georgian times, particularly fashionable: Bootham, to the north-west of the city on the main road towards Scotland; and Micklegate within the Bar, and its suburban continuation, Blossom Street, on the road to Tadcaster and London. A very large proportion of the nobility, gentry, clergy and professional men, known from miscellaneous sources to have lived in York, can be assigned to particular houses in these two areas.

The most fashionable section of Micklegate was that nearest the Bar, and both that part of the street, and its suburban continuation, Blossom Street, were in the parish of Holy Trinity, for which a good series of rate-books survives. From these and other

¹ See W. L. Cross, *The Life and Times of Laurence Sterne*, 3rd ed., 1929/1967, index, p. 647.

² Printed in *The Whitefoord Papers*, ed., W. A. S. Hewins, Oxford, 1898, pp. 223-235.

³ Croft not merely had the opportunity to obtain first-hand information; he was noted for 'his habit to put down in his note-book at home whatever anecdotes and criticisms he could collect in his walks abroad.' (Robert Davies, *A Memoir of the York Press*, 1868, p. 310.)

⁴ Since the above was written, Lee's name has been found in two lists of subscribers: by Mr. Kenneth Monkman, who has discovered 'Mr. Phillips Lee' among the subscribers listed in Vol. I of Sterne's *Sermons* (1760); and by Mr. Bernard Barr, who finds 'William Lee Phillips, Esq. (2 copies)' in the list to Thomas Gent's *The . . . History of the . . . Great Eastern Window in St. Peter's Cathedral, York* (1762); see below, in text and notes.

⁵ The basic research in progress was carried out for the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England). I am grateful to the Commissioners for permission to make use here of facts discovered in the course of this work.

⁶ York Corporation Archives, E.93-E.98, covering 1719-1866. This system of enrolment for greater security of title goes back to the Middle Ages, but had in York been discontinued about the time of the Civil War. It seems to have been revived, on a permissive basis, at the time that the compulsory Registries of Deeds were set up in the three Ridings of Yorkshire.

sources it is possible to make out the succession of occupiers of most of the houses, and to identify these through the directories of a later period.¹ The Holy Trinity rate-books², which begin with an assessment of 1774/75, record that the house later known as No. 40 Blossom Street, was occupied by Wm. Phillips Lee, Esq., while the parish register shows that he died in 1778,³ aged 71. He was, therefore, about 53 at the time of publication of *Tristram Shandy*.

Surprisingly little can be found in York sources regarding William Phillips Lee, but his obituary notice⁴ remarks upon his 'extensive Charity', and indicates that he was both comfortably off and generous. Nothing is said of a widow or surviving family, and his unmarried state is borne out by his will, proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on 2 May 1778. Setting aside for the present the evidence of the will as to his family connections, property, and friends, one other piece of evidence remains to be mentioned, as proof that he was a man of distinguished taste in literature. This is an advertisement placed by the well known York bookseller, John Todd of Stonegate, for 'A Catalogue of the entire Libraries of William Phillips Lee, Esq., of York, and two other learned Gentlemen, lately deceased: Comprehending a great Variety of the most valuable Articles in every Class of Literature, and in most languages'.⁵

It is Lee's will which enables him to be identified, and which shows that he moved in the same York circles as had Sterne. He described himself, when he made the will on 24 December 1772, as 'of the City of York', but in making a codicil on 6 October 1776 he was 'now without Micklegate Bar in the Suburbs of the City of York'; he had, therefore, moved from some other York address to No. 40 Blossom Street between the end of 1772 and the summer of 1774.⁶ From the will we learn that Lee's estate lay in the counties of Berkshire, Buckinghamshire and Wiltshire, and that the main interest was left to his godson William Trumbull Sandys, eldest son of the late Colonel Martin Sandys, with reversion if he should die without male issue in succession to his younger brother Edwin Blundell Sandys; to Clement Cotterell son of Sir Charles Cotterell Dormer, knight, and his sons; then to the eldest son of the Revd. Dr. John Mosse of Great Hampden, Bucks., and his male heirs.

Only servants and friends are mentioned in the will, and it must be presumed that William Phillips Lee had no close relatives. This is confirmed by such evidence as is so

¹ The earliest York Directory in its own right is exclusively of persons in trade, an appendix to the *York Guide* of 1787, but the earliest list so far discovered is that in Bailey's *Northern Directory* of 1781, followed by one in Bailey's *British Directory* of 1784. The first separate list of the gentry appears in *The Universal British Directory*, Vol. 4 of 1798. The earliest directory of York to show general street numbering is in Pigot's *National Commercial Directory* of 1828, general volume. I am much indebted, for help in connection with the York directories, to Mr. Maurice Smith, York Reference Librarian; to Dr. A. E. Hollaender of the Guildhall Library, London; and to Mr. J. G. W. Lewarne.

² I have to thank the Ven. C. R. Forder for kindly allowing me to consult these, and the records of the adjacent parishes of St. Martin and St. John, Micklegate, while they were kept in the vestry of Holy Trinity, Micklegate. These documents have now been deposited at The Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York.

³ The entry in the book for 1693-1787, under burials, runs:—William Phillips Lee (of) this Parish (Gentleman *deleted*) Esqr. (died) Thursday March 12 (buried) Tuesday March 17 (in) Church Yard (aged) 71 (distemper) Old Age. His tomb cannot now be found, but the former existence of an inscription appears from the list included in the 1785 abridgement of Drake's *History and Antiquities of the City of York* (printed by Ann Ward), Vol. iii, p. 142.

⁴ In the *York Courant* for Tuesday, 17 March 1778: 'On Thursday died at his House in this City, aged 70, of a lingering and painful Illness, which he bore with great Fortitude and Resignation, William Phillips Lee, Esq.: A Gentleman of extensive Charity, devoid of Ostentation, which renders his Death a Public Loss'.

⁵ In *York Courant*, 19 May 1778. No copy of this item survives in the collections of Todd's catalogues in the York Minster Library, York Public Library, or The British Museum. I have to thank Dr. A. N. L. Munby, Mr. James E. Walsh, Keeper of Printed Books of the Houghton Library, Harvard University; and Messrs. Henry Sotheran Ltd., for help in the search for a copy of this catalogue.

⁶ A possible clue to Lee's earlier residence may lie in a deed of 15 April 1776 conveying a moiety of two messuages on the east side of Skeldergate, York, then or lately in the occupation of a number of persons named, among whom appears William Phillips Lee, Esq. (York Corporation Archives, E.94, f. 184v). It has not so far proved possible to identify these premises, but they must have lain beside the river, to the south of Ouse Bridge.

far available concerning his family.¹ The family is said to have come from Cheshire and was settled at Quarrendon, Bucks., in the fifteenth century. Robert Lee (died 1621), son of Robert Lee (died 1572) of Beaconsfield, Bucks., settled at Binfield, Berks., and was the father of Robert Lee of Binfield and the Middle Temple (1602-1667). This last Robert Lee married Elizabeth Archdale and had two children, Robert Lee (1646-1736), Verderer of Windsor Forest, and Judith (died 1681). The brother and sister married, respectively, the sister and brother, Lady Mary Alexander (died 1681) and Henry Alexander, 4th Earl of Stirling (c. 1639-1691). Robert Lee left no issue, but Judith had three children: Judith, who married Sir William Trumbull; Henry, 5th Earl of Stirling; and Mary (1669-1721), who married Captain John Phillips. Of this marriage there were three sons, Charles Phillips, Robert (1706-1755), and William; the two latter took the additional surname of Lee in accordance with the will of their great-uncle Robert Lee when he died in 1736; William Phillips Lee (c. 1707-1778) is the subject of the present note. It does not appear that any of the three brothers had children, and our Lee was the last of his line.

The incidental information to be derived from the will and codicil of William Phillips Lee² consists mainly of the names of his servants, his friends, and his acquaintance in York. His friends include his two Executors, the Rt. Hon. Robert Bertie (commonly called Lord Robert Bertie) and Sir Charles Cotterell Dormer; Lady Robert Bertie; Mrs. Ann Wilson of Cross Street, Hatton Garden, London, widow of Samuel Wilson, Esq.; the Revd. Dr. John Mosse; Mr. John O'Caroll (by 1776 Sir John O'Caroll, Bart.) and his wife Lady O'Caroll; the Revd. Mr. [Henry] Egerton, Archdeacon of Derby; and Dr. John Parsons of Oxford. His local acquaintance at York numbered the Dean, the Revd. Dr. Fountain [John Fountayne, 1714-1802]; William Stables, Esq.; Mrs. Humphry; the Revd. Mr. Peacock; Matthew Chitty St. Quintin, Esq. (who was to have 'all the Madeira in my Cellar at my decease'); Dr. Swainston ('my Gold Repeating Watch made by Tho. Mudge with the Gold Chain and Seal'); Stephen Croft, Esq.; Alderman Henry Jubb; Mr. Robert Bewlay; Mrs. Humphreys in Micklegate; the two Mrs. Warrens 'without Boutham Bar'; Mrs. Parsons, widow of Major Parsons; Mrs. Bewlay in Micklegate, and Mrs. Cassons, wife of Mr. Henry Cassons. The mention of Stephen Croft (1712-1798) is significant, as he was the head of the Stillington family, and eldest brother of John Croft, compiler of the anecdotes of Sterne.³

Lee's servants comprised Joseph Phillips (who had left his service by 1776), housekeeper Mary Dove, cook Frances Oram, groom William Sweeting, George Boyce, and stable boy Edward Boyes, son of John Boyes of Holgate. In no obvious category of legatees fall Mr. Benjamin Burton, receiver of rents of Master William Trumbull Sandys; Mrs. Ann Bennington, wife of Mr. John Bennington, oil man at Number Six, Philpot Lane, London; and Mr. Timothy Mortimer, who witnessed the codicil and was to have care of the funeral arrangements.

That Lee must have been a man of considerable wealth is shown by cash legacies, amounting to nearly £3,700, besides annuities to a total of over £100 per annum. Not very much can be deduced as to his personal property, though he left to Mary Dove his housekeeper the 'China and Bed Table and Wearing Linen in her charge and Apparel except Watches Rings Buckles & Buttons. And my three Eider Downs used for the Bed & Chaise and a piece of Brown Damask intended for Night Gowns and my Damask Night Gown made up from the same Piece'; to William Sweeting the groom 'the Chaise and Horses or Mares with all Furniture except the Eider Down Bag'; and to Sir John

¹ For help in identifying Lee I am indebted to Mr. L. R. Muirhead, to Mr. Elliott Viney, and especially to Miss Cicely Baker, Honorary Archivist to the Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society. Miss Baker has kindly provided me with copious extracts from the family collection 'Related to Lee' (part II, pp. 365-7), compiled by Colonel Melville Lee and now in the Buckinghamshire County Record Office. See also *Complete Peerage*, revised ed., xii, 1953, pp. 283-5, and the authorities there quoted, as well as Appendix G in that volume, p. 15, note g, which shows that in June 1760 William Phillips Lee was already 'of the city of York' when he joined his relatives in an unsuccessful petition for part of New England (including Long Island) granted to the Earls of Stirling in 1635.

² In the will, P.C.C., 204 Hay, the name is spelt as William *Philipps* Lee; but this spelling is not found in any other source.

³ Joseph Foster, *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire*, Vol. i, 1874, Croft of Stillington, etc.

O'Caroll, Bart. 'my three Bronzes'. His cellar of Madeira, Gold Watch and Library have already been mentioned. The residue of the estate was left in Trust for Master Edwin Blundell Sandys and Miss Mary Sandys equally, when they should reach the age of 21.

Nothing remains of Lee's last home at No. 40 Blossom Street beyond its foundations, now soon to be swept away. The house, after many vicissitudes including an attempt to save it at the last moment by means of a Building Preservation Order, was demolished in 1964-65. It was a good example of the York suburban detached house of moderate size, and dated from c. 1750.¹ The earliest deeds so far discovered, of 10/11 October 1792,² describe the property as a 'messuage with Coach-house Stables Outbuildings Garden Yard etc.' late in the occupation of—Phillips Lee, Esq. The house later Nos. 42/44 Blossom Street, adjoining on the west, had belonged to Mr. Robert Bewlay the elder (died 1772) and afterwards to Mr. Robert Bewlay the younger (died 1781). The latter was the friend of Lee mentioned in his will, made after the death of the elder Bewlay.

Although there is so far no proof positive that William Phillips Lee was in fact the Mr. Lee who lent Sterne £100 to ensure the publication of *Tristram Shandy*, the identity seems all but certain. Every requirement of Croft's anecdote is fulfilled, and in view of his Alexander descent, at least, there need be no surprise at the literary interests of William Phillips Lee.³

The Appendix of York residents which follows has been based to a large extent upon material in the local newspapers and in the printed parish registers for York parishes and Acomb, as well as the Minster registers printed with valuable annotations by R. H. Skaife in the early volumes of the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*. Skaife's important biographical manuscript 'Civic Officials of York' (3 vols., York Public Library) has also been used, as well as the Rate Books for the parishes of St. Giles (deposited in the Public Library); Holy Trinity Micklegate (now at the Borthwick Institute); and St. Michael-le-Belfrey (in York Minster Library). Among printed works consulted may be mentioned the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Joseph Foster's *Yorkshire Pedigrees*, the registers of the *Freemen of York* published by the Surtees Society and (for 1760-1835) by Robert Davies, Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses* and Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses*. Additions from the archives of the Dean and Chapter of York have been kindly communicated by Mr. Bernard Barr.

APPENDIX

York Residents named in the Will (1772) and Codicil (1776) of William Phillips Lee, Esq.

(A) Gentry:

- 1776 BEWLAY, Mrs. —, living in Micklegate (No. 110); probably widow of Robert Bewlay, senior, of Dringhouses and York, Receiver to the Archbishop of York, who died August 1772.
- 1776 BEWLAY, Robert, junior, living in Blossom Street (No. 42/44, site of Odeon Cinema); born 1733 (christened 22 February at Holy Trinity, Micklegate), married Elizabeth Judson 1778, died January 1781. In 1758 he was granted the reversion of the office of register of the Exchequer Court of the diocese of York.

¹ It was almost identical in design to the neighbouring Nos. 32/36, known to have been built in 1747-48 (Deeds of 31 July 1747 and 1 Feb. 1747/48, York Corporation Archives, E.93, pp. 195, 199).

² E.95, f. 131v. For the history of the adjacent site of Nos. 42/44 Blossom Street (now Odeon Cinema), with relevant abutments, see the Abstracts of Title in Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Documents MD.217, box (a).

³ Besides the acknowledgements made in the notes, I wish to express my particular indebtedness to Mr. Bernard Barr of the Minster Library, who has taken a keen and helpful interest throughout; and to Professor Arthur H. Cash of New York State University who, from his total knowledge of the state of studies on Sterne, has accepted the basic probability of the identification here proposed. Mr. Kenneth Monkman has also been kind enough to read a draft of this paper and to provide additional evidence for the links with Sterne. I am grateful to Dr. Eric Gee for information on the houses Nos. 32/36 and 40 Blossom Street, and their stylistic dating. Much of the basic material is at the York Public Library, and notably the remarkable Newspaper Index on cards without which much research would be virtually impossible; for much help I am indebted to Mr. O. Tomlinson, Chief Librarian; Mr. Maurice Smith, Reference Librarian; and Miss Joyce Fowkes (now Mrs. Percy), City Archivist.

- 1776 CASSON, Mrs. Ann, wife of Henry Casson of Skelton and Shipton, Yorks., whom she married (as Ann Collingwood, widow) 16 November 1773 (Holy Trinity Goodramgate); owner, in her own right, of No. 40 Blossom Street; Henry Casson died 29 December 1781 aged 70; Mrs. Casson died 15 April 1803 aged 72 (Monumental inscriptions at Holy Trinity Micklegate).
- 1776 CROFT, Stephen, Esq. (1712-died 1798), brother of John Croft, F.S.A.; of Stillington, and living in Bootham (No. 45 from 1752 until his death); friend of Laurence Sterne.
- 1772 EGERTON, Revd. Henry, prebendary of Holme Archiepiscopi in York Minster, 1763-73, arch-deacon of Derby 1769-95, and holder of other important church preferments. (For letters written by Sterne to Egerton see *The Times Literary Supplement*, 8 April and 6 May 1965.)
- 1772 FOUNTAYNE, Very Revd. John, Dean of York, 1747; (1714-died 1802). Dean Fountayne was at Cambridge with Sterne and was his patron at York. (See L. P. Curtis, ed., *Letters of Laurence Sterne*, 1935, p.28 n.2; W. L. Cross, *The Life and Times of Laurence Sterne*, passim.)
- 1772-76 HUMPHREYS, Miss Elizabeth, spinster, living in Micklegate (No. 138/140), niece and executrix of Elizabeth Aislabie, who died 1746; died January 1790 aged 84. (See R. H. Skaife's notes to the burial register of York Minster in *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, i, 1870, pp. 294, 297.)
- 1776 JUBB, Alderman Henry, living in Micklegate (No. 128/132); apothecary, born 1720, son of Thomas Jubb, Esq., Registrar to the Dean and Chapter of York 1715-36; free of York 1742, Chamberlain 1751, Sheriff 1754-5, Alderman 1771, Lord Mayor 1773; Married 1750 Elizabeth daughter of Peter Johnson, Esq., senior, and sister of Peter Johnson, Esq., junior, Recorder of York; died 1792. For Jubb's connections with Sterne, see Cross, *op. cit.*, pp. 84, 615, 622.
- 1776 MORTIMER, Timothy, living in Goodramgate (parish of St. John Delpike), attorney; Clerk of the Peace for the Liberty of St. Peter, 1761; Receiver of Fee-farm Rents for the Bishop of Lichfield, 1770; son of Timothy Mortimer, gent., senior, Clerk of the Minster Vestry, 1723, who died March 1751 aged 64; married Mary, daughter of Robert Bewlay, senior (see above) March 1761 (she died January 1776); died 1788. (York Newspapers indexed in Public Library; R. H. Skaife, 'Burials in York Minster, *Y.A.J.*, i, 1870, p.282 n.23.)
- 1776 PARSONS, Mrs. —, widow of Major Parsons; died at Barrowby, near Grantham, Lincs., at an advanced age, April 1788. (*York Courant*.)
- 1772 PEACOCK, the Revd. —; possibly William Peacock, 1735-died 1811, son of Samuel Peacock, gent., of Yorkshire; LL.B.1761; rector of Danby Wiske, Yorks., 1761-1811.
- 1776 ST. QUINTIN, Matthew Chitty, Esq., living in Micklegate (No. 118/120); died 1785 aged 83; brother of Sir William St. Quintin, bart.
- 1772 STABLES, William, Esq., son of Leonard Stables, gent., born c. 1699 at Pontefract; LL.B. 1721; member of Gray's Inn 1719, and of The Middle Temple 1724; Commissary of the Dean and Chapter of York; died September 1774. He was the 'William Doe' of Sterne's *The History of a Good Warm Watch-Coat* (Cross, *op. cit.*, pp. 167, 175, 177).
- 1776 SWAINSTON, Dr. Allen, M.D., living in Lendal (No. 10/12); married Frances, daughter of John Strangways of Alne, Yorks., February 1772 (she died 1799); he died 19 September 1792 (buried 26 September, St. Martin Coney Street. See the printed parish registers, and J. Burke, *History of the Commoners*, i, 1836, p. 665).
- 1776 WARREN, the Misses, living without Bootham Bar (at No. 43, Bootham).

(B) Tradesmen and Servants:

- 1776 BOWER, John, witness to Codicil; perhaps the farrier, of Skeldergate in 1778; died March 1780. (*York Courant*).
- 1776 BOYES, Edward, stable-boy; son of John Boyes of Holgate, farmer (1732-1799), born 1761 (christened 5 July at St. Mary Bishophill Junior).
- 1772 BOYES (Boyce), George; son of John Boyes of Holgate; born 1759, died March 1790 (christened 12 April 1759, buried 25 March 1790 aged 30, at St. Mary Bishophill Junior).
- 1772 CARTWRIGHT, Jonathan, witness to Will; living in Blake Street; coachmaker, formerly of Doncaster, free of York 1759; died 13 May 1799 aged 70, buried at Acomb.
- 1772 COCHRAN, William, witness to Will; coachmaker, free of York 1756.
- 1772-76 DOVE, Mary, housekeeper; probably identical with one buried at Holy Trinity, Micklegate, died 14 May 1782 aged 55.
- 1772-76 ORAM, Frances, cook.
- 1772-76 PHILLIPS, Joseph, manservant 1772, married; no longer in Mr. Lee's service, 1776.
- 1772-76 SWEETING, William, groom.
- 1772 WHITELOCK, William, witness to Will; clerk to Mr. Bewlay (presumably Robert Bewlay, junior).

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THE

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Part 166

(BEING THE SECOND PART OF VOLUME XLII)

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YORKSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL REGISTER, 1967

EDITED BY J. RADLEY

[*Note* : the identifications and dates, etc. are those supplied by the contributors and are not the responsibility of the Editor.]

Acklam, E. R.

Motte and bailey. SE.783613. Located by H. G. Ramm, the site has been surveyed. The bailey is c. 200 ft. × 80 ft., and stone structures have been identified. *S. A. Moorhouse.*

Arncliffe, W. R.

Thornsber Barn. SD.918724. Oval banked area with a number of rectangular small crofts; and a system of long fields. Recorded 1946, re-surveyed 1966-7. *A. Raistrick.*

Bainbridge, N. R.

Roman fort. SD.937902. Continued work by the Department of Latin, University of Leeds, added useful detail to the plans of the Flavian-Trajanic and Antonine *principia*, the latter now being seen to have a series of large rooms in place of a normal cross-hall. In the forecourt of the Antonine building a large demolition pit (10 ft. square and 6-8 ft. deep) yielded much burnt material attesting destruction in A.D. 196-7. The Severan builders had laid colonnade bases for the forecourt verandah over the pit, and rebuilding was soon needed. This curious behaviour may be another hint of the break in the Severan building operations already suggested for the back-range. No further evidence of Constantian rebuilding or of the final industrial phase was forthcoming. *B. R. Hartley.*

Barningham, N. R.

Barningham Moor, NZ.068082. Two large stone-walled enclosures noted on preliminary survey. *S. W. Feather.*

Beadlam, N. R.

SE.642842. Broken Neolithic polished flint axe, in Ryedale Museum. *R. H. Hayes.*

Bempton, E. R.

Near Marton. TA.200703. A scatter of Neolithic flints in a ploughed field, found 1966-7. *R. Varley.*

Beverley, E. R.

52 Keldgate. TA.035390. An iron key, 11 ins. long, found 1½ ft. down while digging a drain. Key of Type VIIB with kidney shaped bow (London Mus. Med. Cat. (1954), 41). Now in Beverley Museum and Art Gallery. *T. G. Manby.*

Bingley, W. R.

SE.063357. A mediaeval or earlier enclosure, 300 ft. square, was excavated by Halifax A.R.G. Two hearths and two flints were found on the east side. Two sherds of probable Upper Heaton Ware were also found. *R. Varley.*

Bolton Percy, W. R.

Coin hoard at SE.52164065 consisting of 1500 stycas with a pot of Bardof ware. Coins of Kings Eanred, Aethelred II, Redwulf and Osberht, Archbishops Eanbald, Vigmund and Wulfhere. *G. F. Willmot.*

Boroughbridge, W. R.

Aldborough Roman town. SE.405663. Work on the southern defences west of the south gate has shown that there are two internal angle towers at equal intervals between the gate and the south-west corner. The core of the bastion shown by H. Eckroyd Smith (*Reliquiae Isurianae*) was found. *D. Charlesworth.*

Bowes, N. R.

Roman fort. NY.791141. A section was cut through the south rampart immediately east of the south gate. The original (Agricolan) rampart had a core of large boulders set in clay with a remarkably preserved cheek of turf at the rear and a vertical timber revetment at the front, once replaced. Two second-century ramparts, the first probably Hadrianic, preceded the first wall of the fort, which was largely cut away by the construction trench of a later wall, 7 ft. 8 in. thick, itself refaced after A.D. 360 and apparently after a period of decay. In the interior was a sequence of eleven *intervallum* roads, encroaching on the former rampart in the third century. These divided the defences from the bath-suite of the third- and fourth-century *praetorium*, thus establishing that the late fort at least faced west. Below the bath-suite were two periods of second-century stone foundations for buildings of uncertain purpose, possibly again *praetoria*. B. R. Hartley.

Broomfleet, E. R.

Quarry at SE.87472573. Rescue excavation by E.R.A.S. at the quarry dug by the Yorkshire, Ouse, and Hull River Board has revealed a Romano-British occupation site sealed beneath 2 ft. of river warp. Remains date from A.D. 200–350 and include a pig of lead inscribed SOCIOR LVT BR EX ARG, the upper stone of a beehive quern with iron collar still intact, upper and lower stones of Romano-British disc querns, and fragments of glass ware. J. Bartlett.

Burton Fleming-Rudston, E. R.

TA.097708, 095692. A large La Tene cemetery was magnetometer surveyed and two ploughed down barrows were excavated. Each barrow had a central crouched burial, one with a pot and the other with an iron involuted brooch and a pot, and each had a square enclosure ditch. A. L. Pacitto, I. M. Stead.

Cawood, W. R.

$\frac{3}{4}$ mile south-west of Cawood Castle. Fifteenth century socketed iron spear head, probably English make. Ploughed up by J. S. Smith 1961. Given by him to Bradford Cartwright Hall Museum. S. W. Feather.

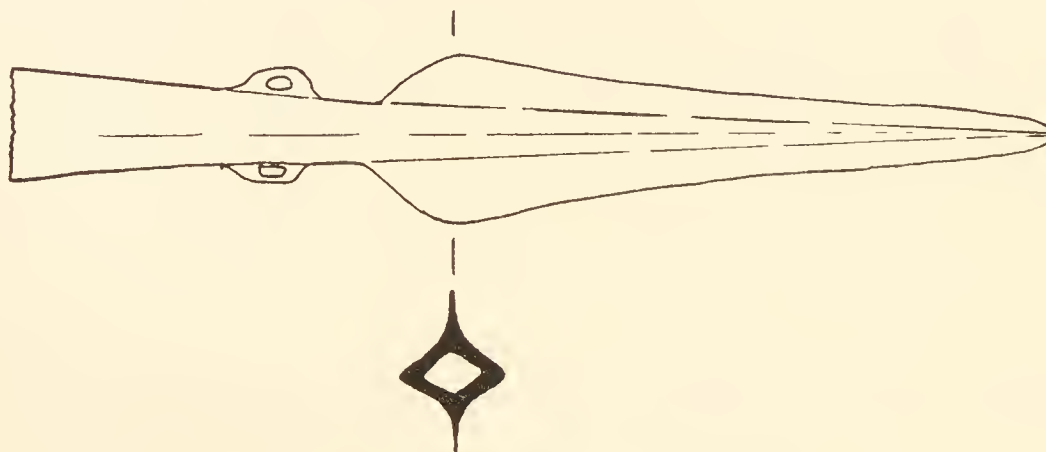


FIG. 1. Spearhead, Clapham cum Newby. ($\frac{1}{2}$).

Clapham cum Newby, W. R.

Scale Mire Farm. SD.721705. Looped spearhead of the Bronze Age, 16.2 cm. long (see Fig. 1), found c. 1962, and now privately owned. A. King and W. H. Walker.

Conistone, W. R.

Swineber. SD.983696. Large site with fields, rectangular habitation areas surveyed. A. Raistrick.

Dalton Holme, E. R.

Kiplingcotes Farm. c. SE.934449. Beaker, found 9 Nov. 1875, deposited at Hull Museums by Lord and Lady Hotham. J. Bartlett.

Danby, N. R.

(1) North End Farm. NZ.703063. Neck and side of a jar in possession of F. Weatherill, identified as ninth century by C. V. Bellamy, and the first from the area.

(2) Stangend. NZ.704085. Noted cruck-framed house (*Y.A.J.* 34, 139–42, 1956) converted into a cowhouse in 1965. The crucks, ornamental doorhead, salt-box, hearth and witch-post have been given to the Ryedale Museum, and are incorporated in a reconstructed five-cruck thatched cottage open to the public. At Stangend probable thirteenth–fourteenth century sherds and the upper stone of a flat rotary quern were recovered during the conversion. Just above the house nine silver coins of Elizabeth I were found some years ago. R. H. Hayes.

Darton, W. R.

Gawber glasshouse. SE.326072. Completion of excavation by Barnsley A.S. Plan of a 70 ft. diameter brick-built cone recovered. It had a 40–45 ft. diameter inner cone of stone and brick round the central furnace which was c. 5 ft. square and 8 ft. below the foundations of the cone. Three air intakes to the furnace were isolated, 40–50 ft. long and 4 ft. wide. Associated buildings contained a mixing floor and annealing chambers, built over a simple clay-lined furnace which yielded broken crucible containing clear lead glass.

*D. Ashurst.**Denholme, W. R.*

Windmill Mound. SE.057352. Probably the one mentioned in a 1234 Deed, also earthworks which could be associated with the mound, or with the pottery industry ranging from the twelfth–nineteenth century.

*S. A. Moorhouse.**East Keswick, W. R.*

SE.354448. A large quantity of twelfth–thirteenth century pottery from a garden.

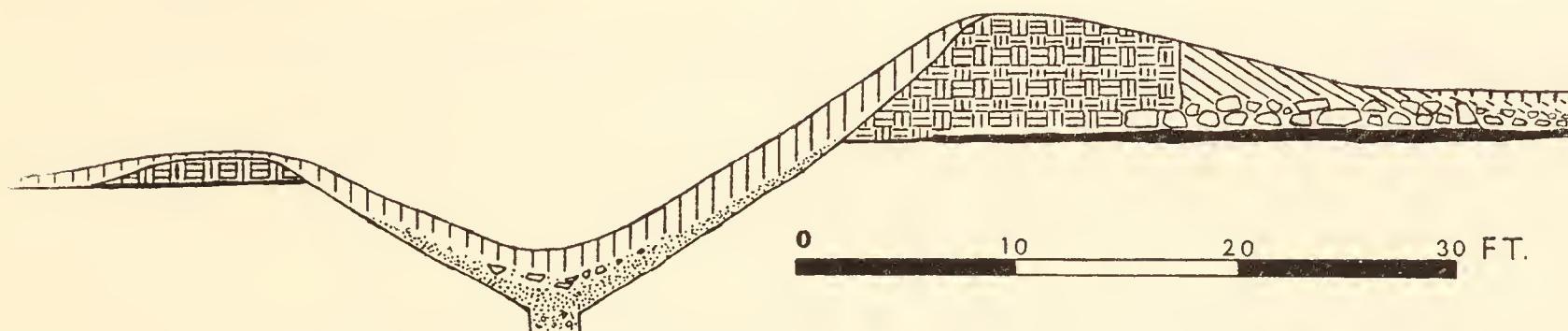
R. Varley.

FIG. 2. First modern section across the Eston Nab defences.

Eston, N. R.

Eston Nab hill-fort. NZ.568183. The excavation of the defences has been completed, revealing a 16 ft. wide clay bank backed by a 14 ft. thick drystone wall. Early Iron Age pottery was found beneath and in the rampart (see Fig. 2).

*F. A. Aberg.**Farndale, N. R.*

Oak Crag. SE.679963. Whilst digging a trench from a new sheep dipping trough, David Leng, builder of Gillamoor, found a mass of iron slag in a bowl-like basin 9 ft. by 3 ft. wide and 3 ft. below the surface of the field. It was lined with yellow clay, heavily burnt near the slag. On the south side of the pit or basin, was a platform of stones 7 ft. wide extending into the field on both sides of the trench. It was 9–12 ins. below the surface, stones in one layer, many heavily burnt before they were laid into position. Slag was mixed in the stones, and clay beneath. The whole burnt and disturbed area extended about 22 ft. north–south as the trench ran. About 100 yds. south was a small stream, and more iron slag was found in the bank. No potsherds or iron objects were found, but this site appears to be a smelting place or bloomery, possibly mediaeval or earlier. See also *Y.A.J.* 165, 42, 1967, 3.

*R. H. Hayes.**Flamborough, E. R.*

Hartendale gravel pit. TA.221693. A shallow pit 2 ft. 6 ins. diameter, 1 ft. 6 ins. deep, contained flint flakes, cores, broken nodules, a gritstone anvil and a flint hammerstone. There was a $\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick layer of charcoal in the bottom of the pit. 20 ft. north of this two large plain sherds of gritty Rinyo-Clacton type pottery and burnt stones were found. 40 ft. north–east of the pit was the remains of a hearth c. 3 ft. diameter, associated with burnt stones. All the finds were in brown soil above the gravel and below the plough soil. Surface finds include a flake from a flint axe, and mediaeval sherds of Staxton, Humber Basin and Scarborough wares.

*J. R. Earnshaw.**Follifoot, W. R.*

SE.34325266. Silvered antoninianus of Herrenius Etruscus, A.D. 250–1, found by Rev. R. Whincup, during building operations.

*C. E. Hartley.**Gayles, N. R.*

(1) Gayles Fields. NZ.118085. Small cup-and-ring marked rock found in farmland adjoining farm. In possession of Major Millbanks.

(2) NZ.115060 (centre). Preliminary field work undertaken in 1967 by a group working with S. W. Feather has resulted in the recording of twenty-six cup-and-ring marked rocks, three cairns, five circular enclosures, some with associated field walls, together with surface finds of flint flakes and implements, and two stone discs. Full publication will follow further survey work.

S. W. Feather.

Giggleswick, W. R.

Cairn cemetery north of Giggleswick Scar. SD.805774. This includes twenty-one grass covered mounds 12–40 ft. diameter, and a 'pond-barrow' 35 ft. diameter.

A cairn close to the Iron Age Settlement was excavated. It was 18 ft. diameter, 3 ft. high on a limestone knoll, but made of gritstone boulders. A cist, robbed of its burial, yielded a flint knife, borer, and a flake, and a polished Yoredale fossil (Lamellibranch, *Schizodus* sp.). The cist was 2 ft. 10 ins. × 2 ft. 4 ins. internally, made of Silurian grit slabs from at least 1 m. to north. Sherds of 3 types of pottery were found to south of cist, all coarse quartz gritted, and barb-and-tanged arrowhead.

A. King.

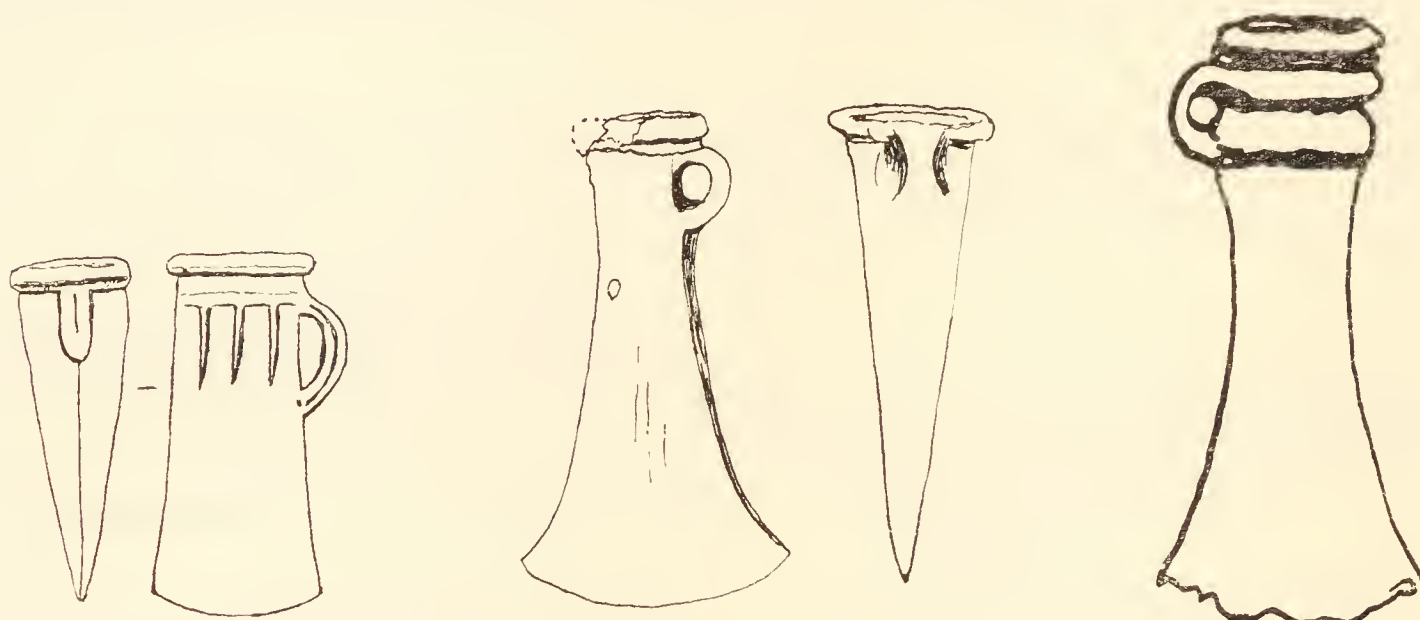


FIG. 3a.

FIG. 3b.

FIG. 3c.

Bronzes from (a) Boonhill, Gillamoor; (b) and (c) Glaisdale.

Scale, (a) and (b) = $\frac{1}{3}$; (c) = c. $\frac{1}{4}$.

Gillamoor, N. R.

(1) SE.676902. Flint scrapers, flakes, waste, and a barb-and-tang arrowhead found in ploughing by J. Gibson of Manor Farm.

(2) SE.667908. Bronze socketed axe, $3\frac{1}{4}$ ins. long (Fig. 3a) found in ploughing by E. S. Fletcher.

R. H. Hayes.

Gilling East, N. R.

Numerous flints have been found by K. England, including a polished flint axe from south of the village, a knife and two leaf-shaped arrowheads (SE.613759). Complete set of drawings in possession of writer.

R. H. Hayes.

Glaisdale, N. R.

Quarry Hill. NZ.775061. Socketed bronze axe (Fig. 3b), $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long found by A. Thompson in 1953, in possession of E. C. Baxter. There are only a few late bronzes in Cleveland, including a socketed axe from Postgate Hill, Glaisdale (NZ.760046 and Fig. 3c) in the British Museum, unprovenanced examples in Whitby Museum, and one from Lease Rigg (NZ.824049) in Whitby Museum.

R. H. Hayes.

Great Ayton, N. R.

Ayton Moor. NZ.593113. Rubbing stone of fine grained oolitic sandstone, well worn, with pitted hollows in the flat and under surface.

D. A. Spratt.

Halifax, W. R.

(1) Holdsworth House. SE.082290. Tolson Mem. Museum continued excavations of mediaeval settlement. Two structures of different periods isolated. A stone wall 3 ft. 4 ins. thick and a raised platform of the second period have been planned. Finds include more pottery and some Neolithic flint flakes, scrapers, leaf-shaped arrowhead and a flake from a flint axe.

J. A. Gilks.

(2) Ovenden. SE.072272. Sherds of thirteenth–fourteenth century found 1966–7.

R. Varley.

Hartoft, N. R.

Hartoft End. SE.750928. Several old coal pits dating 1583–1920. Foundations of a small rectangular building 24×15 ft., with 3 ft. thick and 3 ft. high walls, on the north–west bank of Hartoft Beck, perhaps a mediaeval mill house.

R. H. Hayes.

Healey, N. R.

Grey Ridge, Pott Moor. SE.125760. A scatter of flint flakes in a dry watercourse, found by Mrs. M. Morton, Leeds 16. *C. E. Hartley.*

Holme upon Spalding Moor, E. R.

Throlam. SE.832355. Remains of Romano-British kiln material were exposed by employees of Hawker Siddeley Ltd. 1100 yards north-east of Throlam Farm and some distance from the previously located kilns. Finds included a mass of sherds of hard grey sandy fabric, some with lattice and wavy-line decoration, and some counter-sunk handles. Remains of a late mediaeval kiln, reported from the same parish, making large jugs. *J. Radley.*

Horton in Ribblesdale, W. R.

Helwith Bridge. Iron Age/Romano-British settlement. SD.818690. Survey continues, and circular hut excavated revealing cobbled entrance at south-west between inturned slabs. It has a double boulder wall with rubble filling. Native and Roman pottery found. *A. King.*

Hutton-le-Hole, N. R.

SE.714889. Romano-British remains in field and wall, including burnt stones, quern fragments, grey ware, calcite-gritted wares, and flint. *R. H. Hayes.*

Hutton Lowcross, N. R.

NZ.596141. Continued excavation of mediaeval site, producing twelfth-thirteenth century pottery from possible foundations, a drain and remains of cobbled paths. *C. V. Bellamy.*

Ilkley, W. R.

Weary Hill. SE.108465. Surface find 26.12.67 by Mr. and Mrs. S. W. Feather and family in area 24 ins. by 17 ins. with main concentration in 9 ins. square, of corroded silver coins and fragments of coins. After conservation the coins were identified by the British Museum as forty-one sterlings of Edward I and II of England, one of Alexander III of Scots, and one of Valeran II of Ligny. The latest coin in the hoard is a Durham penny of Type XIb which was struck during the early part of the episcopate of Bishop Kellawe. The date of the latest coin must therefore be soon after his appointment to the see in 1311 and as there are no examples present of the later and comparatively common issues of Edward II it would be reasonable to think that the hoard must have been buried within a year or so of 1311. The numbers of the different types represented suggests that the coins were withdrawn from those in circulation at that date and the hoard is typical of others from the same period in containing Scottish and Continental coins.

Six silver coins of similar date were found scattered in the same area in 1960/61 and are now in Ilkley Museum. *S. W. Feather.*

Kildale, N. R.

Percy Rigg settlement. NZ.608116. Another hut has been excavated, yielding fragments of circular querns. *R. H. Hayes.*

Kilham, E. R.

Long barrow. TA.055673. Third season of excavation, on the western half, sectioned the side ditches which are 25 ft. wide and 4-6 ft. deep, with Beaker sherds just above the primary silt in the southern ditch. Beneath the edges of the mound was a mortuary enclosure, 30 ft. wide, outlined by a ditch 4-5 ft. deep and 5 ft. wide. When this ditch was half silted a slot to hold wooden posts was cut into the silt. At the north-west corner of the site two crouched inhumations were found in a shallow hollow in the chalk. *T. G. Manby.*

Kilton, N. R.

Castle. NZ.703176. On the north-east side five building periods, beginning in the twelfth century, have been recognised. A timber hall, followed by a stone hall and a kitchen range were uncovered. *F. A. Aberg.*

Kingthorpe, N. R.

SE.836859. Ruined building with four or five bays, containing three pairs of crucks and two pairs of reused upper crucks, perhaps the last surviving house of the lost village of Kingthorpe. *R. H. Hayes.*

Kirkby Fleetham, N. R.

Great Fencote. SE.2893. A denarius of Vespasian. Obverse: Laureate head right. IMP CAES VESP AUG CEN. Reverse: Salus seated left holding patera. SALVS (AUG). *G. F. Willmot.*

Lastingham, N. R.

SE.728904. About sixty mediaeval sherds from a sewer trench, including unglazed cooking pots, green and brown glazed rims and handles, of the twelfth-fifteenth centuries. *R. H. Hayes.*

Leeds, W. R.

Ireland Wood, Cookridge. SE.255391. Base of gritstone quern, 11 ins. diameter, found in a wall by M. Treece, and now at 21 Bedford Garth, Leeds 16. *Mrs. R. Hartley.*

Levisham, N. R.

(1) SE.833906. Stone piscina of fine grained limestone, weighing 14 lb., 9 ins. high, with foot ring, dug up in the grounds of Levisham Hall, which was formerly the home of Rev. R. Skelton, a nineteenth century collector, and the piscina may be either from his collection or from a nearby restored chapel.

(2) Braygate Fields, SE.825910. Two long and finely serrated barb-and-tang arrowheads found by the farmer, C. Smith. *R. H. Hayes.*

Lockton, N. R.

Saltersgate. Half a stone axe-hammer, originally 6 ins. long. *R. H. Hayes.*

Malham Moor, W. R.

(1) SD.881672. Romano-British settlement with two rectangular houses, with flag floors and good drystone walls, yielding two querns, some coarse second century pottery. A number of irregular enclosures, one yielding charcoal and iron slag. See also *Y.A.J.* 164, 41, 1965, 561.

(2) SD.884675. Group of seven circular huts. Excavation of two huts yielded charcoal, indeterminate sherds, flints, pot-boilers and a burnt hearth-stone near centre. One hut slightly bowl shaped with a single bank 5 ft. 6 ins. wide on the rim. 26 ft. diameter crest-crest. *A. Raistrick.*

Malton, N. R.

(1) Market Place. SE.785716. A pitched floor of oolite rubble at 2 ft. 6 ins. below garden soil, found between Chancery Lane and the Milton Rooms. Floor was covered by a thin charcoal layer and brown soil with green-orange glazed tile fragments, sherds of twelfth-fifteenth century glazed and coarse wares, including Staxton Ware. *T. G. Manby.*

(2) SE.7971. Civilian settlement. 'Barbarous radiate' Tetricus II c. A.D. 270-273. Surface find. 19.3.67. *S. W. Feather.*

Meltham, W. R.

Royd Edge enclosure. SE.091097. The Huddersfield D.A.S. put a 70 ft. long trench across the north side of this one acre sub-rectangular enclosure revealing a box rampart and inner rock cut ditch. Numerous fragments of unworked flint were found in the topsoil. *J. P. Toomey.*

Newton Kyme, W. R.

Adaman's Graves. SE.457446. Road works exposed two bodies and quantities of Romano-British pottery of third-fourth century. Investigation showed that a bronze penannular brooch, buckle, and bracelet had been removed by workmen. A later trench exposed a compact charcoal-filled clay horizon, rich in bone, sherds, and building stone beneath rig-and-furrow. Probably part of ribbon development along Rudgate, south of the fort. *J. Radley.*

North and South Anston, W. R.

Occupied cave on the north side of Anston Stones Wood. SK.5383. Excavations by Worksop S.A.R. revealed colour-coated and Huntcliffe-type wares of mid-fourth century, and flints probably of Creswellian type. *M. J. Dolby.*

North Ferriby, E. R.

Humber foreshore. SE.986251. A Colchester type of La Tene III bronze fibula with incised curvilinear 'Celtic' design on the unpierced catchplate. *J. Bartlett.*

Norton, E. R.

(1) SE.794707. Further Romano-British burials found during building operations. Six inhumation and a cremation in a twin handled flagon of red ware. Packed around the flagon were sherds of amphora, calcite gritted ware and a mortarium with the stamp DOINVS FECIT. On the northern side of the site a wall footing was traced for over 100 ft. running east-west. Along it were collected a large quantity of sherds:—Norton, Crambeck and calcite gritted wares; an iron knife, a Samian ware counter and animal bones. Finds in the Roman Malton Museum.

(2) Cemetery. SE.796711. Romano-British finds during excavation at 3-4 ft. include Crambeck Ware dishes, calcite gritted cooking pots and storage jars, Norton Ware flagon and folded beaker, animal bones, oyster shells, an iron knife and a coin of Valentinian II (375-92). AE 3. Ob. Drap. and dia. bust r. D.N. Valentinianvs P.F.AVG. Rev. Victory advancing left with wreath and palm. Finds in the Roman Malton Museum.

(3) 21 Crown Grove. SE.796710. Romano-British sherds and coins found during gardening by Mrs. V. M. Metcalf. Pottery:— Samian, Castor, Crambeck, Norton and calcite gritted wares. Coins:—

1. Constantine II (317–37) AE 3.
Ob. Laur. bust r. CONSTANTINVS IVN. N.C.
Rev. Two soldiers either side of two standards.
GLORIA EXERCITVS.
in ex. RFS
 2. Valentinian II (375–92) AE 3.
Ob. Draped and Dia Bust r.
D.N. VALENTINIANVS P.F.AVG.
Rev. Victory advancing left with wreath and palm.
- Retained by the finder.

(4) Youth Club, Langton Road. SE.792709. Excavations for foundations of building produced scattered Romano-British and mediaeval potsherds. A sewer trench across the site of the car park on the eastern side of the building cut through a pitched floor covered with stone roofing slates at a depth of 3 ft. An infant burial beneath the floor. Finds:—fragment of the lower stone of a quern, a bone pin, fragments of a knife handle, a grey ware counter, oyster, mussel and limpet shells, sherds of Norton, Crambeck and calcite gritted wares. Mortarium stamp GENIALIS. Finds in Roman Malton Museum.

T. G. Manby.

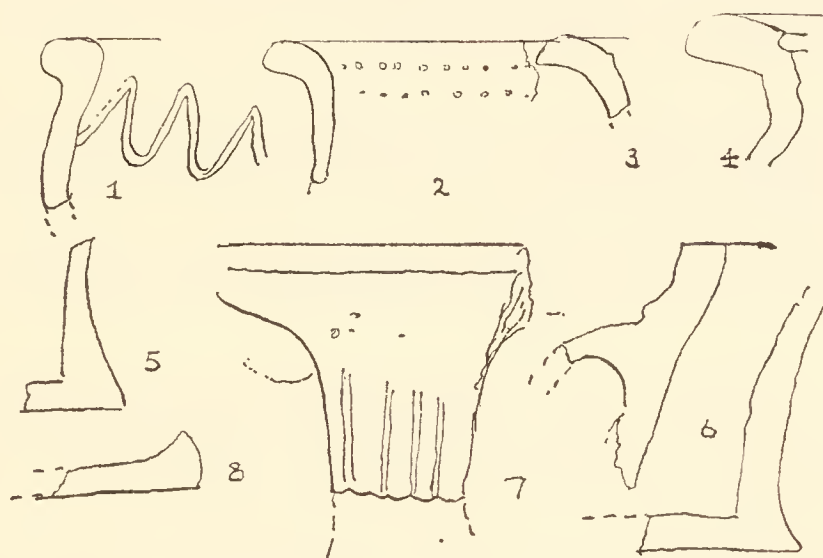


FIG. 4. Sherds from Thirkle Wood, Oswaldkirk. ($\frac{1}{3}$).

Oswaldkirk, N. R.

Thirklewood. SE.626793. A group of mediaeval sherds found by Miss D. A. Cleverley, including red and buff wares. Fig. 4, 1–3 shows the main rims and Fig. 4, 5–8 some of the other fragments. Fig. 4, 4 appears to be the rim of a Romano-British cooking pot. See also *Y.A.J.* 165, 42, 1967, 5.

R. H. Hayes.

Pickering, N. R.

(1) Haugh Rigg. SE.801890. Flint scraper, probable Romano-British grey ware rim sherd, and pipe-clay figurine, found by R. Mitchell of Newton-on-Rawcliffe.

(2) Swainsey Lane End. SE.792844. Flints including a leaf-shaped arrowhead in foundations for bungalow.

R. H. Hayes.

Pontefract, W. R.

Cluniac Priory. SE.463226. Outline of the east end of the church completed and plans of the three phases of the church finished. Additions to the North Transept gable have been discovered. Continued work at the south end of the Dorter Range exposed a complex of foundations and cobbling. Continuing.

C. V. Bellamy.

Rosedale East Side, N. R.

Low Bell End. SE.717969. Witchpost removed from renovated longhouse with cross-passage and spear, and lintel dated 1726. Witchpost damaged, but now restored and in Ryedale Museum. A large byre to the south has the base of a horse-mill and pieces of reused crucks.

R. H. Hayes.

Rowley, E. R.

High Hunsley. SE.956356. Gold penannular bracelet, of Late Bronze Age, with ribbon section and buffer terminals, now in Hull Museums.

J. Bartlett.

Rudston, E. R.

(1) See Burton Fleming.

(2) Roman Villa. TA.092670. Gas pipeline trench east of villa exposed quantities of pottery, including large storage jars, recovered by C. and E. Grantham and R.C.H.M. No ditches, pits observed. *J. Radley.*

Sandal Magna, W. R.

Castle. SE.338182. Work commenced on the Barbican Tower clearing down to the 1645 level. The main keep can now be ascribed to the 1327 rebuild. Inside this keep was a smaller circular keep of 26 ft. diameter. The Barbican Tower is D-shaped, built on bedrock, and parallel walls ending in drum towers led from the keep towards the Barbican Tower. *P. Mayes.*

Scarborough, N. R.

(1) St. Mary's Parish House, Castle Road. TA.043890. Part of a large ditch 15 ft. wide and 6 ft. deep was exposed at the rear of the house, yielding thirteenth–sixteenth century pottery wasters.

(2) Wilson's Mariners' Asylum, Castle Road. TA.043891. Scarborough D.A.S., excavating at the rear of the Asylum, exposed mediaeval pottery, lime burning and/or iron smelting sites. Sherds ranged from twelfth–nineteenth century, with a small quantity of fourth century Romano-British pottery.

(3) St. Peter's Church, Castle Road. TA.044890. Scarborough D.A.S. found evidence of mediaeval pottery-kiln waste at the rear of the church, and a kiln was later exposed by builders. The clay-floored firing-chamber and stoke-pit survived with remnants of a brick superstructure. This kiln is close to those found in 1854, under 95–97 Castle Road. *J. G. Rutter.*

Sheffield, W. R.

(1) 62 Station Road, Darnall. SK.392877. Copper coin of Constantine I as Augustus, found in the garden. Rev.:—GLORIA EXERCITUS.

(2) 39 Dewar Drive, Millhouses. SK.33078374. From the garden, a flint barb-and-tanged arrowhead and a lead spindle whorl with moulded dot-and-circle and line decoration on shoulders, diameter 1.1 ins. *A. Butterworth.*

ShIPLEY, W. R.

Hirst Wood, Saltaire. SE.130382. Micaceous sandstone disc, $7\frac{1}{4}$ ins. diameter, $1\frac{1}{4}$ ins. thick. Well trimmed around circumference. Found by R. Pemberton 1966, given by him to Bradford Cartwright Hall Museum. *S. W. Feather.*

Spaunton, N. R.

(1) High Cross Intake. SE.722908. Hammerstone with opposed cup-marks, 3 ins. diameter, found by A. K. Whitaker.

(2) New Inn. SE.725899. In the paddock behind the inn, a rectangular building 28×17 ft. of rubble limestone excavated, yielding sherds of cooking pots, and green-glazed ware of thirteenth–fourteenth centuries. 43 ft. from the south wall of the paddock, R. Close excavated a stone-walled, rock-cut, kiln 5 ft. 6 ins. diameter, with a flue 2 ft. 9 ins. to 3 ft. wide, similar to the kiln found at the nearby Manor House Mediaeval Hall in 1960. *R. H. Hayes.*

Swinton, W. R.

Rockingham Pottery. SK.443988. Sheffield City Museums cut a section through the waste tip. Below the upper disturbed zone, two sealed layers of kiln wasters were found, one dating to the 1830's, the other late eighteenth–early nineteenth century. Finds include two previously unknown marks, and a good range of the firm's products. *A. Salter.*

Tadcaster, W. R.

Motte and bailey. SE.484436. This was surveyed by the Tadcaster History Society, showing that the motte had been reshaped as a bastion in the Civil War, and that another bastion was made at the west end of the bailey rampart. *H. G. Ramm.*

Thirkleby, N. R.

Haggs Field, Sandyhill Farm. SE.482780. An upper and lower beehive quern stone on an area of cobbling, 3–9 ins. deep. *R. H. Hayes.*

Thornton Dale, N. R.

(1) Nabgate. SE.869847. Polished Langdale stone axe found by K. Green.

(2) Monklands Fields. SE.838846. Flints including seven scrapers, two leaf-shaped and four barb-and-tanged arrowheads from the site of two ploughed down barrows and linear dike destroyed 1957–8. From around Monklands Barrow, which yielded a Beaker and Neolithic sherds in 1911, have come several arrowheads and a flint axe, now in the possession of K. Green.

(3) Rookwood, Maltongate. SE.834826. Coin found in 1956 by J. Gray, obverse GRATIANUS and emperor's head diademed right; reverse GLORIA ROMANORUM; mint AQUILEIA. The area has also yielded an Aucissa brooch, a coin of Constantinopolis, pottery and querns.

(4) SE.855857. Polished black stone axe found by K. Green.

R. H. Hayes.

Tockwith, W. R.

SE.444524. Mesolithic flint axe, found by Mrs. Best of Tockwith, and now in the Yorkshire Museum.

G. F. Willmot.

Upsall, N. R.

Upsall Moor. NZ.555164. Grinding stone with parallel scratching across its worn surface, and very smooth at one point; it is made of medium grained local sandstone and appears to have been burnt. Found in an area with other prehistoric remains.

D. A. Spratt.

Wakefield, W. R.

Haselden Hall, Northgate. SE.331213. Site of hall built in 1584 surveyed before demolition. Subsequently, excavation revealed an early pre-hall bloomery and a 4 ft. × 2 ft. rock-cut cistern. Continuing.

K. S. Bartlett.

Walkington, E. R.

(1) Barrows on Walkington Wold. SE.96233571.

Site 1. A ploughed-down bell-barrow has yielded beaker sherds, and finger tip decorated Early Iron Age pottery. Excavation to continue. The edges of the barrow have yielded quantities of late Romano-British pottery, including Huntcliffe ware, and some Saxon remains, including bucket mounts. Mutilated bodies in the upper ditch fill may relate to the Saxon penetration.

Site 2. A second round barrow nearby has yielded a secondary inhumation with an unusual food vessel.

J. Bartlett and R. Mackey.

(2) Ling Howe, SE.965357. Identified as a long barrow on ground and air photos.

J. Bartlett.

Wentbridge, W. R.

SE.483179. Romano-British quern, shells and pieces of amphora, gritted ware, mortaria in ploughed field, recovered by C. J. Baines of Pontefract D.A.S.

E. Houlder.

Westerdale

Stockdale House. NZ.644047. Ruined long house 95 × 16 ft., covering two byres and the house, and built over an ancient iron working site. Across the valley, another mediaeval house, 38 × 15 ft., still retains part of a mullioned window sill, and has a large oval enclosure bounded by an earthen bank and wall shown on a 1795 Duncombe Park estate map.

R. H. Hayes.

Wharram, E. R.

Wharram Percy. SE.858646. Excavations in the twelfth-century nave of the church located the west end of the Saxon church, as 3 ft. wide and 3 ft. deep chalk-cut foundations, representing a building 15 ft. wide and c. 40 ft. long. Middle Saxon Ipswich Ware in the foundation trench suggests a pre-Danish date. A series of superimposed stone buildings below a late boundary bank were excavated in the deserted village.

J. G. Hirst.

Winksley, W. R.

Woodhouse Farm Kilns. SE.240715. Continued excavation uncovered a fourth kiln, with wares similar to kilns 1 and 2, and a possible fifth kiln.

C. V. Bellamy.

Womersley, W. R.

Coin hoard – see Archaeological Notes.

York

(1) Bishophill. More of the Roman building with an apsidal projection discovered in 1961 in the garden adjoining St. Mary Junior Church was uncovered. This established its width (at the apse end) was at least 90 ft. Its length was not established. The floor consisted of *opus signinum* overlying a 12–15 ins. layer of rammed clay. The purpose of the building remains undetermined but it seems likely to have been either a fourth century temple, church or public building. Further evidence of its reuse in the Viking period (tenth–eleventh century) was encountered. These included numerous post holes penetrating the Roman floor and three deep pits cutting 4–5 ft. into the Roman floor. They were presumably for water storage as they were linked with the Roman culvert.

(2) The Mount. Two Romano-British burials in the front garden of 147 Mount Vale represent additions to the nearby Trentholme Drive cemetery excavated 1951–6. Both skeletons were found in the extended position. One had a third century beaker buried alongside the right knee: there were two early second century coins in the grave fill. The other had a broken beaker near the head.

(3) School Dental Clinic, Monkgate. During extensions at the rear of these premises a large Roman rubbish pit or pits was found some 4 ft. below the modern surface. Amongst the wood ash (which formed the majority of the débris) were some fifty sherds of second-third century pottery and a third century radiate coin.

(4) Near Appletree Farm. In the side of Tang Hall Beck, the dark infill of a pit was noticed containing a considerable quantity of Roman pottery. Some vessels were nearly complete after mending. Most of the finds looked like potter's rejects and the possibility that they came from a nearby pottery must be considered.
L. P. Wenham.

(5) Blossom Street. SE.59645143. Further investigation of the Eburacum-Calcaria road revealed the south-east road ditch 6 ft. wide and 5 ft. deep containing much datable pottery and sealed beneath the road junction encountered earlier. Further to the south-east, the wall footings encountered earlier were proved to be post-Roman and overlay the setting of heavy cobbling which sealed a dump of third century rubbish. This overlay the site of a second century building, probably of two phases, the second not earlier than Hadrian, which had been destroyed by fire at the end of that century. Finds of note include part of a gritstone column base and three enamelled brooches.
D. Stewart.

(6) New Street. SE.602518. Several lengths of Roman fortress wall were exposed in shop reconstruction. The interval towers SW1 and SW2 were seen for the first time and planned by R.C.H.M. The wall was traced down from modern ground level for 9 ft. and not bottomed. A coin hoard of 'several hundred coins' found in a 'wooden box' is reported from the site, but no evidence has been found of its fate.

(7) The Pavement. Below Lloyds Bank, 10-12 ft. below street level a timber raft, remains of a wall and cobbled floor, and a mass of compacted leather fragments were recovered from wet black mud. Remains of meals represented by oyster shells, hazel nuts, bones of goat, sheep and ox, and three sherds of eleventh century Anglo-Danish pottery.
J. Radley.

(8) York Minster. The whole of the crossing and the east bay of the nave have been excavated to a depth of at least 6 ft., and the west part of the crossing to 12-14 ft. in the centre. A small trench has also been dug outside the north transept. The following structures have been revealed:

Roman. Under the crossing the north-west end wall and two piers of the north-east aisle of the cross-hall of the *principia*. Erected in stone presumably in the early second century, it was refloored after a fire in the late second century or later. After another fire in the late third century or later the building was reorganised and the piers replaced by narrow walls dividing the north-east aisle into small rooms separated from the main body of the hall by a timber partition. After yet another fire the building was partially rebuilt at the earliest in the late fourth century but probably after the Roman withdrawal.

Outside the North Transept, the outer and partition wall of a building of three structural phases but with the stratigraphy destroyed by a Norman robber trench. Before the walls were built the site had been cobbled.

Saxon. In the crossing were found the trench-filled foundations of two parallel east-west walls, 23 ft. apart, a fragment of plaster flooring with red surface, and on the south foundation part of the plastered base course of the wall. This wall is probably but not certainly of eighth century date.

In the east end of the south aisle of the nave, a fragment of rubble walling and a plaster floor with red surface overlaid by a heavy burnt layer.

Norman. The foundations and bottom 5 ft. of the walls of the central compartment, of part of the transepts, and of the east bay of the nave of the late eleventh century church of Archbishop Thomas, of large and unusual plan. The central compartment was in plan the same size as the present central tower, the transepts as long as the present transepts, and the aisleless nave as wide as the central body of the present nave (45 ft. internal width). The walls were faced mainly with reused Roman stones (including one with an inscription). Internally these stones were roughly coursed or set herring-bone wise. Externally newly cut ashlar were also used and there was a chamfered plinth. Both inside and out the walls were plastered with a cream coloured plaster lined in red to imitate masonry jointing. Parts of two external pilaster buttresses were excavated in the nave. The foundations were broad strip foundations continuing the 'mortar raft' of the crypt, and were strengthened by longitudinal and lateral timbers. St. William's coffin has been found at the east end of the nave which had been repaired after the fire of 1137 and refloored at a higher level. Archbishop Roger in the late twelfth century raised the floor level of the crossing for convenience of access to his new choir.

Thirteenth century. Evidence for the founding of bells for the thirteenth century bell tower was found in the south end of the North Transept.

The most remarkable discovery was of a superbly preserved painting of Archbishop de Grey (died 1255) on his coffin lid during the restoration of his tomb.
H. G. Ramm.

(9) Holy Trinity, Micklegate. Sherds of early eighteenth century slipware dish, marked 'S.M.' probably for Samuel Malkin of Burslem, 1668-1740.
G. F. Willmot.

NOTES ON ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS

TWO MIDDLE BRONZE AGE CINERARY URNS FROM TOWER HILL, WARLEY, W.R.

By J. A. GILKS

Tower Hill (SE.054261) is situated one mile north of Warley Town and in 1848 was being quarried away when at least five prehistoric vessels were discovered. Two of these vessels, cinerary urns, survived and are the subject of this note.

Leyland¹ records that labourers spotted an urn projecting from the soil and after recovering it noted the cremated contents. It was 13–14 ins. high. Within a few yards of this was a similar urn, too decomposed to preserve, and a third, 6 ins. high, in better condition. This third urn was covered with a pottery lid and held a cremation and an incense cup. In the winter of 1848 a fall of earth revealed a fifth urn, 9 ins. high, and ‘there were observed numerous fragments of other cinerary urns’.

The third (Fig. 1) and fifth (Fig. 2) urns were preserved by J. S. Stott who gave them to the Halifax Lit. and Phil. Soc., later deposited in the Bankfield Museum, Halifax,² and are now on loan to the Tolson Memorial Museum. Both are typical Pennine Urns and are described below.

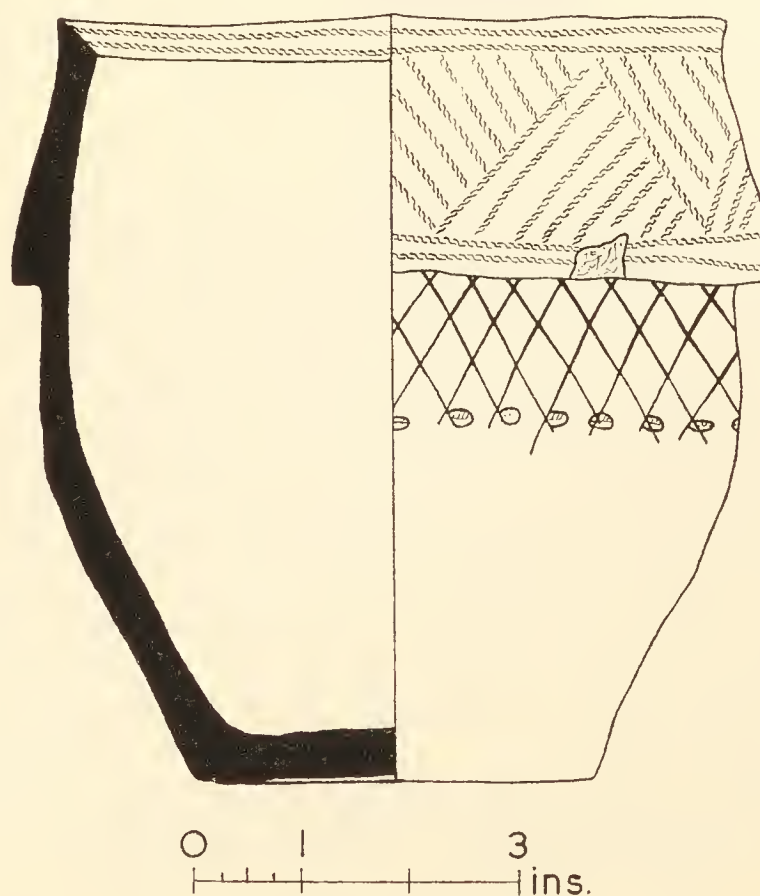


FIG. 1.

Fig. 1. A small cinerary urn, 7 ins. high, $6\frac{1}{8}$ ins. diameter rim, $3\frac{5}{8}$ ins. diameter base. The fabric is reddish brown (outside) with darker grey tones on the collar and body; the inside is rough and badly carbonised. There are two horizontal lines of cord impressions on the rim bevel. The collar is bordered by two horizontal cord impressed lines, the

¹ Leyland, F. A. *The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Halifax*, 1868, 58–9.

² Ling Roth, H. *The Yorkshire Coiners*, 1906, 296.

centre portion being decorated with filled triangles of cord impressions. The neck is covered with acute lattice striations produced by a sharp-pointed instrument, probably a knife, and is bordered on the shoulder by a series of shallow pits produced by the rounded end of a stick. The lid and incense cup have not survived.

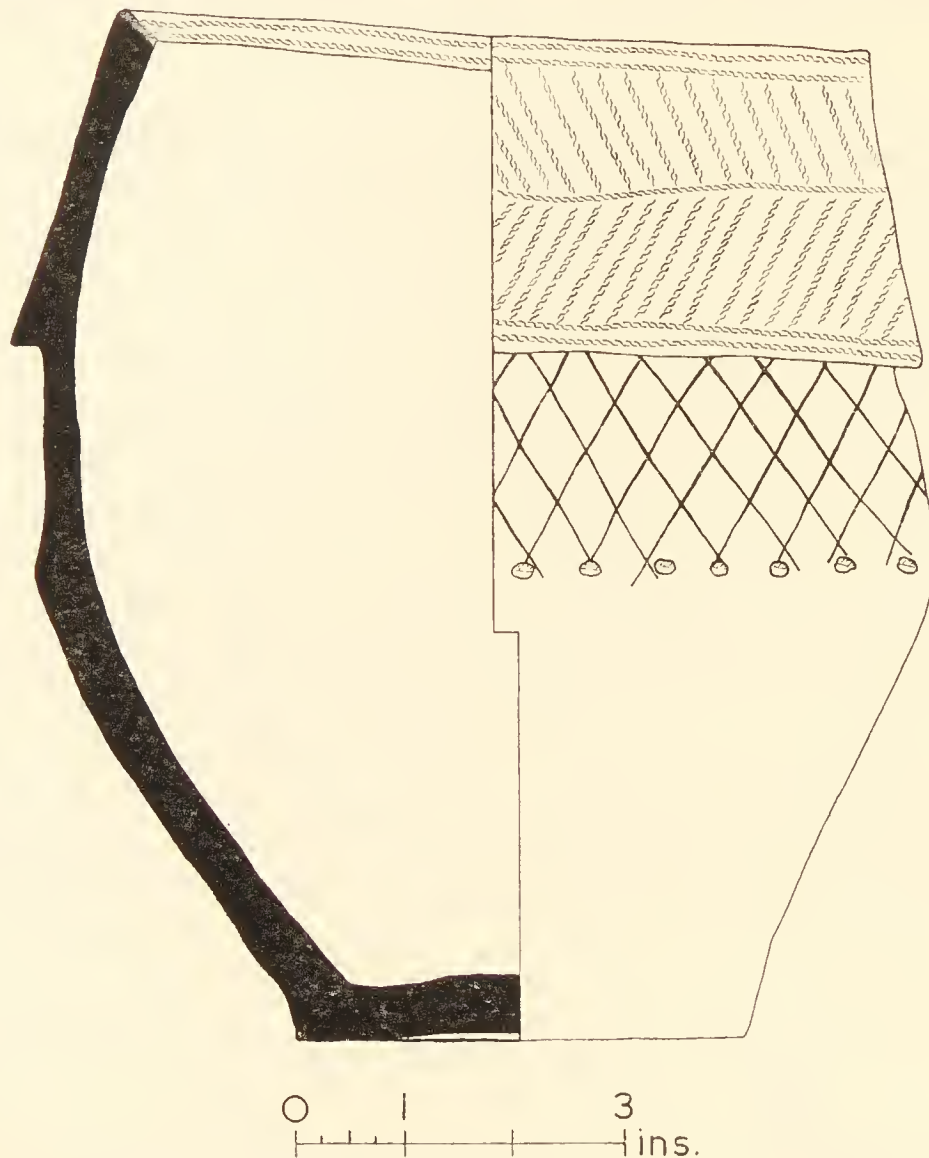


FIG. 2.

Fig. 2. A large tripartite collared urn, $9\frac{7}{8}$ ins. high, $6\frac{7}{8}$ ins. diameter rim and $4\frac{1}{8}$ ins. diameter base. The fabric is hard buff brown with darker brown tones. The core varies in colour from reddish brown to black, and contains a few large pieces of sandstone grit which protrude through the exterior surface. The bevelled rim is decorated with horizontal lines of cord impressions. Decoration on the collar consists of cord impressions in herring-bone motif with a single centre line and bordered by two horizontal lines. The neck is completely covered with acute lattice striations, bordered on the shoulder by a series of shallow pits produced by the rounded end of a stick.

The writer is indebted to Mr. R. A. Innes, curator of Bankfield Museum, Halifax for permission to publish this account and to Mr. E. W. Aubrook, curator of the Tolson Memorial Museum, Huddersfield, for making the urns available for study.

A ROMANO-BRITISH SITE NORTH-WEST OF NEWBIGGIN HALL, GROSMONT, NEAR WHITBY

By R. H. HAYES

The site was discovered in 1964 when some members of the Whitby Nautralists Club, under the direction of Dr. A. W. Riddolls, were looking for traces of a possible continuation of Wades Causeway north of the River Esk.

Mr. P. M. Duddridge, of Newbiggin Hall, informed them that when he was ploughing a field, now a pasture called the Old Field, east of Old Park Lane, he struck an area of stones just beneath the surface at the top of the field. Probing revealed the stones on the slope facing Eskdale at 330–50 ft. O.D. (NZ.836073 and Fig. 1). Permission to dig was readily given by Mr. and Mrs. P. M. Duddridge.

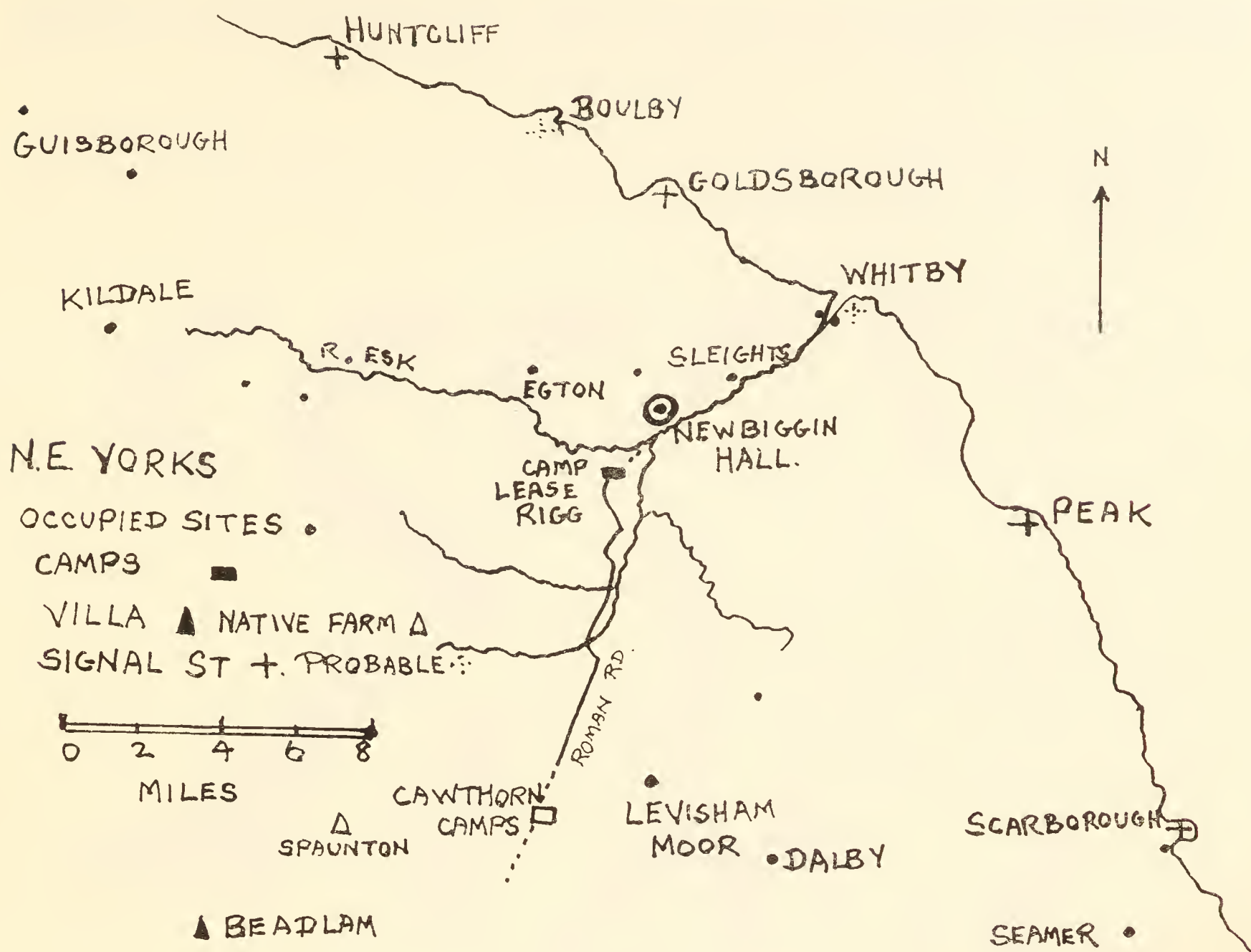


FIG. 1.

Excavation showed a pavement of closely laid stones, mainly large flat local sandstones, or glacial drift material. They were 9 ins. below the surface at the lower (south-east) side and about 20 ins. down at the north-western edge. They covered an area of approximately 18 by 13 ft. roughly oval in shape, though it was difficult to ascertain what kind of upper-structure stood over them. No walls or post-holes were found by the excavators. However, amongst the material salvaged from the stones were some pieces of red-orange burnt clay, rather like crumbling brick or tile, but probably the remains of wattle and daub walls. Similar burnt debris covered the cobbled floor of an oval hut of the Romano-British period hastily dug before it was bulldozed away on the new Penrith by-pass road in May 1967 [1]. This material could have been made from the sub-soil of boulder-clay found under the stones. Many glacial pebbles lay on the stones, some utilised for crude tools.

Set in the paving at the west end was a broken saddle-quern. Other pieces of 5 flat rotary querns and part of a beehive type stone were either in the paving or loose in the topsoil. Pottery was found on the stones and especially at the ends on the subsoil, and a piece of a jug (Fig. 3, 6) was in the upper topsoil. The cookpot sherds were at the east end but no definite hearth was noted, only a few burnt stones.

The most interesting finds were the worked jet disks and bangle, evidence of early Whitby jet turners. They must have used some type of wooden pole lathe – when one sees the primitive wooden lathe used in Farndale in the nineteenth century, and now in the Ryedale Museum, Hutton-le-Hole, it is easy to imagine the sort of machine they might have used.

Whitby jet was worked into beads, bracelets, rings, pendants, cameos, and other ornaments; Solinus describes British jet as a substance heated with water but quenched with oil and magnetic when rubbed. Prof. I. A. Richmond said 'these qualities endowed

jet with almost magical esteem, and it became a favourite material for ornamental jewellery, much of which was manufactured at Eburacum (York)'. [2]

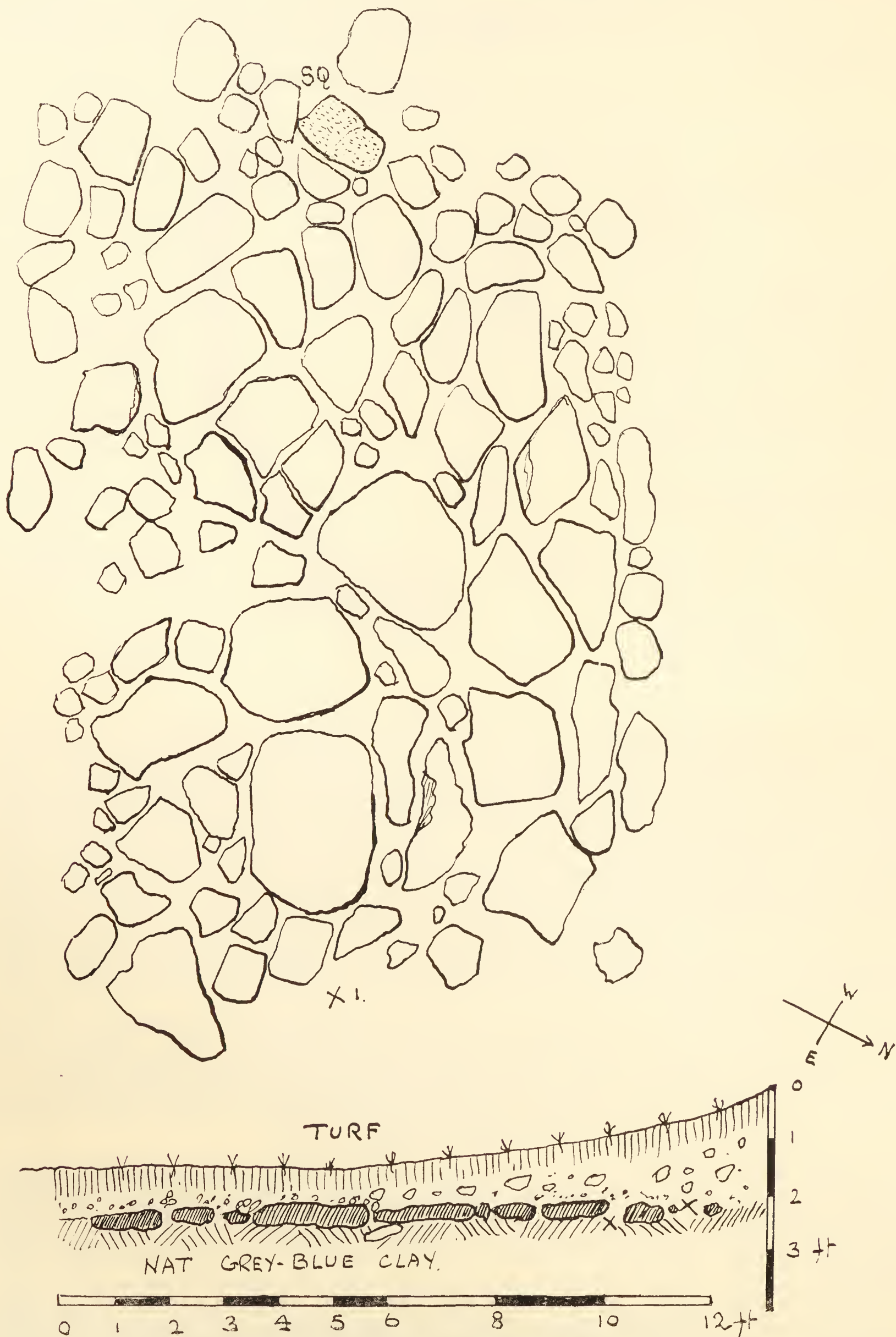


FIG. 2. Romano-British Floor, Newbiggin Hall, Grosmont.

But it was also worked at the fourth century signal stations [3] and exported in quantities to the Rhineland. Roman worked jet objects are of very good workmanship, though never highly polished like the Victorian and modern products.

In the absence of coin finds the site must be dated by the pottery to the fourth century A.D., which agrees with the occupation of the nearby Briggswath settlement, and sherds from Whitby. This type of native dwelling floor has been found at various places in Eskdale and elsewhere [4], and it is likely that others will be found in the near future.

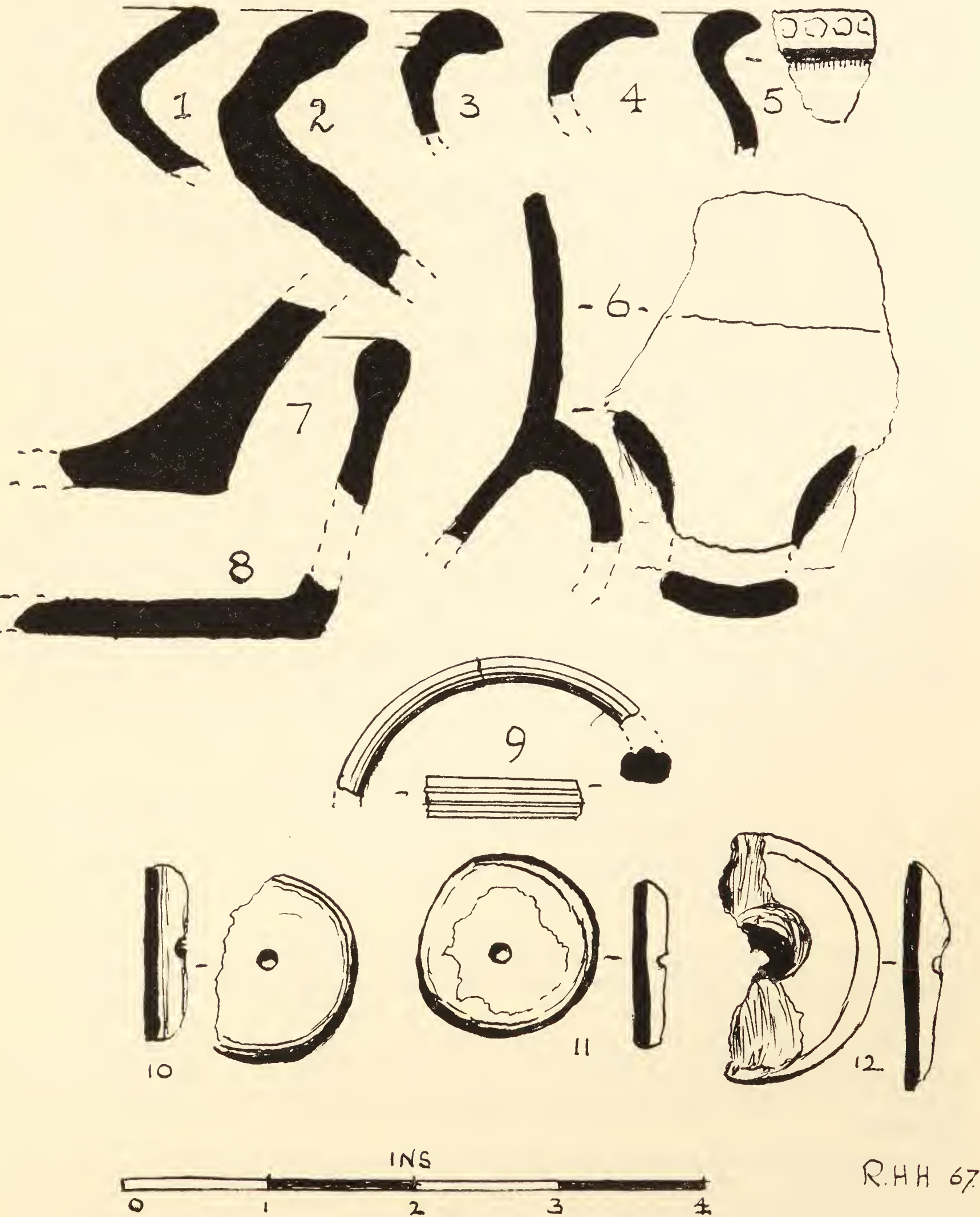


FIG. 3. Pottery and Jet Artifacts.

Pottery

Fortunately the site produced some forty potsherds, all very worn and eroded, due to exposure and being trampled into cracks between the stones. It was mainly very coarse black-brown gritted ware, some hand-made, mostly wheel-turned, of native origin from some local pottery. The backing of quartz grit and ironstone is similar to that in the sherds from Kildale [5].

Of the twenty-eight in this black gritty ware six rims came from four vessels, with one base, fragment of another and part of a dish.

There were nine-ten sherds of hard light-grey ware and four from a pot in smooth orange ware with internal rilling, possibly Roman (cf. Cold Cam) [6].

Fig. 3, 1-2. Rims of cookpots black, pitted, gritty ware.

3. Rim in hard stony black gritted ware, 4 ins. diameter, with faint internal groove. (Signal Station type 26, Goldsborough, Fig. 11) and found on Eskdale sites, Egton and Sleights [7].

4. Rim of large jar in hard grey wheel-turned ware.

5. Ditto. small, dia. 3 ins. in two pieces, one shows finger-tip marks under rim; three or four body sherds in this type.

6. Body sherd of large jar or jug with handle. Very rough pimply grey ware with external coating of ironpan. Not a Crambeck or Norton type.

7. Part of a base of large jar in hard grey ware.

8. Roll rim and part of base of straight-sided dish, the base 7 ins. dia. shows grass impressions and those of seeds? (Sig. St. type 30, Fig. 14, 2-4) [8].

The whole collection could be of fourth century date, there are no definite third century types, though cookpots 1-2 could be any period from first century.

Jet

The most useful evidence from the site is the worked jet. It was surmised that jet working took place in lower Eskdale and Whitby in Roman times [9] but the only previous evidence was from the Goldsborough Signal Station where two rings and several cores or 'chucks' from lathe-turned jet were found (Goldsborough, pp. 212-213).

No doubt the raw material was picked up from the coastal Lias beds but no one seems to have made a study of the numerous jet-mines of the Cleveland dales to see whether they were worked before the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries.

Fig. 3, 9. Part of jet bracelet, $\frac{5}{16}$ in. thick, $2\frac{1}{4}$ ins. diameter. Many similar ones found at York and Malton usually with female burials.

10-12. Jet cores or 'chucks' discarded from lathe working.

10-11. both $1\frac{1}{4}$ ins. dia. and $\frac{5}{16}$ in. thick. No. 12 is $1\frac{3}{4}$ ins. dia. and about the same thickness. A fourth disk was only fragmentary.

In addition several lumps of poor unworked jet were found; these were no doubt rejects replaced by better material.

Querns

Three types of rotary querns are represented and set in the floor was a broken 'saddle' stone, a type used in the pre-historic periods and only replaced by the rotary types in the late Iron Age and in Roman times.

The harder sandstones of Cleveland were utilised, also the glacial drift stones and the latter were probably used in Eskdale. Imports from Germany of Mayen lava querns took place on a large scale, and these are found on many town, villa and native sites in Yorkshire.

The saddle-quern was probably discarded and re-used as a paving stone. It is well-worn and measures 15×10 ins. tapering at the ends, and 3-4 ins. in thickness. Some of the other pieces were also paving stones. Topstone Folly only a short distance above this site produced both saddle and beehive types with pottery of late Iron Age date [10].

The fragments from Newbiggin Hall include a piece of lower stone of a flat rotary type, 8 ins. thick, dia. 20–24 ins., made of local ironstone, cf. Aislaby outcrop. A lower stone 8 ins. long, 4 ins. thick, showed pick marks, and was smooth and well used, made of light sandstone. An upper stone, broken, 17–18 ins. dia., showed ribbing and pick marks, and may be made from local stone. A piece of freestone is smooth and dish-shaped, dia. 16–17 ins., and well used. A lower stone of local freestone, very worn, 8 ins. thick, 17–18 ins. dia., has part of the spindle hole showing. Finally, a fragment of a bee-hive type, 51 ins. high, 12–13 ins. dia., with a smooth grinding surface. This was the only piece of beehive found and the type was discarded before the fourth century. Querns probably had a long life and are not useful for dating, but they do prove that corn, probably barley, was grown on rather heavy clay soil on the slopes of lower Eskdale, and that the dense forest of earlier times must have been partially cleared.

REFERENCES

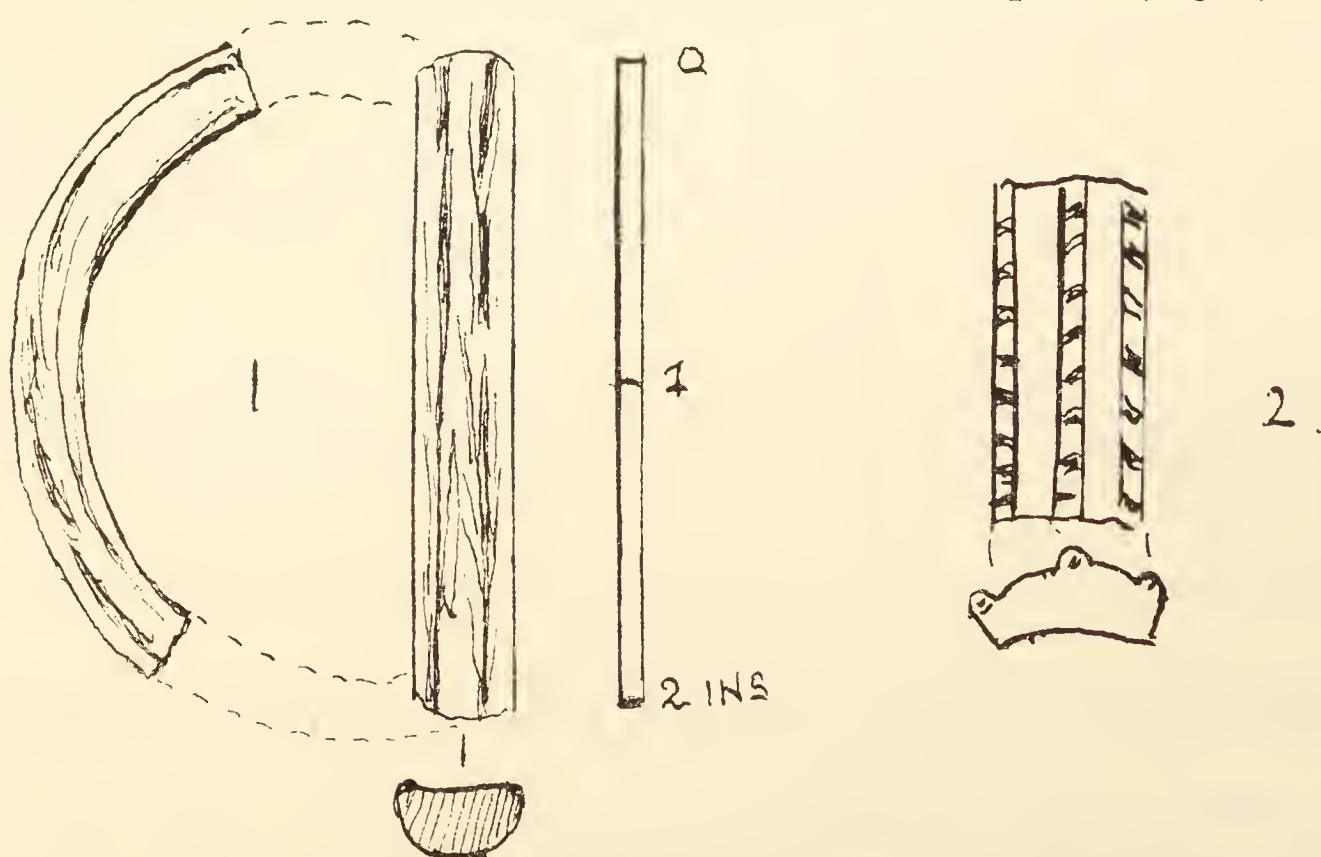
1. Penrith By-pass Excavations for the M.O.P.B. & W. in May 1967, A. L. Pacitto and R. H. Hayes (unpublished).
2. Roman Britain, I. A. Richmond; *Pelican History of England*, 161, 1955.
3. Hornsby, W., and Laverick, J. D. The Roman Signal-Station at Goldsborough nr. Whitby, Yorks., Royal Arch. Institute; *Arch. Journal*, Vol. lxxxix, 1934.
4. See Wades Causeway, Scarborough & Dist. Arch. Society Rep. no. 4, 1964, pp. 77–83 and Fig. 10.
5. Kildale Bankside – Pale End R.–B. Site, *Y.A.J.*, pt. 164, 1966, pp. 687–700.
6. History of Helmsley (Helmsley Arch. Society), 1961.
7. *Ibid.*, note 4, Fig. 10, no. 10, etc.
8. Note 3, Fig. 14, 1–4.
9. *The Romans in Cleveland*. Frank Elgee, 1923, pp. 19–21, Fig. 7.
10. Topstone Folly. The name Folly associated with Roman Roads (see Roman Roads in S.W. England by the Viators, 1964). Topstone has produced querns and evidence of settlement of uncertain Iron Age–Roman period but now ploughed out. Some finds in Whitby Museum where those from the site described will eventually go.

A ROMANO-BRITISH GLASS BANGLE FROM STONY RIGG

By R. H. HAYES

In July 1967 Mr. Wm. Best, of Pickering, picked up on the surface of eroded peat on the bleak north–east side of Stony Rigg, at 1400 ft. O.D. half of a cobalt blue glass bangle (NZ.636032).

It has a semi-circular section, two inlaid brown cords (probably six on the complete bangle), thin white lines ending in blobs, and fine white threads inlaid into the fabric. Internal diameter $1\frac{3}{4}$ ins., external $2\frac{1}{8}$ ins. It is fire or frost pitted (Fig. 1).



Romano-British Glass Bangles, (1) Stony Rigg, (2) Levisham Moor.

This is the third glass bangle to be found in north-east Yorks. since 1956. The first was found in chamber 'C', Ashberry Windypit, Ryedale, with a quantity of first-second century Romano-British material and pottery; this was only a fragment, though of similar size, and of blue glass with double grooves and inset blobs of yellow (Hist. of Helmsley, 360, Fig. 7, no. 3 and Fig. 8, 16). With it were two pieces of another, 2 in. diam., of what was thought to be travertine, but according to Anthony Pacitto, of white glass that had deteriorated with age.

The next was found during excavations on enclosure 'B' on Levisham Moor with a large quantity of native pottery of first century A.D., beehive and saddle-querns, spindle whorls, and débris on the floor of a small round hut. It was a pale icy-blue glass with cobalt-blue blobs, with double raised strips on the sides (Fig. 2, publication forthcoming by Scarborough Arch. Society).

A close parallel to the Stony Rigg example was found in one of a group of native huts excavated at Milking Gap High Shield, Northumberland. Two pieces of bangle of cobalt blue glass with white inlay came from hut I. (H. E. Kilbride Jones, Arch. Aeliana, Vol. xv, 4th ser., 1938, p. 334, Fig. 7, nos. 1-3). A dragonesque bronze brooch was found on this site.

Mr. Robert B. K. Stevenson (in *The Iron Age in N. Britain*, 1966) gives a distribution map of this type. The majority are found between the two Roman walls, Northumberland to south Scotland, few north of the Tay., Yorkshire has produced about a dozen, and at least three have come from north-west Lincs. Stevenson (p. 28) says, 'Hyndford Cranog was rich in glass bangles, particularly ice-green, with blue and white inlaid cords, like pieces from first century Newstead. Although favoured on native sites, a few come from York and stations on the wall.'

Stony Rigg bangle, though isolated and high in what was a forest clearing, was only just over a mile from Eskletts, where beehive querns occur, and several querns have been found in Westerdale and Danby. Elgee also mentions a blue glass bead from the Gallow Howe area, near Castleton. (Early Man, p. 191). All these point to occupation, trading, and travellers in the dales and on the high moors. We are already coming to accept intensive Romano-British occupation on the limestone hills, therefore it is unlikely the dales remained uninhabited, for recent work in Kildale and Eskdale shows otherwise.

A COLLARED URN FROM OGDEN, W.R.

By R. VARLEY

In February 1877 a large Early Bronze Age Collared Urn was found in the grounds of Mount Zion Chapel, Ogden, $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles N.N.W. of the Parish of Halifax. The site has a National Grid reference of SE.068298. The discovery of the urn is described in the *Yorkshire Coiners* by Ling Roth as found, 'by a grave digger, on digging about 2 ft. below the surface of the ground, a slab of stone impeded the work, and on its removal a square cavity, formed of four upright stones, was discovered, in which the urn had been placed bottom upwards, and the mausoleum filled with gravel'.¹

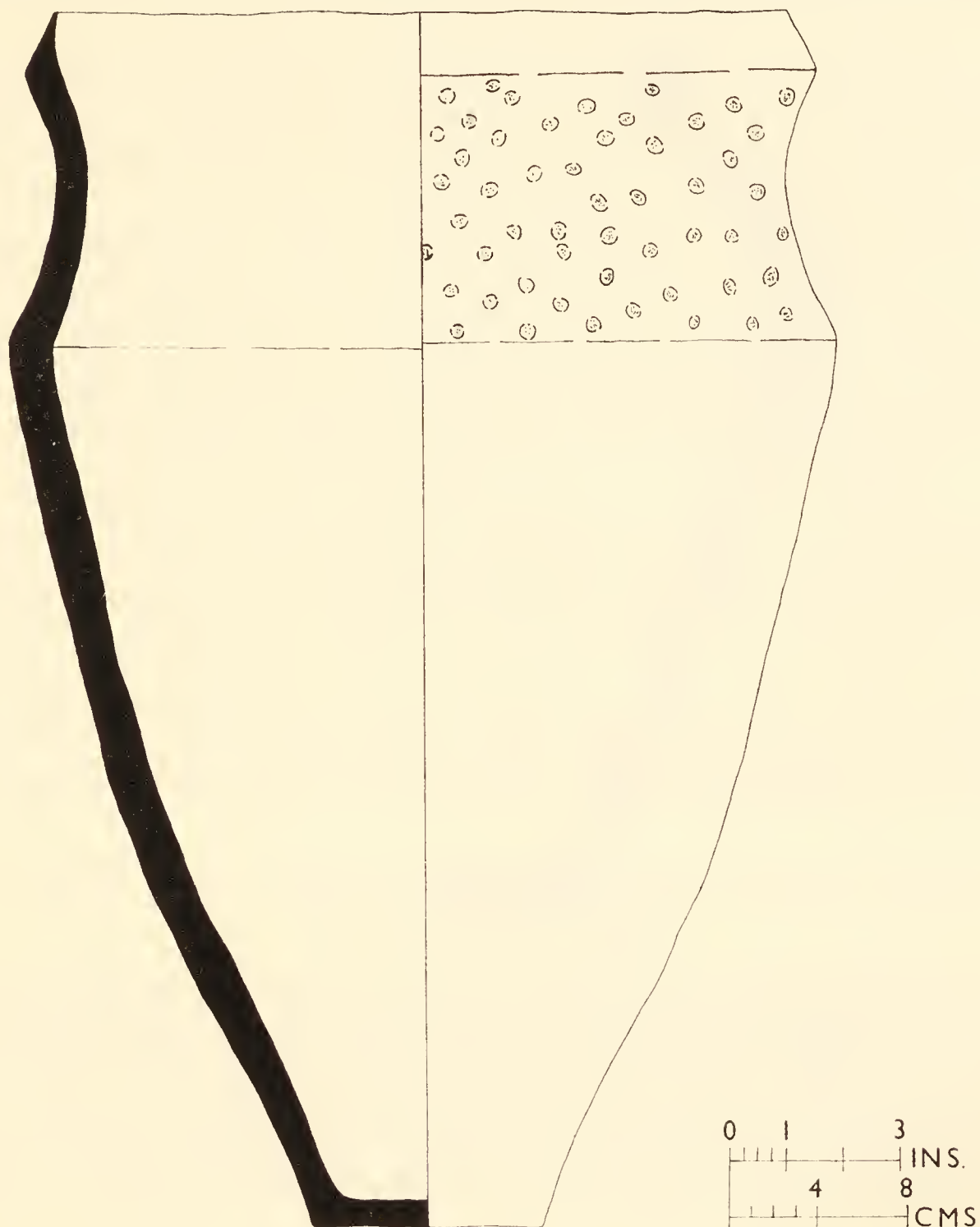
The urn is $21\frac{1}{2}$ ins. high, 13 ins. diameter rim, 4 ins. diameter base. The ware is smooth buff to dark brown with a black core. The decoration on the neck is of impressions of a broken stick end. This urn is no. 321 in I. H. Longworth, 'The Origins and Development of the Primary Series in the Collared Urn Tradition in England and Wales'.² The urn has his formal traits, 2 narrow collar, 3 pointed rim, and 5 narrow base. Longworth demonstrates that urns with 3 traits are contemporary with the Wessex II period in Southern England and all the primary series of urns are pre-1400 B.C. Primary urns are not numerous in the Central Pennines but are well represented in East Yorkshire. An urn of similar profile to this one was found at Blanch Barrow no. 241, East Yorkshire.³ This

¹ Ling Roth, *Yorkshire Coiners*, pp. 293-294.

² I. H. Longworth, 'The Origins and Development of the Primary Series in the Collared Urn Tradition in England and Wales', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* xxvii (1961), p. 300.

³ Mortimer, *Forty Years Researches* (1905), p. 328, fig. 985.

vessel is in Hull Museum and is decorated on the neck and collar with deep cord impressions in encircling lines, interspersed by rows of short vertical cord markings.



When the urn was discovered it contained cremated human bones (these are now lost) which at the time Dr. Dolan examined, his report is in the *Yorkshire Coiners*.¹

A piece of bone was also found with the urn, which has since been lost. Ling Roth has illustrated this piece of bone.² The urn and the piece of bone was presented to Bankfield Museum, Halifax by the Late Mr. F. A. Leyland and the urn is now in the Tolson Memorial Museum, Huddersfield.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer is indebted to Mr. R. A. Innes for making this urn available for study and for granting permission to publish this report of it. The writer is also greatly indebted to Mr. T. G. Manby for supplying information referred to in this paper.

A CONSTANTINIAN COIN HOARD FROM WOMERSLEY, W.R.

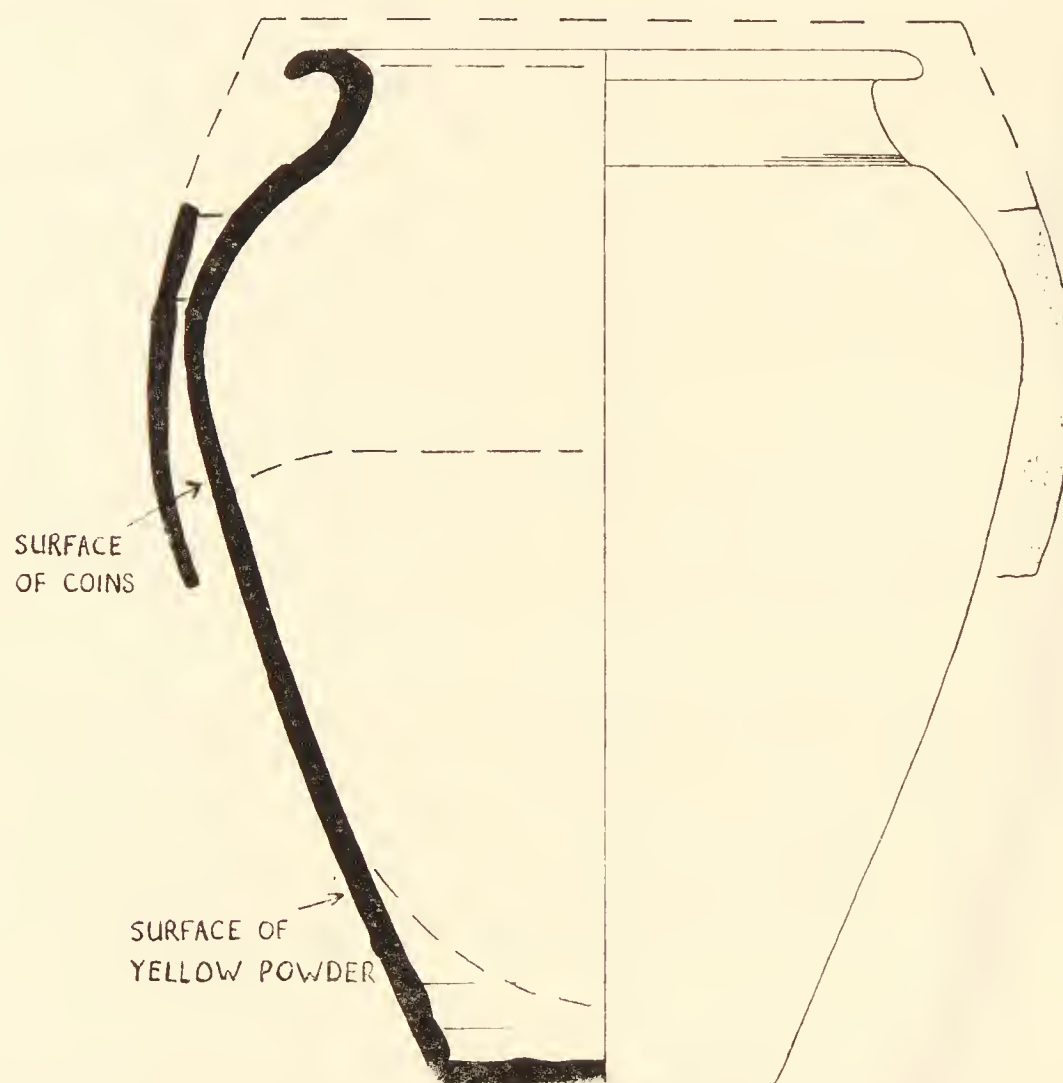
By ELIZABETH PIRIE

This is a preliminary report of about 3,300 bronze coins found near Cridling Stubbs but in Womersley parish (SE.519210). The hoard was located on 8 Oct. 1967 by Mr. W. Frost, an employee of Mr. W. R. Marsh of Lodge Farm, who is a tenant of the Earl of

¹ Ling Roth, *op. cit.*, pp. 293–294.

² *Ibid.*, Fig. 194.

Rosse. On 16 Oct. R. M. Butler and J. Radley of RCHM, York, excavated the area and recovered the bulk of the coins and their container.



Fourth-century Jar. ($\frac{1}{3}$).

The coins were enclosed in a fourth-century jar of a black calcite-gritted fabric, $9\frac{1}{2}$ ins. high. The jar was upright and protected by part of an inverted large grey-ware jar and a capstone $18 \times 11 \times 3$ ins. The hoard appears to have been inserted into a bank adjacent to a yard, represented by a black horizon full of bone, sherds and charcoal at a depth of 9–12 ins. The yard was presumably adjacent to a settlement which, situated on the Magnesian Limestone, would have been on a well-drained arable area overlooking the Vale of York.

Underlying the coins at the bottom of the pot was a quantity of creamy yellow powder which has been analysed by Dr. M. Kapel, Leeds University, and which proved to have a powdered limestone base with traces of silicates, chloride, phosphate, and iron which probably gives the colouring. Thirty-seven of the coins which were encrusted with this powder have been left as they are, without it being possible to identify and classify them.

Of the other coins, fourteen were struck before A.D. 324. A radiate issue of Tetricus I (270–75) is the earliest. Seven are of Licinius I and Licinius II (307–24), and six of Constantine I. The period 324–30 is represented by two coins only: one of Constantine I from Treveri (*Late Roman Bronze Coinage*, I, 14), and one of Constantine II as Caesar, from Rome (*LRBC*, I, 509).

The bulk of the hoard is of coins struck between A.D. 330–346. From the years 330–35 there are the issues *Urbs Roma* (529 coins). *Constantinopolis* (484 coins) and *Gloria Exercitus* with two standards (841 coins).

Four coins of the later issues of *Constantinopolis* from Arelate, and two of Constantius II, *Securitas Reipub* from Rome, represent the period 335–37, together with 171 examples of the *Gloria Exercitus* with one standard. These are followed by 291 coins from the second series of *Gloria Exercitus*, one standard (A.D. 337–41) and twelve of *Virtus AuggNn* for Constantius II. The memorial issues for Constantine I (quadriga – three coins), Helena (*Pax Publica* – fifty-five coins) and Theodora (*Pietas Romana* – fifty coins) belong to this same period.

From the final years 341–46 there are only two coins (one *Victoria Augg* of Constantius II from Siscia, and one *Pop Romanus* from Constantinople) apart from 750 examples of the *Victoriae Dd* issue; 100 of these were struck for Constantius II, and the rest for Constans.

Although all the coins mentioned above can be catalogued according to types mentioned in *Late Roman Bronze Coinage*, there has as yet been no opportunity to check how many of them may in fact be imitations struck from copies of official dies. Thirty-seven other coins (not included in the numbers quoted above) have been tentatively recognised as forgeries, not only because of their rough style, but because of their departure in some particular or other from the detail of accepted types.

Over two thousand of the coins come from the mint at Treveri. Numbers from Lugdunum and Arelate are high enough until 337 to suggest that Britain was officially receiving quantities of coins from those mints. After 337, dwindling numbers seem to indicate that regular official supplies had been discontinued. The proportion of coins from mints outside Gaul is small throughout.

There are 673 coins of the *Victoriae Dd.* issue from Treveri (Constantius II: 64; Constans: 609). Although there are some gaps in the sequence of mint marks which need to be explained it must be accepted that the coins were struck over a number of years, during which issues from other sources, represented by the other 79 coins would have circulated as far as Britain.

It must be suggested, therefore, that the date for deposition of the hoard should be placed as late as A.D. 345 or early in 346 – *after* rather than before the visit of Constans to Britain in 343, at which time he took steps to combat the raiders who threatened the province.

SOME EARLY MEDIAEVAL POTTERY FROM YORK

By LAURENCE KEEN

Excavations carried out in 1963-64 on the site of St. Mary, Bishophill Senior¹ yielded body sherds of a pink ware sealed by the north wall of the late eleventh-century nave and so with a *terminus ante quem* of c. 1090 at the very latest on architectural grounds. In addition to this ware three sherds of another ware were found in an unstratified context; these are of sufficient importance in themselves to warrant a note although a precise date cannot yet be given them. The fabric and rim types are, so far as the writer knows, unique in York.

No. 1. (BHS.150) Bowl 10.3 ins. in diameter. The rim extends over the inside of the bowl and forms an oblique top surface. In throwing, the rim has been turned over the outside and forms a slightly rounded section in line with the wall of the vessel. The fabric is very hard, buff-red and contains a high proportion of small grit which gives the surface a slightly pimply appearance.

No. 2. (BHS.151) Bowl 11.2 ins. in diameter. Rim of similar type to No. 1. Fabric also similar although the outside is buff and the surface below the rim is burnished. The inside is pink-red.

(BHS.152) not illustrated; base sherd, angled like No. 5. Fabric as above with grey core.

An examination of the accessible excavated material from other sites in York has produced three more examples of this ware with similar rims.² Two of the bowl rims are from Bootham School³ and a bowl from Spurriergate is in the Yorkshire Museum.

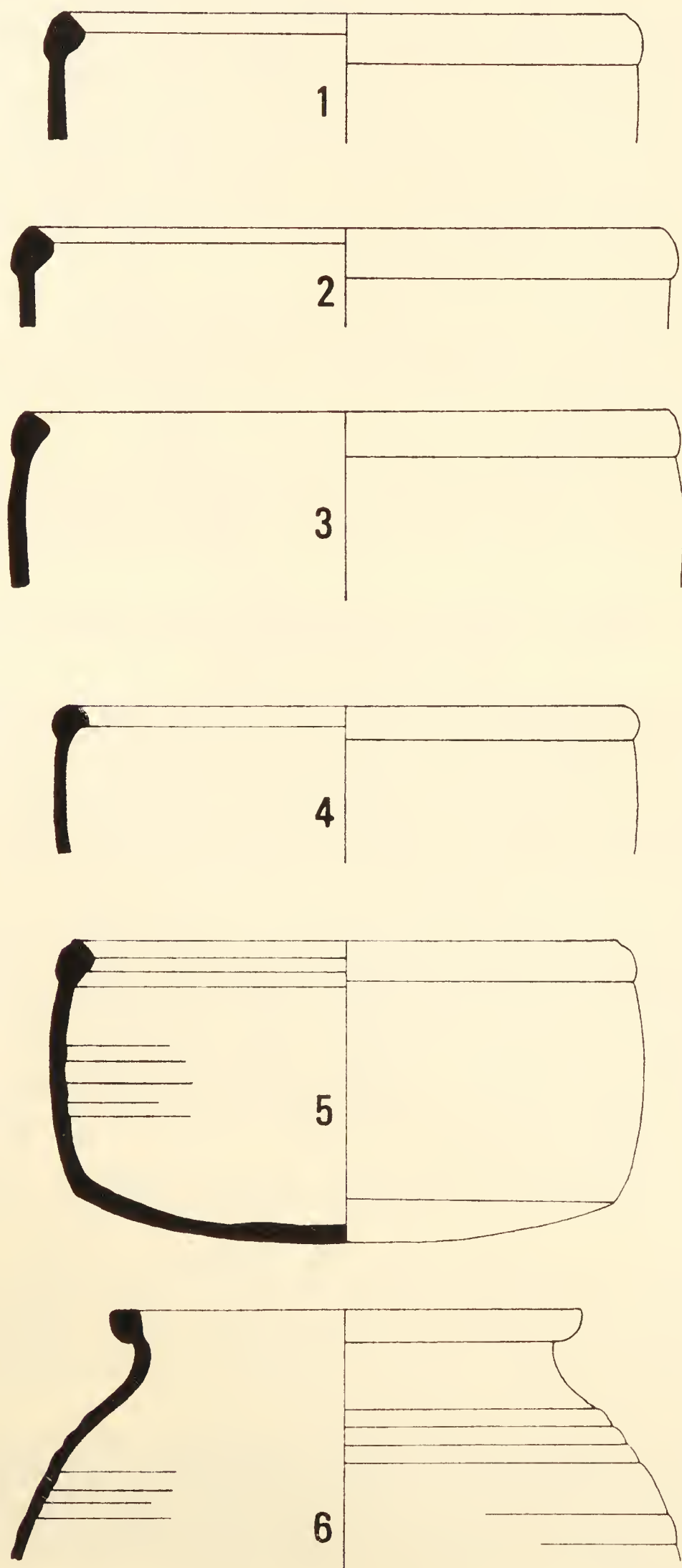
No. 3. (Bootham School) Bowl 11.3 ins. in diameter. Fabric very hard, buff with small grits and grey core. Rim similar to Nos. 1 and 2.

¹ *Medieval Archaeology*, 9 (1965), 176, for summary of excavation. A full report is in preparation.

² I am indebted to Mr. G. F. Willmot, Keeper of the Yorkshire Museum, for bringing the Spurriergate bowl and the material from his excavation in St. Mary's Abbey to my notice and for his permission to publish them. Also to the Archaeological Society of Bootham School for permission to publish material from their collections. Another bowl rim has been found recently during excavations in the Museum Gardens. It was unstratified.

³ Clark, W. B., *Excavations at Bootham School*, 1953, 54. (MS.)

- No. 4. (Bootham School) Bowl 10 ins. in diameter. Fabric hard, buff-red with small grits. The rim derives from those already described. It overhangs the inside of the vessel but is rounded in section.
- No. 5. (Y.M. 1959.6.8.) Bowl (restored) 9.8 ins. in diameter and 5.1 ins. deep. Fabric very hard, light red-brown with small white grits, grey core and angled base.

Pottery from York. ($\frac{1}{4}$).

All the above sherds vary little in basic fabric beyond the differences brought about by firing. They can be assigned to the same kiln. It is unfortunate that none of the material described comes from a dated context. However, a jar (No. 6) found by Mr. G. F. Willmot in the St. Mary's Abbey excavation of 1953 is of identical ware: very hard with small white grits, slightly pimply, buff-pink in colour with a grey core. This came from a pit cut into by the Norman nave wall.

The foundation stone of the Norman chancel was laid in 1089.¹ Selby Abbey was started at much the same time and took about one hundred and fifty years to complete. St. Mary's Abbey would have been completed by about 1200. It fell rapidly into disrepair and was rebuilt in the Abbacy of Simon de Warwick during the years 1270–1292.²

This jar, therefore, coming from a pit near the east end of the nave and sealed by the Norman fabric belongs to the early twelfth century. It may be that the bowls of the same ware illustrated in this note are contemporary.³

THE YORK HOARD OF FLINT TOOLS, 1868 [1]

By J. RADLEY

Hoardsof stone tools are quite rare in Britain, and when Reginald Smith summarised the axe hoards known to him in 1921 [2] he could only describe six, four of which were from Norfolk, one from Kent, and one from East Ayton, Yorkshire. Two of these hoards had five axes and the others less. Most of the axes were broadly similar: they were made of flint, polished only on the blade, 4 ins. to 9 ins. long, with sharp side edges and a broad round butt.

The York hoard was found in September 1868, near Holgate Beck, about 400 yards from its junction with the Ouse. The hoard was found when the N. E. Railway's Gas Works were being constructed and Edward Allen, reporting to the Yorkshire Philosophical Society in December 1869, noted that the hoard was found 5 ft. to 6 ft. deep in a bed of sand beneath 1 ft. of top soil, and that the hoard was sealed by gravel fill. The hoard was in such a restricted space that it 'occupied a small space that could be covered by a man's hat' [3], suggesting that it was buried in a narrow hole, perhaps in a skin bag.

The exact number of artifacts in the hoard is not recorded by Allen, who went to some lengths to ascertain what was found and he discovered that fourteen to twenty axe heads, many spearheads and a bushel of flakes were found. The best items found their way to Charles Monkman of Malton, Allen acquired a few, but most of the flint flakes were added to the local gravel which was being used as ballast on the railway tracks.

Of the items given to the Yorkshire Museum by Allen in 1870 only two polished axes survive (YM.446–7, 1948). These and others were illustrated by Monkman in 1869 [4], but the best record is two photographs by Watson of thirty-five items, published in 1905 [5]. In 1906, Auden records fifteen celts, one of greenstone, and the rest of flint, other implements and a large number of flakes, most of which cannot now be traced. Some of these found their way into the Wakefield Collection, which now has eighteen items from the hoard (YM. F.W.100, 1–18). Thus twenty items in the Yorkshire Museum can safely be attributed to the hoard, and using Watson's photographs, the hoard can be summarised as follows:—

Axes: large	5
small.....	2
Arrowheads: leaf	2
barb-and-tang.....	1
Spearheads	9
Scrapers	3
Blades and flakes	11
Worked points.....	2

¹ Solloway, J., 'Abbey of St. Mary, York', V.C.H., *Yorks.* iii (1913), 108a.

² Wellbeloved, C., *Account of the Ancient and Present State of the Abbey of St. Mary, York* (1829), 5.

³ Since this note was submitted Mr. H. G. Ramm has found sherds of this ware in his York Minster excavations. They came from an 11th–13th century context.

Only one axe appears to have been made of a polished volcanic stone; this is a curved flake, 5 ins. long and well polished (YM.447, 1948). The other six axes are of flint; all have polished blades, but four have narrow polished butts, the other two having broad, thin, unpolished butts.

One axe (YM. FW.100.16) is a very fine example, 6.5 ins. long, with broad butt, concave sharp sides which form a 'waist', and only the blade polished. With such a distinctive appearance it is difficult to find parallels, but similarly shaped axes were found at East Ayton and Duggleby. The East Ayton hoard [7] of four small axes (3.8 ins. to 5.3 ins.) were found with a secondary burial in the top of the East Ayton long barrow, together with five lozenge-shaped arrowheads, two 'rude flint spearheads', two flint knives, two boars' tusks, and a piece of deer-horn. The axes are made of flint, with polished blades, broad unpolished butts, and at least one has slightly waisted sides. A similar axe, 9¼ ins. long, was found in the primary mound of The Howe, Duggleby [8], with body G, and associated with a leaf-shaped arrowhead and a perforated antler crown; this axe was described by Shephard as 'probably the finest flint weapon of its kind from the district' [9].

The two leaf arrowheads from the York Gas Works hoard are poor examples when compared with the East Ayton and Duggleby lozenge-shaped arrowheads. With these two was a barb-and-tang arrowhead, which is very unusual in such a context; it has quite short barbs and tang, the barbs being pointed. This is similar to examples found in a Beaker context. If the axe parallel is valid, the hoard should date to a late Neolithic context, since a round-bottom bowl was found below the Duggleby axe. It is, however, possible for the hoard to be sufficiently late in the Neolithic for barb-and-tang arrowheads to be in general use.

The nine 'spearheads' are curious, in that they are relatively ovoid in shape with fairly blunt points and edges, and which may be comparable with the 'crude spearheads' from East Ayton. Several similar implements are known from East Yorkshire, but their function is not definitely known – they are often not elongated enough to be spearheads, or sharp enough to be knives.

The surviving evidence suggests a true hoard, rather than a rich grave deposit as at East Ayton. Small hoards are known – such as the three greenstone axes from Cottingham [10] – but nothing has been found to compare in size with the York hoard. It appears to be from the later Neolithic and may represent a merchant's trading goods. The fresh nature of the axe blades and scrapers indicates that they have not been used, and the series of large unused blades and flakes, with very sharp edges, appear to be 'blanks' for future use.

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A CASE OF TWELFTH-CENTURY TOWN PLANNING IN YORK?

By H. G. RAMM

Newbiggin Street runs between Lord Mayor's Walk and Penley's Grove Street. It is a creation of the nineteenth century. The name itself is much older and although it belonged to the vicinity, it was not associated with the limited area of the present street. It is first

recorded according to A. H. Smith (*Place Names of the East Riding of Yorks. and York* (1937), 295) in the late twelfth century (Cartulary of St. Mary's, York) and there are many references to it in the early thirteenth century.

A. Raine (*Mediaeval York*, p. 278) notes that St. Maurice's church is described as in Newbiggin and that (p. 280) so is Shoter (now Groves) Lane. The name means new buildings. The only buildings shown on Speed's map (1610), which precedes the Civil War destruction in this area, are a row of houses within the churchyard of St. Maurice's facing on to Lord Mayor's Walk, those lining both sides of Monkgate, and a few along what is now St. Maurice's Road and Jewbury. Raine (loc. cit. 278) thinks of the name as a street name applying to the lower end of Lord Mayor's Walk near to Monkgate. The name, however, refers to buildings and it seems odd that St. Maurice's church should be referred to as in New Buildings when the only buildings in the street are a small row on one side of its churchyard. The name must have a wider application than the bottom end of Lord Mayor's Walk, and if Shoter (or Groves) Lane can also be described as in Newbiggin then the name is perhaps that of a district or suburb.

It is not possible to take many York names back before or even to the twelfth century so not too great a weight can be attached to the date of the first record of the name, in attempting to discover when the 'biggin' was first new. It provides only a '*terminus ante quem*'. Nonetheless it is interesting that the late twelfth-century date of the name's earliest mention coincides with the late twelfth-century date of such features of old St. Maurice's church as survive or can be dated. These include an enriched doorway and a transitional window. The first documentary reference to the church is in a document dated between 1195 and 1210 (V.C.H., York City, 394).

The layout of the suburb, which includes Monkgate, is very regular. As shown on the 1852 large scale O.S. plan its main features consist of the broad street of Monkgate running from the Monk Bridge to Monk Bar meeting at the bar the cross street that follows the outer edge of the city ditch, i.e., Lord Mayor's Walk (formerly Goose Lane) and St. Maurice's Road (formerly Barker Hill). But what gives the area its regular appearance are the two lanes Grove Lane and Love Lane running parallel to one another, at right angles to the city defences, one on either side of Monkgate but not directly parallel to it. The property boundaries are laid out at right angles to the two lanes and not to Monkgate. St. Maurice's church lay on its own, possibly liturgical, axis,¹ placed not centrally but just to north of central between the two lanes, a position which would seem to demand a central lane or street represented at its south-west end by the present street of Monkgate but continuing north-east parallel to Love Lane and Grove Lane. Monkgate, which is the successor to this central street, has been deflected by the site of the bridge across the Foss, Monk Bridge. To a lesser extent Love Lane has also been deflected towards the bridge.

All had reached its present state by 1694 as can be seen from Benedict Horsley's plan. This plan reflects with an approximation to accuracy the form of the major field boundaries and lanes around the city. The necessity for allowing time for the deflection of the central street, places therefore the inauguration of this layout well back into the Middle Ages. It seems reasonable to associate this piece of deliberate planning with the name Newbiggin and the rebuilding (or alternatively first building) of St. Maurice's church and assign it a date in the late twelfth century.

Two points remain to be dealt with. First, the reason for the siting and orientation of the layout. At first sight one might expect that the central axis represents the main road issuing from Monk Bar and the other roads have been laid parallel to it. But it is not as simple as that. Monk Bridge is on the site of the Roman crossing of the Foss (R.C.H.M. *York* I, 1-2) and it would be natural to expect the central axis to have been the direct line from Monk Bar to Monk Bridge, that of modern Monk Gate. Moreover, it seems

¹ This is not strictly east-west. If the Church is older than the layout of the two lanes then its alignment could derive from that of the Roman road from the *porta decumana* to Monk Bridge to which it is parallel.

too much of a coincidence that Groves Lane should be opposite the subsidence in the city rampart that marks the site of a post-Roman gate, successor to the *porta decumana* of the Roman fortress, bearing the same relationship to it that Bootham Bar does to its Roman predecessor. The collapse of the Roman gatehouse blocked the main exit and a passage was forced in an adjacent breach. S. N. Miller, excavating here in 1927, found the Roman wall reduced to the bottom two courses. Chapter House Street, the representative of the Roman *via decumana*, is aligned on this site, and an entry and garden preserve the line of the old right of way from its junction with Ogleforth to the gate. Further evidence for the use of the Roman *porta decumana* or the adjacent site well after the Roman period had ended is provided by Goodramgate which runs from the Roman south-east gate diagonally athwart all Roman alignments and which for the greatest part of its course is aligned on the *porta decumana*.

The suggestion that a late twelfth-century street plan should be laid out in relation to the site of the *porta decumana* requires that this gate should be visible and in use at that date. Slight evidence that it was is provided by the Roman carved stone found in the city wall at this point (R.C.H.M. *York*, I, no. 128, p. 132). Originally deriving from a tomb this large gritstone has been recut as a building block and resembles similar blocks also derived originally from tombs and re-used in the fourth century in the Roman north-west gatehouse footings. If this stone came from a similar position in the *porta decumana* then it implies that the footings of that gate were exposed in the thirteenth century when the city wall was built on top of the Norman mound – something that could well happen if at that time a Norman gatehouse was demolished. The gritstone mediaeval foundations found in 1860 by W. Gray could well belong to such a gatehouse.¹

The southern limit of the new layout, Love Lane, is also to be related to an internal city feature. St. Andrewgate is on an old line that derives from the clear gravelled area on the outside of the ditches of the Roman fortress. Love Lane carries on its alignment outside the defences – and this could imply the former existence of a postern gate, sited between the Merchant Taylors' Hall and the Roman East Corner Tower. The defences at this point certainly existed in Norman times and are possibly Danish in origin. Both this site and the Roman *porta decumana* are near the sites of churches – St. Helen on the Walls just south-west of the Roman East Corner and St. John del Pyke (whose name Raine, *Mediaeval York*, 49 interprets as meaning 'near the gate')² just south of the *porta decumana*. As often in early mediaeval times a church stood at the gate.

Monk Bar now stands almost half-way between these two points. Its position is not determined by features inside the defences. If it were, one would expect a shorter line from the junction of Goodramgate and Aldwark-Ogleforth. Possibly Monk Bar has been substituted as an alternative for the other two gates. It is easy to understand why the city should be interested in replacing the *porta decumana* since it led into the Minster precincts and not the city. The 1852 O.S. map shows the boundary of the Minster Yard excluding a strip of land by the wall including the old gate site indicating that the city controlled the gate; but access was still from the Minster precincts. That the city was interested in closing superfluous gates through the defences can be seen from the closing of Launlith (Victoria Bar) on the south-west side and of Fishergate Bar in the south-east sector during the later mediaeval period. The value from a defensive point of view of replacing two gates with one is obvious.

This view receives some support from the fact that Monk Bar as it stands shows no Norman work *in situ*, although it does have re-used Norman masonry in its basement. Nor is it on Norman footings. It differs from the two Bars displaying Norman work in its

¹ *Yorks. Gazette*, 8 June 1861, 5: 'there were three series of works exposed to view – one was of Roman character, the second of the mediaeval period. Judging from the large gritstones, and the third above the other two of a more modern description'.

² pyke as in turnpike and therefore perhaps more suitable for a slighter barrier than a fortified gatehouse. The city, however (see below), may have controlled the street immediately inside the defences and there may have been a pyke or wooden bar where it entered the precincts. The exact site of St. John's Church has been disputed but see *York Civic Records* 5, (Y.A.S.R.S. cx), p.71.

relationship to the curtain. The Norman curtain consisted of a flat topped earthwork, surmounted by a stockade, with an external ditch. Bootham and Micklegate Bars are both so planned that the back of the gatehouse is almost central to the earthwork and the bulk of the gatehouse projects forward above the outer slope of the rampart. Monk Bar is so designed that the front of the gatehouse is central to the earthwork and the bulk of the gatehouse lies behind the curtain. The present gatehouse is neither Norman in structure nor in siting. Such Norman re-used masonry as is preserved within it could derive from an earlier gatehouse on another site.

That the position of the new Bar was not determined, although it may have been influenced, by the central street of the Newbiggin layout is suggested by another oddity about Monk Bar. It is not set at right angles to the defences but obliquely to them – in the line of the new street linking it with Goodramgate, and not that of the Newbiggin layout. (Even less that of the later Monkgate.) It is possible that the old street out of the *porta decumana* still carried sufficient prestige to confirm this inclination to the north.

The final point that needs considering is the name Monkgate. This is now applied to the deflected central street of an area planned and laid out in the late twelfth century. The name, however, occurs much earlier, according to A. Smith (E.P.N.S. *E. Riding of Yorks. and York*, 295) in the York Dean and Chapter *Magnum Registrum Album* in 1070–80. In this case if our theory is correct it cannot apply at that date to the present line of road. The name derives from O.E. *munuc* and O.N. *gata* and means ‘street of the monks’. English usage prior to the Conquest referred to the Minster as a *monasterium* and its clergy should therefore be *monachi* ‘monks’. The name Monkgate would much better suit a road leading directly through or by the old Roman *porta decumana* into the Minster precincts than one to Monk Bar. The Roman road lead directly from Monk Bridge to the *porta decumana* and it could reasonably be supposed that this road remained in use and was called Monkgate until it was diverted by the laying out of Newbiggin. The traveller then could either turn south and proceed by Love Lane, or north by Groves Lane or take the central street and turn north when he reached the rampart. The name Monkgate was applied to the central street by 1195–1210¹ and certainly when the site of the Bar was moved to the present Monk Bar the name moved with it, or was derived as a new name from the street.

The theory can now be stated as follows. In the early Norman period the Roman line from Monk Bridge to the *porta decumana* was still in use with a gate a little south but immediately adjacent to the Roman defences. The Roman line was called Monk-gate because it led directly to the precincts of the Minster (*monasterium*). In the late twelfth century the whole of this area was laid out as a new suburb and called Newbiggin, on an axis cutting across the line of the old Monkgate but at right angles to the defences. This consisted of three main parallel streets, the north one aligned on the gate by the *porta decumana*, the south one on a possible postern gate by the Merchant Taylors’ Hall. A new church was built or an old one rebuilt to serve the area. When the stone defences were built in the thirteenth century the old gate to the north and the postern were both abandoned and a new gate cut through the defences central to them. This resulted in increased importance to the central street – Monkgate – and eventually it deflected its course to a more direct route to Monk Bridge.

¹ At this date there is a grant to St. Peter’s of land in Monkgate on the east side of the churchyard of St. Maurice (E.Y.C. i, no. 289).

ASPECTS OF THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURY ARABLE FARMING ON THE YORKSHIRE WOLDS

By BRYAN WAITES, M.A., F.R.G.S.

The Wolds are an outcrop of chalk extending in a crescent from Flamborough Head, where they reach the sea, to Ferriby on the Humber estuary. They present a high scarp-face to the north-west which ranges in height from about 800 ft. at Garrowby Hill to about 400 ft. elsewhere. South-eastwards the Wolds dip gently beneath the plain of Holderness. The present study is concerned with the northern part of the Wolds only. Here the hills are at their highest, the average elevation being between 400 ft. and 500 ft. The soil is thin and the chalk never far from the surface. The characteristic topography is one of deeply-cut dry valleys, separated by well-rounded hillsides. The relief is rarely sharp or precipitous but rather billowy and smooth swells which one writer aptly compared to 'Biscayan waves half pacified'.¹ One large valley, with an intermittent stream in it, extends almost the entire length of the Wolds from west to east. This was and is the main area of settlement on the Wolds, and during the time of the Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian invasions appears to have been an important means of penetrating inland.

The emphasis on arable farming in the Wolds was stronger than might have been expected during mediaeval times. At the present day, the immense stretches of cultivation over most of the area were made possible largely by the eighteenth century improvements of Sir Christopher Sykes. Arable farming on any considerable scale might, therefore, be considered a comparatively modern phenomenon. Thus, it might reasonably be suspected, as William Marshall suggested, that before these eighteenth century improvements the Wolds were largely, 'applied to sheep-walks; much of it being over-run with furze and heath'.² Certainly conditions did not appear favourable: the Wolds were almost treeless and this meant that at a height of around 800 ft. there was little shelter for animals or crops, except in the deeply incised dry valleys. The soil, too, on the High Wolds was only a few inches in depth so that ploughing turned over much of the underlying chalk stone.³ Mediaeval complaint was that 'a great part of the land lies in deep valleys and is worth nothing for sowing on account of its dryness and weakness'.⁴ The deeper, more fertile boulder clay soils were limited to the lower dip slopes of the Wolds. The deficiency of water was a further deterrent: the valleys, though numerous, were streamless and the low water table meant that springs were limited to a few valley sides or to the scarp face.⁵ Such conditions, which have been overcome today by planting, rotation, new crops and mechanisation, in mediaeval times contributed to a localisation of farming.

The limited number of places where water could be obtained had encouraged a nucleation of settlement. This was reinforced by the fact that the dry valleys were the most

¹ Marshall, W., *The Rural Economy of Yorkshire* (1788) i, p. 8.

² *Ibid.*, ii, p. 244.

³ 'In many areas a depth of only 4 ins. is found above the solid chalk, and unless care is taken in ploughing, the chalk is brought to the surface. All over the area chalk pebbles are to be found in abundance . . . ' S. E. J. Best, *East Yorkshire: A Study in Agricultural Geography* (1930), p. 23.

⁴ *C.I. Post Mortem*, vol. x, pp. 78-79, Northgavendale (1354).

⁵ The building of dew ponds and sinking of wells helped to alleviate the problem. The water table is liable to fluctuate a great deal. For instance, a well sunk into the chalk near Hull some time ago (c. 1925) to augment the town's water supply caused the water table of the nearby Wolds to fall so much that farmers on the high land to the west and north-west had to deepen their wells.

favourable areas for farming in the Wolds. Here shelter was adequate and soils often deeper and more fertile.¹ This was especially so in the Great Wold Valley and its associated valleys, which stretched from east to west across the centre of the Wolds. Here, the only stream in the whole of the northern Wolds, the Gypsey Race, flowed intermittently, through a deep loam soil.² The villages of the Northern Wolds were confined entirely to this valley system (e.g., Helperthorpe, Weaverthorpe, Butterwick, Foxholes, Wold Newton, Burton Fleming, Argam, Bartindale, Grindale, Fordon). Such inhibiting factors combined with the static organisation of mediaeval agriculture did not, however, prevent a significant development of arable cultivation by monastic and lay farmers. In fact, the monasteries, by the introduction of the grange system to the Wolds, were beginning a type of farming settlement best equipped for the exploitation of the area. The great extent of cultivation today is only possible because the working unit is the dispersed farmstead.

Malton Priory established two granges on the Northern Wolds, Mowthorpe and Linton. The former was one of the earliest of the Priory granges (established 1169-78): the latter was formed sometime after 1257. By the middle of the thirteenth century the amount of arable land being worked by the Priory on the Wolds was considerable. This has been indicated in Appendix 1, which was constructed from the details of lands given in the Norwich Taxation of the Priory in 1254.³ There were 24 bovates at Linton, and nearby land was being worked at Duggleby (2 bovates) and Thoraldby (32 bovates) from the grange of Mowthorpe. Land was being worked outside as well as inside the village fields. At Mowthorpe grange, for example, 8 bovates were held in the vill but the Canons were also working arable in nearby valleys – Bugdale, Keldale and Cawthorp – outside the village fields. Enclosures were made in Bugdale for cultivation. These facts were important for two reasons: they showed that the monastic cultivation was entirely within the valleys but that the Canons were extending the areas of cultivation beyond the normal limits. That is, they were reclaiming land. It will be shown later how the Canons of Bridlington Priory were doing the same at Burton Fleming.

The importance of the Malton granges as arable farms in the thirteenth century can be assessed from the detailed accounts given in the Chartulary, which cover the period 1244-1257.⁴ At Mowthorpe, for example, seven ploughs were working. Only Wintringham with eleven, and Swinton with eight had more, and they were situated on the much more fertile gravel bench at the foot of the Wold scarp. The contrast with the more pastoral granges of the Priory was a sharp one; at Ryton and Kirby Misperton in the central Vale only one and two ploughs respectively were at work. At Dinsdale grange, on the moors near Lockton and Levisham, only one plough was mentioned. The numbers of workmen hired by the granges bears out this contrast. In 1244 at Mowthorpe grange a total of 36 men were employed during the year; the number on the pastoral granges was much less. At Dinsdale, for example, only 12 men were hired during the same year. Total expenses for hired labour at Mowthorpe in 1244 were 70s. Between 1244 – 57 the average annual cost of workers was about 67s. Expenses never fell lower than 64s 10d (in 1252), and rose to 79s 2d in 1256. Again only the granges at Wintringham and Swinton exceeded this outlay for workers. Labour expenses on the central Vale granges were only about one third of those at Mowthorpe. At Dinsdale, for instance, they totalled 19s 10d, and were as low as 15s on Ryton grange.

Looking at the general running expenses of the Malton granges, Mowthorpe again was among the highest. The period 1250-52 appeared to produce the highest expenditure (£12 13s 11d; £10 10s 6d; £15 8s 5d respectively) and the lowest was in 1256 (£5 9s 4d).

¹ The fertility of the chalky gravel soils in the valleys varied from place to place, being more fertile where glacial material was present. Marshall found the dry valleys near Thixendale to consist of a gravel 30 ft. thick, finely comminuted and covered with a very thin coat of soil, incapable of holding tillage and requiring constant manuring. *Agricultural Survey of the East Riding* (1812).

² '... juxta quem famosae illae aquae, quas vulgo Gipse vocant, numerosa scaturigine e terra prosiliunt, non quidem jugiter, sed annis interpositis, et, facto torrente non modico, per loca humiliora in mare labuntur;' William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, Rolls Series 82, (1884), p. 85.

³ B.M. Cotton MS. Claudius D xi, f. 279 *et seq.*

⁴ *Ibid.* ff. 273-74.

Wintringham and Swinton showed greater annual expenditure, generally about £20, but the remaining eight Priory granges were much less. Those of the central Vale, for instance, had about half the expenditure of Mowthorpe. The expenses of arable granges would naturally be higher than pastoral granges because of the additional labour, equipment and seed required.

All the figures quoted, then, suggest that the Wold granges of Malton Priory were important arable farms. The Priory certainly needed to develop this sphere of its activity since the large purchases of corn made during 1244-57 suggested that its own production was inadequate for its needs.¹

A more detailed picture of arable farming on the Wolds is possible from two grange accounts for Bridlington Priory, which have survived in the possession of the Diocesan Registry, York.² Such accounts rarely survive and, in fact, these appear to be unique so far as the north-eastern monasteries are concerned. The accounts relate to Burton Fleming and Speeton in the middle of the fourteenth century. The Priory had been granted both villis early in its history, and had at least 13 carucates of land at Burton Fleming and 3 carucates at Speeton.³ The opportunity for the development of large arable farms was great in both places because of the extensive land owned, the Priory's position as lord of the vill, and, at least in Burton Fleming, the availability of a labour supply from the villeins.

The Canons' land lay either in cultures within the open fields or outside, on the Wolds. At Burton Fleming in 1299 they had, for example, seven cultures in East Field and ten in West Field.⁴ The culture varied in size from place to place, but at nearby Brompton it ranged from 14 to 21 acres.⁵ On this basis the Canons would have had about 350 acres lying in the fields of Burton Fleming. All this was being cultivated in 1299. But they were also cultivating land outside the fields, '... in the territory of Burton Fleming'. They had 160 acres on Staxton Wold, for example.⁶ Such land was known as 'ovenam' which seemed to mean land taken out of the common or elsewhere enclosed and cultivated. The word was used in most of the northern chartularies to refer to similar work of reclamation. Its use was not confined to any particular area or landscape and variants such as 'ofnam', 'hovenam' occurred.⁷ The Priory had one separate 'ovenam' between the fields of Burton Fleming and those of Argam, a vill just over a mile away. Another 'ovenam' was described as being near the boundary of the West Field, but separate from it. Thus the Canons were expanding the area of open field cultivation which lay on the broad valley floor, and beginning cultivation of more remote valleys and hillsides which had not previously been worked.

During the middle of the fourteenth century the productive capacity of the grange at Burton Fleming seemed to be high despite the general economic recession of that time. The effect of the plague in highland areas may not have been as severe as elsewhere, however. Between 1355-56 the cultures alone produced 348 qts. of corn, of which 216 qts. were barley.⁸

¹ Largest amounts purchased in 1245, 1252-54; lowest 1246-50. Just over 700 qts. wheat were purchased each year 1246, 49, 50, but by 1251 this had increased to 850 qts.; in 1252, 880 qts.; 1253, 1069 qts., 1254, 880 qts. Purchases of rye and barley were high but generally much less than wheat (usually around 600 qts./year). Considerable quantities of malt were purchased. The only indication of home production was given in 1247 when there appeared to be 100 qts. of corn from the demesne (de dominico) at Wintringham, 80 qts. at Rillington and 50 qts. at Mowthorpe. B.M. Cotton MS. Claudius D xi, f. 282.

² York Diocesan Registry R. H. 60 (Burton Fleming); R.VII H.2096 (Speeton). There is a third account which is rather short. It appears to relate to the Manor of Filey for the year 1329-30, but the name of the place is obscured.

³ *Chartulary of Bridlington Priory* (1915), Ed. W. T. Lancaster, q.v., especially Confirmation Charter of Edward II (1312).

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 66-68.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

⁷ A.S. of = from, out of, nima = to take, seize, hence ofnam = land taken up from or out of a larger tract hitherto unenclosed. In other words an intake or enclosure.

⁸ The following information comes from the grange accounts already mentioned.

A list of autumn works showed the actual acreage sown with certain crops in part of the Priory land:—

12 acres drag	at Wandaill
26 acres oats	at Newtonbergh
6 acres barley	at le bouttes at Hunmandbydikis
10 acres barley	at Thorndaill
8 acres barley	at Croftes
48 acres barley	at Southbergh
12 acres barley	at Ovenam
16 acres barley	at Ovenam and Westdaill

It is evident that barley cultivation was emphasised. Almost 100 acres out of the 136 acres grew that crop. This is interesting because later sources, mainly the Cause Papers in Tithe which relate to the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, show that barley was the most widely grown crop of lay farmers. The question of possible specialisation in this crop must, however, be deferred for a while. The places mentioned in the list of autumn works appear to be all outside the fields of the vill, and the frequency of 'dail' in the place names shows that cultivation of this type was also mainly in the Wold valleys.

The produce was disposed of in various ways. During the year 1355-56 more than 151 qts. of corn had been sold at Filey, Seamer, Scarborough and Willerby. Nearly the whole of this was barley. The receipts of the sales was £17 10s 10d, much more than the sale of stock which had realised £4 3s 3d. Just over half of the corn produced was kept for seed, but even so the grange needed to buy 4 qts. of wheat in addition. Some corn had gone to servants for work done. Six shepherds received 26 qts. of wheat, and five ploughmen 21 qts. for the year's work. Then, also, the guest house attached to the grange needed its supplies; the account showed that visits were often made by the Prior, Sub-Prior, Cellarer and other Canons.

The number of servants attached to the grange was quite large. The account mentions twelve names, and, it should be remembered, these served mainly in administrative roles, since much of the actual labour was done by villeins or hired workers. Simon Crell was the seedsman or sower, for instance, and received the highest wage of all. Adam Stethird had the custody of the cows and Adam Swinhird was the chief ploughman.

The Canons no doubt met many of the difficulties that face the present-day Wold farmer. The thin soil, for example, contains many chalk-stones which blunt and sometimes break the plough, and expenses over equipment can be high.¹ The ploughing expenses at Burton Fleming grange were £1 16s 4d for the year of the account. Several of the items provide interesting reading: as many as 18 ploughsoles were required, and numerous steel accessories, as well as ploughstaves, 'arvspindles' and rakeshafts. The ploughsoles were the most expensive item. Though the account does not specify the total number of ploughs at work on the grange land it must have been high in view of the large areas cultivated. Some idea of the number can be inferred from the expenses just mentioned, and at least six ploughmen had been employed during the year.

Speeton grange was four miles to the east of Burton Fleming. There the chalk Wolds were flanked by morainic deposits along the coast, which might have made cultivation less important. The details of the arable farming of the grange do not appear too clearly since the account covers only a five week period. The issues of corn were quite naturally small for the period and convey nothing of the farming bias of the grange. A few scattered items are of more significance. In the short period three ploughmen and three shepherds had been employed, and quite a large number of cattle had been received into the stock of the grange.² This gives the impression that pastoralism might have been more impor-

¹ A farmer living at Flixton and working land on the Wold top told me in 1963 that his expenses for ploughing his Wold fields were high; much more than ploughing expenses in fields on the gravel soils of the scarp foot.

² From 29 August to 29 September 1349, the cattle received were:— 18 beasts, 11 cows, 7 calves, 1 bull, 4 oxen and 65 sows, pigs, young pigs. By the time of the account the cattle had become less in number due to various causes.

tant than arable farming at the grange but in view of the incomplete evidence this can be no more than a suggestion. The expenses incurred in threshing and mowing were fairly large for such a short period (total 70s 8d). Of course, both arable and pastoral farming were inseparable on most granges, and the Wolds were certainly a very important sheep farming area. The difference between granges was mainly one of emphasis but in certain suitable areas, as at Burton Fleming, the emphasis could be strongly in favour of arable farming.

The manors and granges of Bridlington Priory on the Wolds were certainly among the richest possessed by the Canons. The assessment of the Valor Ecclesiasticus (1535) showed that Burton Fleming was worth 602s, more than double the next most valuable manor (Bessingby 300s); Speeton was worth 240s.¹ This suggests that both holdings continued as important agricultural units long after the middle fourteenth century, retaining a great deal of the predominance they showed then.

Despite certain apparent disadvantages, then, the Wolds were the scene of monastic arable farming often on a considerable scale. But how did this fit in with lay farming in the area? Little detailed information can be obtained about the methods and work of the lay farmer, but it is possible to discover the extent and character of arable production on the Wolds during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This can be done through a series of Exchequer Accounts of corn bought in Yorkshire for the Kings Wars during the period 1298–c. 1360.² These give the amount of corn purchased, the places or persons supplying it, and the routes used to transport it to the ports for shipment, mainly to Scotland. Accounts for every year between 1298–1360 do not exist but the years covered are enough to give a comprehensive idea of the importance of corn production on the Wolds compared to other nearby regions, such as Holderness.

The corn from North-East Yorkshire was shipped from four main ports – Hull, Yarm, Scarborough and Whitby. Hull was by far the largest exporter, but all, except Whitby, had very extensive hinterlands from which corn was collected. Corn produced on the Wolds was despatched either to Scarborough or Hull. When sent to the former port the journey was entirely by land through the Vale of Pickering. But when Hull was the exporting centre, part of the journey was by land and part by the River Hull. Two important intermediate collecting centres were at Wansford and Beverley, on this river.³ At both corn was collected from the locality preparatory to despatch by boat to Hull. Wansford, on the upper water of the River Hull, was probably the head of navigation.⁴ Here pack-horses new in from the Wolds unloaded their corn-panniers or wool sacks on to waiting vessels, which sometimes went direct to Hull and at other times stopped at Beverley.⁵

¹ Valor Ecclesiasticus, Record Commission (1825), vol. 5, p. 120.

² P.R.O. Exchequer Q.R. E 101/6/32, 38; E 101/12/8. Exchequer K. R. E101/597/1–19, 26, 27, 31–36.

³ The subsequent importance of Beverley as the main collecting centre and market for much of the Riding can be seen illustrated frequently by H. Best in his *Rural Economy in Yorkshire in 1641*, Surtees Society 33 (1857).

⁴ The River Hull was being navigated as late as 1641 but it had its dangers. 'They account it from Wansforth to Hull thirty miles by water; and say that one that is not very skillful in the way may very well come to leave his boate behind him, there are so many stakes stucken downe, and here and there shallows; yet they say that from the beginning of May to the latter end of July, or beginning of August, they can goe in one day and come in another, if they bee stirringe betimes and the winde favour them anythinge.' Henry Best, *op. cit.*, p. 112. Compare this with time taken three hundred years earlier; in 1345 for instance, the distance from Wansford to Hull was described as being 30 leagues and the cost of carrying 117 qts. wheat, 17 qts. beans in three boats was 4s a boat.

⁵ Water transport to Hull was especially useful in the fourteenth century and earlier because of the lack of good roads to Hull. The roads on the Holderness clay land were especially poor. By 1302 'no roads have yet been made to our new town by which merchants may bring their things and merchandise . . . which is well known to turn to our loss and the hurt of the said town . . . we assign to you to supervise and make . . . roads . . . leading to the said town . . . ' So the King commanded. By 1303 four roads had been or were being made from the town. One 'versus Waldas' via Anlaby and Swanland; two others going northwards to Beverley via Skidby and Woodmansey; the fourth was north-eastwards in the direction of Bilton Bridge. It is interesting to notice that the road pattern then established is the same as that of today. Without doubt the creation of a new town at Hull stimulated the economic development of the East Riding, and a much wider area. Its effect on the subsequent decline of the inland ports such as York, Selby, Beverley, Hedon was a counter-balance to this.

Wansford was the principal collecting point of Wold corn and the accounts show that the produce it handled was often large in quantity. In 1298, for example, 195 qts. wheat, 93 qts. oats and 93 qts. peas went from Kilham to Wansford and 'thence by water to Hull'.¹ In the same year 136 qts. wheat from Bridlington, Kilham and Rudston was sent the same way. 430 qts. wheat was also despatched from Wansford in 1298 but no places supplying it are mentioned. Such figures which recur during the period covered by the accounts are enough to show that corn production was high in the Wolds. It is information like this which makes the mediaeval historian wonder about some of the so-called axioms which his fellows have declared, such as the basis of mediaeval farming being for subsistence, being non-specialist and not organised towards marketing.

Beverley appeared to be the main collection centre for corn from the Southern Wolds and the low lying plain of Holderness. The King had a granary there, and sometimes the corn was milled nearby before being sent to Hull. In 1298, for example, 200 qts. of wheat were carried by boat from Beverley to the Mill of Melsa (owned, it should be noted, by Meaux Abbey.)² Holderness and the Vale of Pickering, neighbouring regions to the Wolds, did not appear to supply corn on such a large scale as the Wolds during 1298-c. 1360. One account for 1304 which lists the amounts supplied by villages in the Wold district and Holderness emphasises the distinction which was becoming apparent from previous evidence. The Wold villages contributed much more individually: Birdsall, for example, 21 qts.; Sledmere 15; Kilham 10; Rudston 10; Cowlam 20; Prior of Watton 20. But the Holderness villages had amounts as low as 2, 3 or 4 qts. There were, in fact, only a few villages which supplied anything at all comparable with the Wold villages (Wawne 10 qts.; Hornsea 10 qts.; Burstall 10 qts.)³ The predominance of corn supplied from the Wapentakes of Buckrose, Dickering and Harthill – all mainly on the Wolds – was marked throughout the period. Even earlier, 1298 – 1304, though other places were mentioned, corn was largely bought in the Wolds and often from monasteries. Thus the Abbot of Bardney provided 60 qts. wheat from his grange at Hunmanby; the Abbot of Rouen 30 qts. wheat from Kilham, and the Prior of Bridlington 280 qts. wheat.

This much can be estimated about arable farming on the Wolds: its productive capacity was high; its participants, lay and monastic, were extremely active; its basis was not entirely for subsistence. Lay and monastic farmers alike sold large amounts of the corn they produced. It seemed that, compared to the claybound districts around, the Wolds was the foremost producer of wheat and barley, probably emphasising the latter crop. These conclusions were made from a consideration of the whole of the Wolds, including the fertile dip slope on the south-east. But the same trends seemed applicable to the Northern Wolds, even though the areas of cultivation were more localised and the degree of fertility less, than on the dip slopes.

It would be unsound to conclude from the evidence so far discussed that mediaeval arable farming in the Wolds consciously specialised in, or concentrated on, the production of barley. Evidence from the Cause Papers in Tithe, which are a wonderful source of agricultural history especially in the sixteenth century, indicates that a variety of crops was grown.⁴ As well as wheat, rye, oats and peas, the cultivation of flax and hemp was fairly extensive in the fourteenth century as well as later. But the Cause Papers, especially those referring to the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, convey the impression that the farmers found the Wolds particularly suited to barley.⁵ From the abundant references it would be difficult to regard barley as anything but the most widely cultivated

¹ P.R.O. E 101/597/3. One account refers to provisions collected from 'del Wald de Wandesford'.

² *loc. cit.*

³ E. 101/597/12. Wold villages also supplied largest amounts of malt barley.

⁴ The Cause Papers in Tithe are in the Diocesan Registry, York. A selection has been printed by Dr. J. S. Purvis in the Y.A.S. Record Series, vol. 114.

⁵ Variety of crops grown illustrated by Cause tithes at Hunmanby in 1347 and 1543; rights to flax and hemp tithes. D. Reg. R.VII, E.254, G.315. Wheat, rye, barley, peas, have grown in south field of Weaverthorpe, Reg. Askwith 16/20 (18–20). N.B.: abundance of barley – given to villages as payment for sheaving. Many villages had a tithe of barley rakings, e.g., Middleton on the Wolds R.VII G.111, G.279. Details of Wold Agriculture in the early sixteenth century very well illustrated by R.VII G.379. Tithe of Fleeces at Wharram Percy.

cereal on the Wolds. It is tempting to see already in mediaeval times something of that concentration on sheep-barley agriculture which is typical of the Wolds today.¹ But this presupposes many things. Specialisation in sheep farming certainly existed, but feudal conditions prevented such a complete development in arable production. The monastic farmer perhaps was able to go further and, in fact, it may well have been due to his influence that the Wolds began to show, in mediaeval times, a bias towards the farming which is characteristic of it at the present time.

APPENDIX I

SOME DETAILS OF MALTON PRIORY GRANGES (1244)

Grange	Land	Ploughs	Hired Workers	Tofts	Annual Expense for Workers	Total Grange Expenses
Abbey	11	3	16	19	57/10	148/10
Wintringham	46	11	—	50	176/10	404/2
Mowthorpe	8	7	19 (17)	—	70/—	119/3
Swinton	26½	7	29	10	97/4	211/8
Rillington	22	4	17	18	57/6	163/2
Kirby	16	2	9 (8)	11	28/5	40/5
Sutton	16	4	11 (12)	3	36/2	69/2
Hutton	10	2	9 (8)	13	29/1½	52/4
Ebberston	2 ¹⁷⁵	3	11 (10)	3	30/8	60/10
Dundale	—	1	6 (6)	—	19/10	33/6
Ryton	2	1	—	—	15/—	39/—
Sinnington } Edston }	7	2	9	12	20/1	55/8

Source B.M. Cotton MS. Claudius D. xi, f. 267-71; 273-74; 279.

- (i) Figures in brackets refer to numbers of workers during the term of St. Martin. Unbracketed figures in same column give numbers during Pentecost Term.
- (ii) Land given in bovates 2¹⁷⁵ = 2 bovates 175 acres. Totals refer to 1254 in this column only.

¹ And was typical of the Wolds in 1641, q.v., Henry Best, *op. cit.* Best recognised the suitability of chalk land for barley. 'It is no point of good husbandry to sowe barley on lande that is exceedingly fatte, for lande may be too fat for barley viz: such clay land as is newly riven forth, and such barley will come upp very thicke and ranke, and usually full of weedes . . . the barley itself sloumice and not pubble . . .', pp. 53-54.

WILLIAM RAMSDEN OF LONGLEY, GENTLEMAN¹

1514 - 1580

Agent in Monastic Property

By DENNIS WHOMSLEY

The Ramsdens were yeomen clothiers; they lived on the land but grew wealthy from the pursuit of trade. William Ramsden was the eldest son of Robert Ramsden of Elland, near Halifax, in Yorkshire. He acquired lands in the Huddersfield district by marriage and attempted to enlarge his estates from the large tracts of land which came on the property market as a result of the dissolution of the monasteries. He apparently purchased lands in Yorkshire and elsewhere worth more than £6,700 and would seem to be a good representative of that category of men who, we are told, grew rich from their speculations in monastic property and founded great new landed families. The Ramsden family have much to thank William Ramsden for; he was the first of the family to settle in the Huddersfield district and he did increase the family estates. But the largest increases were made at the expense of the Wood family before the monastic lands came on the market; and although he purchased monastic lands extensively, in reality he only increased the yearly value of his estates by £8 from those lands. Moreover, to get the money for his small purchases he acted as agent for the many people who were anxious to buy land but for one reason or another would not or could not buy it directly from the Crown, and in the process saddled himself with debts which led to his imprisonment in the Fleet prison at least twice and were to remain with him to the end of his life.

In the lists of Yorkshire clothiers guilty of using flocks in their cloths in 1533, no less than six Ramsdens are named under Elland. Of these, two were great uncles of William – Gilbert and Geoffrey – while a third was probably William's father, Robert.² From being a subsidiary occupation weaving rapidly became the mainstay of the growing population, almost every yeoman becoming a clothier while continuing to cultivate his small holding for the subsistence of his family. 'The sheep flock had always been indispensable to the hill farmer, but in the Tudor period it did more than fertilise his fields; it paid his rent, furnished his house and fed and clothed his family as well.'³ It is unfortunate that there are no details of family life in the early sixteenth century other than the reference to deceitful clothmaking which seems to have been widespread in the area.⁴ In the later decades of the century the family derived its income from the sale of sheep, wool and cloth, corn, malt and rye, besides lending money and collecting rents from the lands which they possessed.⁵ It is impossible from the available evidence to evaluate the activities or to say where the emphasis lay; presumably it was the emphasis rather than the activity which changed from decade to decade. This life depended upon an initial extension of the lands owned which, in the Pennine areas at this time, was taking place on the 'wastes' around and beyond the old townships.⁶ William's father, Robert, was doing this in 1528 when he

¹ The Ramsden documents used in the preparation of this paper are kept in the Leeds and Huddersfield Public Libraries. Those at Leeds are identified by the letters 'RL' and those at Huddersfield by 'RH'. I should like to thank Miss Foster, formerly Archivist and Librarian of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Mr. Peter Darvill, Senior History Master at Colne Valley Comprehensive School, and the Librarian and Staff of the Huddersfield Public Libraries for the help which they have given me in the preparation of the paper.

² Crump, W. B., and Ghorbal, G., *History of the Huddersfield Woollen Industry*, p. 44.

³ Thirsk, J., 'Tudor Enclosures', Historical Association Pamphlet (1959), p. 19.

⁴ Crump and Ghorbal, *op. cit.*, pp. 40–42.

⁵ RH/5/30, ff. 8, 114v, 116; RL/4b, p. 2.

⁶ Tawney, R.H., and Power, E., *Tudor Economic Documents*, i. p. 187.

bought some scraps of land from the wastes of the manor of Elland.¹ He had already acquired Crawstone Hall in Greetland from his uncles, Gilbert of Sykehouse and Geoffrey of Stainland.²

It was probably at Crawstone that William Ramsden was born in 1513 or 1514.³ Nothing is known about his mother except that she was the daughter of a Beaumont of Newsome in the parish of Almondbury and bore Robert Ramsden at least three other children, John, Robert and Elizabeth.⁴ Even less is known about the first eighteen years of William's life, but it seems reasonable to suppose that he received a good education at home. He and his brother John were able to express themselves in Latin and in later life William bought copies of the Psalms and the Acts of the Apostles as well as the songs and sonnets of Heywood, Wyatt and Surrey, while it was his brother Robert who acted as tutor for his sister Elizabeth's child, John Savile, teaching him not only the Accidents but the '*Disticha Moralia*' of Cato and some Terence.⁵

In 1531 William married Joan, one of the three daughters of John Wood of Longley.⁶ The Wood family had been in the Huddersfield area for many generations and John was probably the richest man in the local community. He himself had married Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Beaumont of Whitley Hall, his eldest daughter later married Thomas Savile of Exley and his youngest daughter was to marry Thomas Kay. The Kays and Beaumonts were ancient and distinguished families who were also profitably involved in the flourishing cloth trade of the district.⁷ John Wood was a gentleman and so was Thomas Savile in 1540, while a year earlier Thomas Kay was described as a merchant.⁸ Yet although in association with Thomas Savile, William Ramsden is described as a gentleman, two years later he is still being described as a yeoman.⁹ His family probably derived as substantial a profit as anyone from the cloth trade, but presumably it had none of the claims to antiquity or distinction which the Beaumonts and Kays were considered to possess. And if it is so important to discount any ties of affection which Joan, Jenet or Joanna (as she is variously called) had for William, the reason for the marriage could be sought either in the money of the Ramsdens or the age of Joan. More probably it was a combination of factors. William, at the time of his marriage, was about eighteen years of age, Joan, according to Sir John Frechville Ramsden, was possibly twenty-four years of age and probably a widow.¹⁰ And it is important to remember that John Wood at that time had three unmarried daughters and therefore marriage of one of them would in itself be greeted with gratitude.

It is impossible to determine whether, as a result of the land he acquired by marriage, William's appetite for land was whetted, or whether the marriage formed the first stage of his plan to acquire land. Certainly it was through this marriage that William Ramsden and the Ramsden family gained a footing in the Huddersfield district. John Wood settled on the couple 'lands, shops and workshops' in Huddersfield to the annual value of 200 shillings.¹¹ This 'foothold' was consolidated with the help of, or at the expense of other members of the Wood family – after some initial difficulties. John Wood had an illegitimate son, George, to whom he had given a house and shops in Huddersfield. These were

¹ RL/25, p. 24.

² RL/25, p. 23.

³ On 21 October 1546 he was stated to be aged 33 – Purvis, J.S., *Select XVI century causes in tithe from the York diocesan registry*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series, vol. 64, p. 23.

⁴ Bodleian Library, Dodsworth MSS, 133, f. 135v.

⁵ *Autobiography of Baron Savile*, ed. Clay, J. W. and Lister, J., in *Y.A.J.*, vol. 15, p. 422.

⁶ RH/2/4; RL/26, p. 1.

⁷ Crump and Ghorbal, *op. cit.*, pp. 29–30.

⁸ RH/2/5 and RH/5/3.

⁹ *Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic (SP)*, Henry VIII, vol. 17, no. 443 (60); In 1547 in an official document there is the interesting description of William as 'of Longley, Yorkshire, gent., alias late of Almondbury . . . yeoman, alias of Elland . . . yeoman, alias late of London, esquire – Calendar of Patent Rolls (C. Pat. R.), Edward VI, 2, 155.

¹⁰ RL/26 p. 9 and RL/25/38. Sir John Frechville Ramsden, a direct descendant of William's brother, John, has written some very interesting notes on the sixteenth century Ramsdens called 'Early Days', which is File 26 of the Ramsden documents at Leeds.

¹¹ RH/2/4.

quickly acquired by William who proceeded to divide and sub-let the property, much to the annoyance of George who often complained that he did not even receive the £3 yearly rent he had been promised.¹ John Wood's eldest daughter, Cecily, inherited from her father lands on the southern side of the River Colne, the better lands around the family home in Almondbury, while Joan had been given the less favoured lands on the north side of the river in Huddersfield. Cecily married Thomas Savile of Exley and two years after the death of her father in 1538 we read of 'trouble sute discorde and dysagreaments' between the Saviles and Ramsdens concerning the lands of John Wood in Huddersfield and Almondbury. The principal cause of trouble had been the lands which William Ramsden had bought from George Wood in Huddersfield and Almondbury. William was awarded all these lands except for a house and shop in Huddersfield; but it was also awarded that he was not to make any claims upon the family home of Longley Hall which belonged to Thomas Savile by right of his marriage to Cecily.² Within the next eight years William bought from Thomas Savile lands in Almondbury worth between £10 and £16 a year;³ he also bought the hall but whether it was at this time or a few years later is not certain.⁴

By about 1542, therefore, William had acquired much of the land in Huddersfield and Almondbury which John Wood, the richest inhabitant, had held before dividing it among his daughters. The value of the lands he held is as uncertain as the date but was probably not less than £25 a year. But in 1540 the Crown began to sell the property, worth well over £100,000 a year, which the dissolution of the monasteries had brought to it. 'There started the wave of selling which by the end of the reign had swept two-thirds of the monastic lands out of the hands of the Crown into those of a thousand or so of its subjects'.⁵ Among the first to take advantage of this opportunity were Richard Andrews and Leonard Chamberlain who, seven days after buying large tracts of land for £4,461 15s, were selling a small part of them 'a mansion called the Parsonage in Huddersfield, and lands and cottages there which formerly belonged to St. Oswald's monastery' to William.⁶

Within a year of buying these monastic lands from Andrews and Chamberlain, Ramsden was himself buying monastic lands directly from the Crown in association with Richard Andrews, and during the three years 1543-46 with different associates, although once on his own, he obtained five large grants of land from the Crown for a total of £6,715 14s 4½d. Dr. Savine in his article on the 'Disposition of the Monastic Lands' includes his name among the forty-five (Peers and Commoners) largest grantees of the Crown each of whom received monastic lands worth more than £200 a year.⁷ And if, as Professor Habakkuk has stated, the purchase price of monastic lands in the 1540's was 'almost invariably 20 years purchase of the estimated income' then William Ramsden with an estimated annual income of over £335 clearly deserves his position in Dr. Savine's table.⁸ This, as many historians have suspected, is far too simple an explanation. Indeed, Professor Habakkuk has suggested that so quickly were the lands alienated that the very word 'bought' seems to be a misnomer. Licences to alienate were granted within a year for nearly all the lands which Ramsden purchased on 3 July 1543 in association with Richard Andrews (in three cases the licence is dated the next day) and the only lands not alienated were two small pieces which significantly enough were in the parishes of Halifax and Huddersfield, his ancestral and adopted homes. The same is true of the second 'purchase' when he acted alone. Here again licences to alienate were granted within a year of the date of purchase, over a third of them were actually dated two days earlier than the date of purchase, and the only items not sold were the 'tithes of Wharmeley, parcel of Huddersfield rectory', a cottage in Hartshead (near Huddersfield) and three cottages in Hudders-

¹ RH/2/16. See also Whitley Beaumont Deeds at Huddersfield (WBD) VIII/44 and RH/5/30, f. 101.

² WBD/1/63, document dated 20 December 1540.

³ Public Record Office (P.R.O.) E 36/161, f. 32v.

⁴ RL/4a, f. 32.

⁵ Bindoff, S.T., *Tudor England*, p. 114.

⁶ S.P., Henry VIII, v. 17, 443(39), p. 261 and *ibid.*, 443(60) June 1542.

⁷ Fisher, H.A.L., *History of England*, 1485-1547, Appendix II, pp. 497-9.

⁸ Habakkuk, H.J., 'The Market for Monastic Property, 1539-1603' in *Economic History Review*, 2nd Series, xi, p. 363.

field itself. There were not so many licences to alienate after the remaining three 'purchases' but, except for some lands in Leeds and Pudsey, and the advowson of Huddersfield vicarage, the lands that were purchased were certainly not incorporated in the Ramsden estates.¹

The number of licences to alienate suggest, and the valuation of his lands in 1548 confirm the view, that William Ramsden was not concerned in purchasing large tracts of monastic lands. Four years of intensive activity and purchases of land amounting to over £6,700 only increased the annual value of his estate by about £8 – the value of the few cottages in Huddersfield and Hartshead which would presumably round off his holdings there and the more extensive lands which he acquired in Leeds and Pudsey. Nor was he a speculator in monastic lands. He was a successful yeoman clothier; he had acquired some useful lands by marriage but nowhere until 1543 is there any suggestion that he had £1,000 or so to speculate on monastic lands or the means to encourage a loan from the Crown or some wealthy merchant. The fact that in 1544 he owed the Crown £800 suggests not that he had borrowed the money from the Crown but that that proportion of the purchase price of monastic lands had not been paid to the Crown. It had not been paid because the people for whom Ramsden had purchased the land had probably not paid him. The speed with which reconveyances were made is another reason for suspecting that he was not the true purchaser but only acting on behalf of the true purchasers.² It seems more reasonable to suppose that rather than speculator or landed gentleman, Ramsden was merely acting as an agent for those people who could not buy lands directly from the Crown because of distance from London or the complication of the necessary procedure.³ It is possible that having bought some lands from Andrews and Chamberlain he found it would be slightly cheaper to buy the lands directly from the Crown and that in his first purchase from the Crown he enlisted the aid of Richard Andrews who had experience in these matters and who was also already acting as agent for other would-be purchasers. Having learnt something about the necessary procedures and wanting some more lands for himself he possibly decided in the second purchase that acting as agent for other people would help pay for those lands. Finally, in the last three purchases it seems likely that he was acting as a senior advisor to Hoppy, Wise and Vavasour and at the same time agent for other would-be purchasers in very much the same way that Richard Andrews had acted for him in 1543.

An analysis of the people to whom lands were alienated seems to support this hypothesis. In the first grant all the lands in the purchase, except the site and demesne lands of Blythe monastery, were in the West Riding of Yorkshire within a radius of 15 miles of Almondbury. The site and demesne lands of Blythe monastery were alienated to Richard Stansfield of London, a man from whom Ramsden had borrowed money six months earlier. The man who purchased the largest block of lands, including all the lands in Denby which belonged to Kirklees priory and the manor of Lingards near Almondbury, was Arthur Kay of Woodsome, a neighbour of the Ramsdens. Like William Ramsden, Arthur Kay inherited some small estates which he greatly enlarged during his life. Thomas Savile, to whom the manor of Ardisley was alienated, was William's brother-in-law; Nicholas Savile of New Hall was a neighbour; Thomas Kay and Richard Pymond were from Wakefield, while the tithes of Tong were acquired by Nicholas Tempest of Tong. All the lands in the second purchase were also in Yorkshire, except for the houses of the White and Black Friars at Northampton and the manor of Berecliff and Extwysell in Lancashire. The houses in Northampton were alienated to Francis Samwell, an auditor of the Duchy of Lancaster from 1533-47 (later to become deputy auditor for the North Parts) and a native of Northampton.⁴ The manor of Berecliff and Extwysell was alienated to another Duchy official, Robert Parker, messenger in the County Palatine.⁵ Ramsden's

¹ P.R.O. E. 36/161, ff. 32-33.

² Habakkuk, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

³ The fact that he was described as 'of London, esq.' suggests that he lived there for some time – *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Edward VI, 2, p. 155.

⁴ Somerville, R., *History of the Duchy of Lancaster*, i, p. 437.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 490.

brother-in-law, Thomas Savile, appears again as does his creditor, Richard Stansfield.

The two most obvious differences between the first two grants and the other three is that in the latter there are not so many alienations and the lands themselves are more widely distributed. The third grant does not illustrate this so obviously as the two later ones but, although all the lands are in Yorkshire except the water-mill in Gloucestershire, there is only one man to whom any lands are alienated – lands in Dunsley and Fawdington were alienated to Sir Nicholas Fairfax eight days after the ‘purchase’. Many of the lands in Leeds became part of the Ramsden estates, so possibly Edward Hoppy, who was associated with Ramsden in the grant, also retained some lands, while some others may have been sold without a licence from the Crown. The fourth grant includes a number of lands in Lincolnshire as well as lands in Yorkshire, and the people to whom they were alienated were Sir Arthur Darcy, William Dent, John Hanby and John Rice. Hanby and Rice were from London; William Dent had been abbot of St. Mary’s beside York and already occupied Myton Manor (on Swale) and the other lands which formerly belonged to St. Mary’s and which he was now purchasing. Sir Arthur Darcy, younger son of Thomas Lord D’Arcy, was steward of Blackburn Hundred, Bradford, the honour of Tickhill and the manor of Rochdale, besides being captain (Governor) of Jersey and joint Constable of the honour of Tickhill.¹ None of the lands in this grant appear to have been retained by William Ramsden. The fifth and final grant was the largest, including lands in the counties of Lincoln, Huntingdon, Northampton, Nottingham, Hereford, Chester, Durham, Oxford and the city of London, but with the majority still in Yorkshire. Licences to alienate were issued for roughly half the lands, and they were dated within nine months of the grant. Some of the Yorkshire lands were alienated to Robert Meynell, Henry Tyrrell, Richard Hutchinson, Thomas Shipton and Richard Smith, and Robert, archbishop of York; lands in Sibson, Huntingdonshire were alienated to George Smith of Sibson, and lands in Lincolnshire were alienated to Edward Hambye of Brocklesby in Lincolnshire. Ramsden appears only to have retained the advowson of Huddersfield vicarage.

The valuable services that William Ramsden was able to perform for various powerful men brought their rewards. In 1544 he was appointed woodward general of all woods in Yorkshire within the survey of the Augmentations,² and in the following year he was appointed bailiff and collector of the manor or lordship of Tadcaster.³ The office of woodward was held for life at an annual stipend of £6 13s 4d, as was also the baileyship of the manor of Tadcaster for £3 0s 8d.⁴ And from the first year’s accounts of the woodward it is clear that the salary could be augmented:

‘Item four timber trees taken by the accomptaunt forth of the said wood towards the reparations of his house at Longley.’⁵

Yet there was also a debit side to his activities which was to have a profound effect upon his life. On 26 January 1543 he had borrowed £113 6s 8d from Richard Stansfield, a skinner in London, promising to pay him in return £6 13s 4d a year from his lands in the West Riding. Eighteen months later (8 July 1544) he acknowledged before the Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations that he owed £800 to the Crown and promised to pay it by a certain date.⁶ On the accession of Edward VI Ramsden was granted a general pardon for all offences committed before 28 January 1547⁷ but within a year of the pardon the King had ordered an extent to be made of all the land which William held, and by May 1554 had taken possession of them because of non-payment of ‘divers and sundry great sums of money . . . whereof the said William Ramsden became indebted unto the same late King’. The lands were to be occupied until ‘all such debts and sums of money as are

¹ Somerville, R., *op. cit.*, pp. 501, 506, 508, 522, 529–30; and the *Dictionary of National Biography* (Thomas, Lord D’Arcy).

² S.P., Henry VIII, v. 20, pt. 1, 1336, p. 673; and RL/4a, ff. 23.

³ S.P., *loc. cit.*, p. 676.

⁴ RL/26, p. 19.

⁵ RL/4a, f. 6.

⁶ P.R.O., E. 315/105, ff. 302v and 303r.

⁷ *C.Pat.R.*, Edward VI, 2, 155. Dated 27 June 1547.

now due and owed by the said William Ramsden . . . be fully satisfied and paid'.¹ The King also undertook to repay Richard Stansfield's daughter the £113 6s 8d which William had borrowed from her father.

During the next three years two documents seem to presage some future trouble. The one is a settlement of his lands in the event of his death in succession on his two brothers, John and Robert;² the other is a surrender of copyhold to his brother, John, of lands in Marsden after his death.³ Then under the year 1557 in his account book there appears the significant entry 'Wm Romsden comytte the iiii^t tyeme to the flete the xxviiith of May'.⁴ Although his imprisonment coincides with the reign of Queen Mary, which was possibly an unhappy time for the Ramsdens,⁵ it seems highly likely that it was William's unpaid debt to the Crown that led to it. This was not the view of Sir John Frecheville Ramsden: 'My guess as to William's delinquency is that he had made himself well known by his dealings in monastic lands, and Mary's papistical Bishops decided to make an example of him.'⁶ The first statement is probably true but does not necessarily lead to the second for which there is no evidence.

The accounts of William Ramsden while in the Fleet prison give an unusually detailed view not only of life in the Fleet in the sixteenth century but also of the character of William himself. He was about forty-four years of age when he entered the prison, a fairly advanced, even dangerous age for a man used to the invigorating air of Almondbury to have to spend in a dirty prison near a filthy stream in an unhealthy city – and William was expecting to spend at least a year in the place.⁷ It is not surprising then that his early purchases should be a bible, a testament, a psalter and the Acts of the Apostles, items which could be used to prepare, fortify or insure the soul.⁸ His brother, Robert, a scholar who had already begun to teach the future Sir John Savile of Methley, had more sensible ideas about the enjoyment of enforced idleness. He sent William a copy of Heywood's songs and sonnets on 12 July, and a month later William was learning to sing and play the virginals and himself buying a copy of the songs and sonnets of Wyatt and Surrey which had only just been published in Richard Tottel's 'Miscellany'. It was not long, however, before he became tired of his virginals and his music teacher, changed both, bought a lute, and by December 1557 had decided on cock fighting as the ideal pastime.⁹ At this he was reasonably successful, profiting in a way which probably satisfied him more than playing a musical instrument.¹⁰ Letters were delivered to him regularly, he had friends to breakfast and was allowed out of prison. On 15 January 1559 with Elizabeth on the throne he was granted a royal pardon for all his offences and left the Fleet on St. George's Day.¹¹

After an absence of nearly two years his affairs needed some attention. Almost as soon as he returned to Almondbury, therefore, he had an extent made of his lands to determine the rents that were owing to him.¹² The extent was thorough, showing not only who held the lands and the amount of rent payable but also the people from whom the land was acquired. The rents to be paid 'in the feast of St. Andrew' amounted to £30 18s 6d; those in Almondbury were worth more than half the total, and so also were those which belonged to his wife or had been purchased from or exchanged with other members of the Wood family in Almondbury and Huddersfield. The summary at the end is not in

¹ *C.Pat.R.*, Edward VI, 2, 155, *loc. cit.*

² *RL/26*, pp. 4–5. A copy.

³ *RH/5/30*, f. 26v.

⁴ *RL/4b*, p. 3.

⁵ In *RH/5/30*, a Commonplace Book used by William and his brother, John, there is on f. 1 a note of the birthdays of John's children. One of them, William, is said simply to have been born 'in the vi^t yere of P. and Marye', while another son was born 'in the fyrst yere of oure gracios ladie quene Elysabeithe'.

⁶ *RL/26*, p. 16.

⁷ He employed a music teacher for a year.

⁸ *RL/4b*, p. 3, 29 May, 4, 6 June 1557.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 4, 6, 8.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 9–13.

¹¹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Elizabeth I, 1558–60, p. 239; *RL/4b*, p. 17.

¹² *RL/4a*, ff. 30–35.

William's hand and has that cool, tidy, exact look which one normally associates with bureaucrats – but there is no indication of who it belonged to or why it is there. From these accounts it appears that William and his wife had separated and that John Ramsden was now living at Longley Hall. It is possible that the marriage of Joan and William had only been one of convenience, but his work as clothier and monastic agent had taken him from home regularly and his imprisonment may have been the decisive factor in the breakdown of a marriage which had produced no children.

In the years that followed, William travelled extensively – Scotland, London, Derbyshire – but could not avoid his creditors. Apparently he owed £50 to Hugh Savile of Wrenthorpe near Wakefield, had been taken to court but had not appeared to answer the charge against him. For this he was outlawed and only pardoned when he again surrendered himself to the Fleet.¹ That was in 1565. Two and a half years later, on 18 January 1568, Henry Savile, the sheriff of Yorkshire, was ordered to seize his lands for failure to pay the £800 which he had acknowledged that he owed to Henry VIII on 8 July 1544 and still had not paid.² Savile was also commanded to make an extent of the lands and revenues of Ramsden, which he did, informing the Queen that they amounted to £28 3s 4d a year. This extent was a vague, totally inadequate effort and nearly six years later another was demanded

‘because . . . William Ramsden at the time of the examination of the above named debts and afterwards had and has various other lands and tenements and divers rents and annuities for the term of his life within the said county of York over and above the aforesaid lands and tenements specified in the said schedule which can and ought to be taken into our hands for the better and quicker satisfaction of our debts.’³

This time the extent was to be made by seven commissioners who were to answer five specific questions written in English so that there should be no misunderstanding. They were also to ensure that William was at the Exchequer in Westminster in person on Monday, 1st February 1574, to ‘satisfy us concerning the said debts in which he is indebted to us’. The commissioners carried out their enquiry at Wakefield on 8 January 1574 and from the evidence of fourteen jurors concluded that the lands extended by Henry Savile had been undervalued and that these lands properly valued, with the lands and fees not previously extended, amounted to £81 8s 4d annual revenue.⁴ The lands which had been undervalued, principally the old Hall at Longley, had been assessed at £8 6s 8d but were now said to be worth £17; many held by William in Almondbury, Huddersfield and Elland had been omitted from the earlier extent (£26 15s 8d); no account had been taken of those in Marsden, Armley and Bramley (£8 12s); and annuities and fees for the woodwardship of Yorkshire and the baileywick of Tadcaster had been overlooked (£9 14s).

What happened to Ramsden in London is not known. He was at Longley again two years later, still in debt ‘and God willing I must pay’. This time, however, it was a private debt and only amounted to 26s 8d.⁵ On 7 November 1580 he died in London and was buried in St. Sepulchre's church there. Why, at the age of about sixty-seven, he should have been in London and why he was buried in St. Sepulchre's church is not known – but the full name of the church is St. Sepulchre without Newgate. His lands passed to his brother, John, who, from what we know of him, lived in that ‘temperate zone betwixt greatness and want’ of the English yeoman.⁶ It was John's son, William, who reaped the full benefits of his father's industry and his uncle's opportunism, who bought the manor of Huddersfield from the Crown in 1599, who recorded his pedigree at the Visitation of York in 1612 and whose son became a knight. But the activities of the nephew would have been impossible without the work of the uncle. It was the uncle who raised the status of the family from yeoman to gentleman by grasping every opportunity that came

¹ *C.Pat.R.*, Elizabeth, 1563–66, no. 1452 (p. 284). Pardon dated 3 July 1565.

² RL/18/5. This document is a copy.

³ RL/18/5.

⁴ RL/18/6.

⁵ RL/4b, p. 235.

⁶ Wagner, A. R., *English Genealogy*, p. 129, quoting Thomas Fuller.

his way. Until about 1542 it seemed that he could not make a mistake; he was advantageously if not happily married and had managed to add considerably to his estates in the Huddersfield area. His mistake was to underestimate the people he was working with and to overestimate his own ability. Without much money or power he thought he could get both by dealing in monastic lands with men who already had both and were as unscrupulous as himself, and it was possibly only during his long sojourns in the Fleet that he realised that country gentlemen and London businessmen, especially those interested in monastic lands, were somewhat less tractable than the three daughters of John Wood. In his account book William wrote some words of advice for someone:

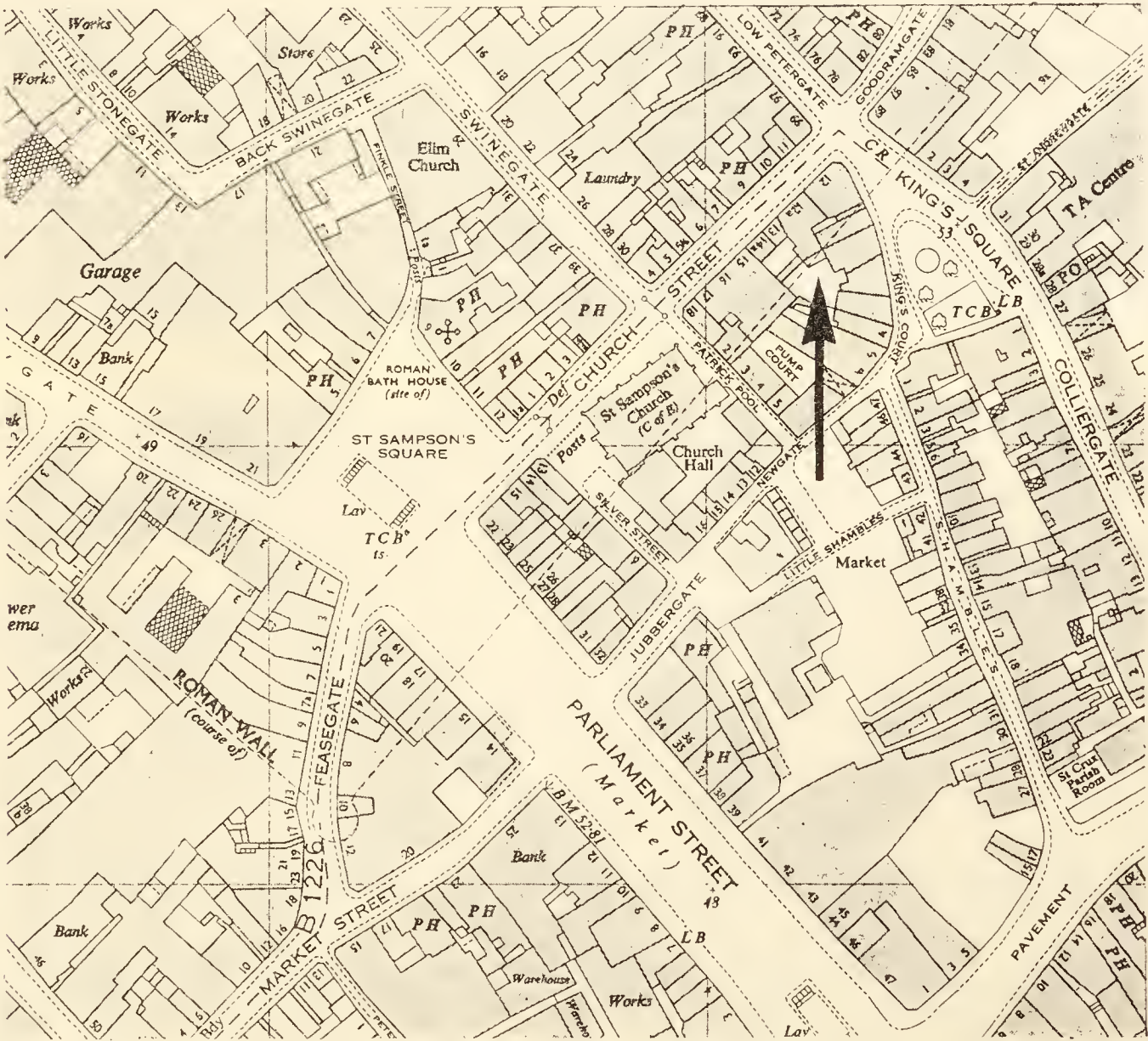
Geyt thy goodes truly/spend theme precisely
Set thy goodes dewly/leand thou them wyesely
True gettyng . wise spendyng
Have he lyttyll or moche . kepeth a man full Rutche
Untyll hes endyng.¹

¹ RL/4b, p. 315.

AN EXCAVATION AT KING'S SQUARE, YORK, 1957

By I. M. STEAD

For six weeks in July and August 1957, the writer supervised an excavation for the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments, Ministry of Works, in the yards behind Nos. 1 and 2, King's Court, King's Square, York (Fig. 1).¹ These properties, together with No. 14 Church Street, had been acquired with a view to development, and plans for this included excavation which would destroy a length of the south-east wall of the Roman fortress.² An archaeological excavation was planned in advance in order to examine the Roman wall; to take a section through the entire width of the rampart behind it; and to study the post-Roman levels which here, in the yards, were undisturbed by nineteenth-century cellars.



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FIG. 1.
Site of the 1957 excavation. Scale 1 : 2500.

Unfortunately it became impossible to obtain access to the yard behind No. 14 Church Street, so the excavation did not reach the rear of the rampart. Hence the archaeological

¹ The writer is grateful to Dr. S. S. Hart, then owner of the site and a member of the Executive Committee of the short-lived York Excavation Committee, whose willing co-operation and keen interest were such valuable factors in the success of the excavation.

² Subsequently these plans were abandoned and the properties changed hands.

work was restricted to a single trench, some 19 ft. by 5 ft., over the line of the fortress wall and including the front 9 ft. of the rampart (Fig. 2).¹

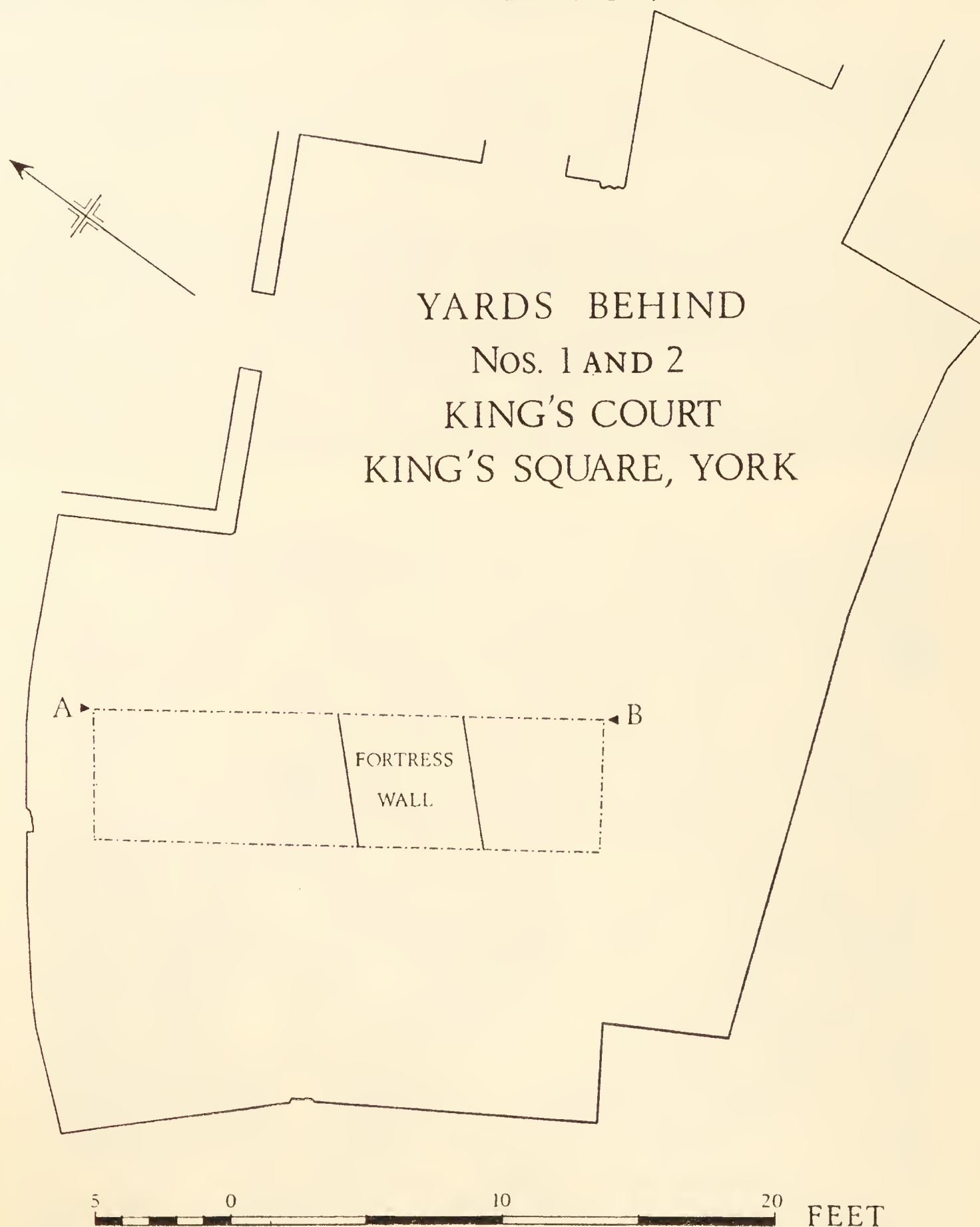


FIG. 2.

The work was considerably hampered by water, for the trench was waterlogged almost from the start of the excavation, and a hand-pump was in constant use. Heavy rain during the final days of the excavation – three inches of rain were recorded in York during that week – caused the sides of the trench to collapse despite close timber shoring.

The Stratification (Fig. 3).

The earliest features belonged to the south-eastern defences of the Roman fortress. Towards the centre of the trench the stone wall, with faced ashlar on the outside and rough stone blocks on the inside (Pls. I & II) was 4 ft. 6 ins. wide and standing to a maximum height of 8 ft. In the centre of the trench this height was reduced to 4 ft. and the breach was occupied by a mediaeval pit. The wall had a rubble and mortar core, and a

¹ Figs. 2, 3, 4 and 9 were drawn by Miss G. D. Jones; Figs. 5 to 7 by Mrs. H. E. J. Le Patourel; and Fig. 8 by D. S. Neal. Pls. I, II, and V are taken from photographs by R. A. Hill.



PLATE I.
The outer face of the fortress wall.



PLATE II.
The inner face of the fortress wall.

foundation of the same material projected 8 ins. in front of the masonry. The foundation was 5 ft. 6 ins. wide at the top, and although it was followed down for almost 3 ft. at the back, its full depth was not established.

KING'S SQUARE, YORK 1957

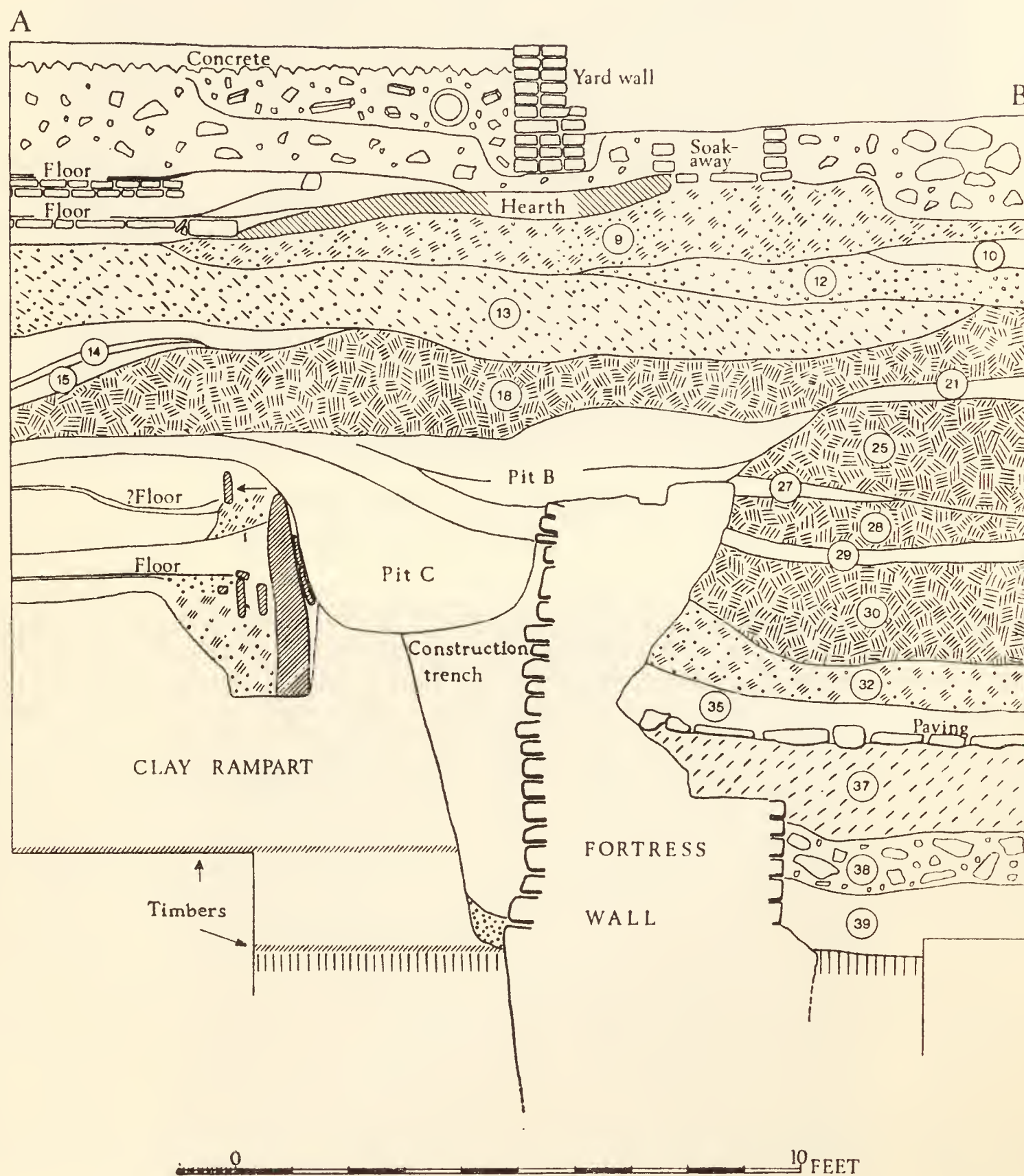


FIG. 3.

Behind the wall a construction-trench had been excavated into an earlier rampart of compact grey and brown clay which stood 6 ft. high above the bottom of the wall. Below the rampart was a dark layer 4 ins. thick, presumably the original ground surface. In the clay immediately above this had been a layer of parallel timbers, arranged horizontally at right-angles to the line of the stone wall (Pl. III). A 3 ft. width of this layer was exposed, showing four timbers respectively 4 ins., 8 ins., 4½ ins. and 7 ins. wide, with spaces of 4 ins., 4 ins. and 3 ins. between them. The wood survived as little more than stains in the clay, and it was impossible to establish its original thickness. About 1 ft. 9 ins. above was a second course of strapping, and a 5 ft. 6 ins. width showed six similar timbers, respectively 5 ins., 4 ins., 4 ins., 6 ins., 2½ ins. and 4½ ins. wide, unevenly spaced at intervals of 1 in., 6 ins., 8 ins., 2 ins. and 9 ins.

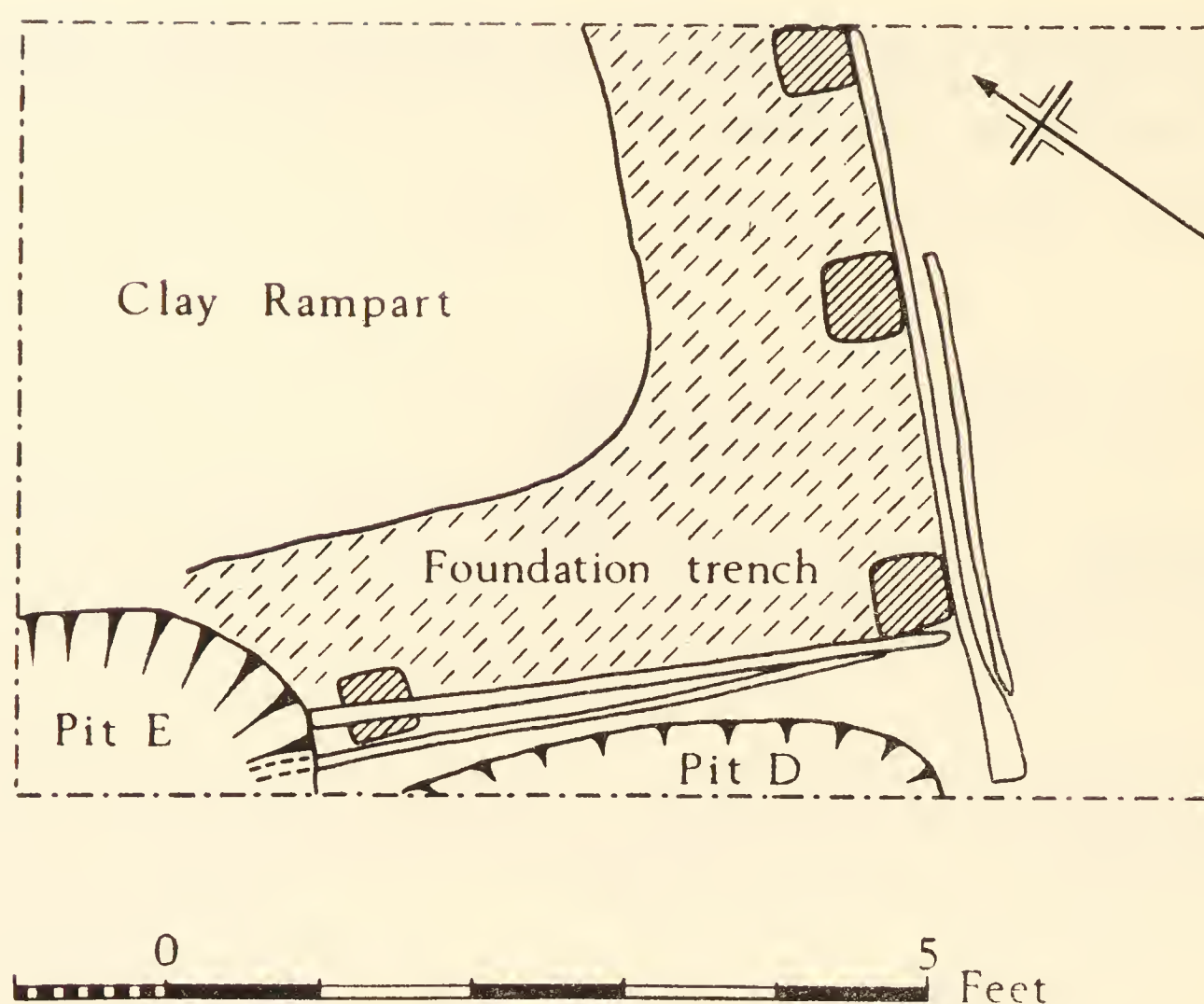


FIG. 4.

Excavated into the top of the rampart, 4 ft. behind the Roman wall, but orientated with it, were the timbers of a later (post-Roman) structure. They were arranged in a foundation-trench some 2 ft. deep with a flat bottom 18 ins. wide, which turned at right-angles within our excavation and appeared to form the south corner of the structure (Fig. 4, and section, Fig. 3). There were four vertical posts, from 5 ins. to 7 ins. square, one at the corner, two closely spaced along the south-east wall, and the fourth 3 ft. away in the south-west wall. They were squared at the bottom, and the corner-post survived to a height of 5 ft. 10 ins. whilst the others varied from 2 ft. to 3 ft. 6 ins. high. These timbers had been set towards the outside of the foundation-trench, and beyond them, held by the posts against the earth outside, were the horizontal planks of a wall. Other timbers were found in the foundation-trench but these were clearly below a rough mortar floor. On top of the floor were two planks which had fallen from the south-west wall of the structure (Pl. IV), whilst other planks had sprung forward following the partial destruction of posts in both the south-west (plan, Fig. 4) and the south-east (section, Fig. 3) walls. A burnt layer, between 2 ins. and 9 ins. above the mortar floor did not extend to the drawn section, but it may indicate partial destruction of the building. Some 18 ins. above the mortar floor was a thin layer of compressed straw, which possibly marked a second floor level, laid after the fire. This building may be dated, by a sherd of Saxo-Norman 'York ware' below the mortar floor and a glazed 'Stamford ware' sherd between the burnt layer and the straw, to the tenth or eleventh century.

On the outside of the Roman wall six courses of masonry survived, and the robbing of the stones above that resulted in a 12 ins. deep layer of rubble and mortar from 10 ins. above the foot of the wall. About 18 ins. above this débris were the remains of a roughly paved floor, which survived in section, but in the trench it had been badly disturbed by a later pit. On the outside, as high as the top of the surviving wall core, was a sequence of layers with Saxo-Norman pottery, and then, across the entire trench on the level of the top of the wall, were a number of pits, some lined with wattle (Pl. V).

Above the pits were featureless layers (9, 12 and 13 on the section, Fig. 3) with thirteenth- and fourteenth-century material (but including a considerable amount of residual pottery), and then, at the north-west end of the trench were two successive floors. The floors,



PLATE III.
Timber strapping on two levels in the clay rampart.



PLATE IV.
Corner of post-Roman timber structure.



PLATE V.
Mediaeval pit, lined with wattle.

12 ft. to 13 ft. above the base of the fortress wall, were constructed with layers of 1½ ins. bricks which suggested a date in the fifteenth, or at the latest sixteenth century.¹ A date in the fifteenth century is in agreement with the pottery evidence. The present houses, Nos. 1 and 2, King's Court, date from the middle of the eighteenth century² but, apart from very recent material under the concrete of one of the yards, there was no pottery from this excavation dating later than c. A.D. 1400.

THE FINDS

1. ROMAN POTTERY.

The only stratified Roman pottery was a sherd of samian found in the clay towards the top of the surviving rampart. B. R. Hartley comments: 'A sherd from a South Gaulish cup of form 27 with an internal groove near the lip. It is certainly Flavian, and the crisp details and the quality of the glaze suggest the early part of the period'.

2. MEDIAEVAL POTTERY

by Mrs. H. E. J. Le Patourel.

The pottery has been divided into two groups. The first of these, whose composition is shown in Table I, consists of Saxo-Norman sherds; the second, from level 24 upwards, although it includes a considerable amount of early material, came from levels that contained sherds of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century date. Although a high proportion of pimply ware was found, and much of this is likely to belong to the twelfth century, it was always in association with glazed wares of the highly-decorated period and it must be presumed that no intact deposits were of twelfth-century date. It was disappointing, in view of an important find of middle-Saxon pottery elsewhere in King's Square,³ that on this excavation only three small body sherds were found which could conceivably belong to this period; all three are somewhat doubtfully middle-Saxon.

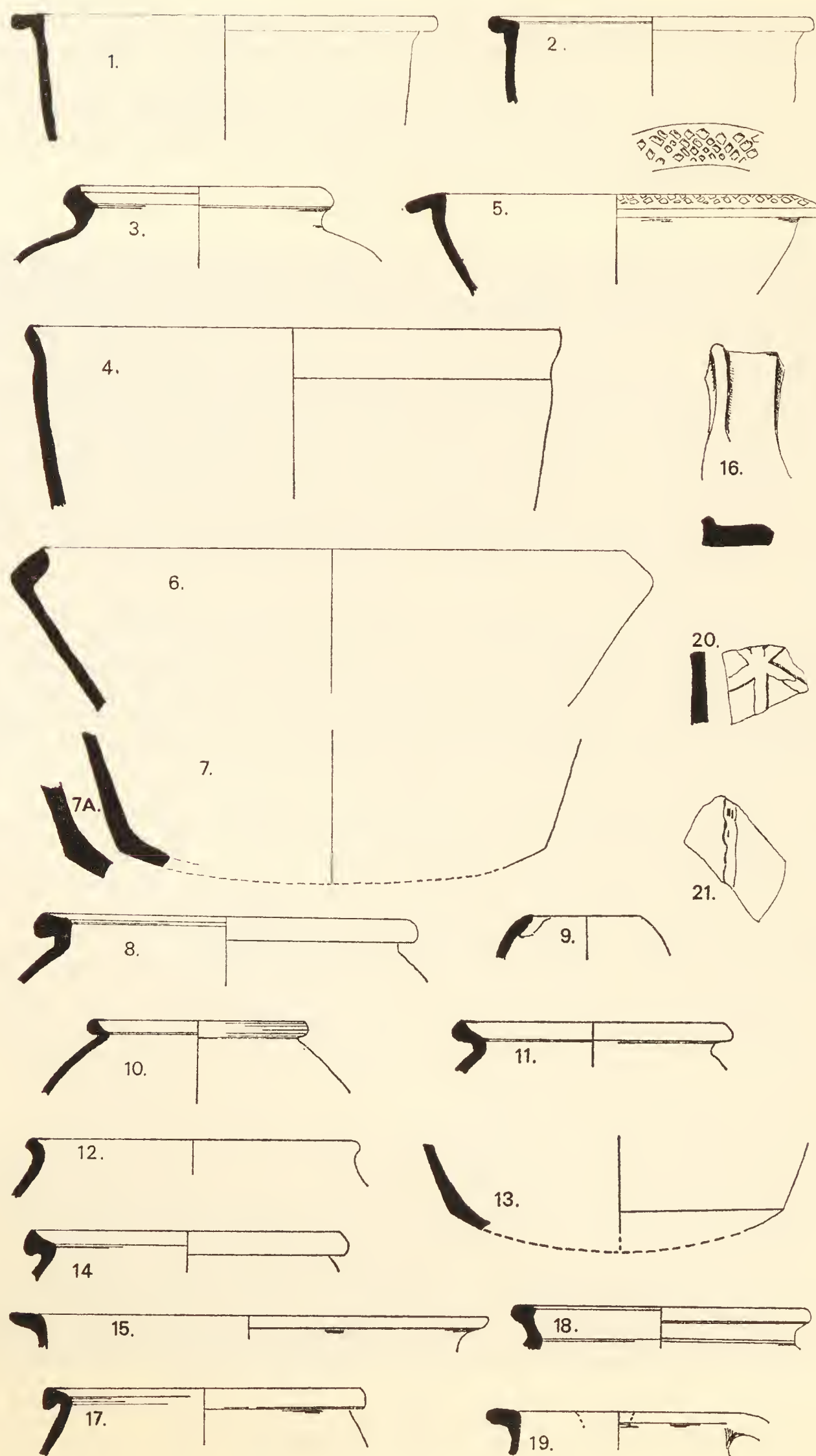
GROUP I

The development of pottery in York appears to run parallel to that of East Anglia and the eastern midlands. Shapes are often so similar, (as, for example that of the bowls with inturned rims (No. 6) or the socketed skillet (No. 51, an unstratified find) that it is tempting to assume that much of this pottery was imported from further south. Yet this seems intrinsically unlikely, since York, as the northern capital, might be expected to have its local industries, and also because of the sturdy development of local pottery in the Norman period. It is best, perhaps, to keep an open mind on the question of the origin of this pottery for the time being.

Table I

Level	Thetford-type ware			Stamford ware					Shelly	York	Possible Middle Saxon
	Cooking pots	bowls	body-sherds	Cooking pots	bowls	pitchers	body-sherds glazed ungl.				
37		2									
35										1	
32	1		3						1		1
31					1					2	1
Pit G		2	4								
30		1	3								
27		1	2								1
25							1	2		5	
Pit E	1		4				1	1			
All levels above 25	8	2	28	9	1	2	11	14	1	5	0
Total	62			43					2	13	3

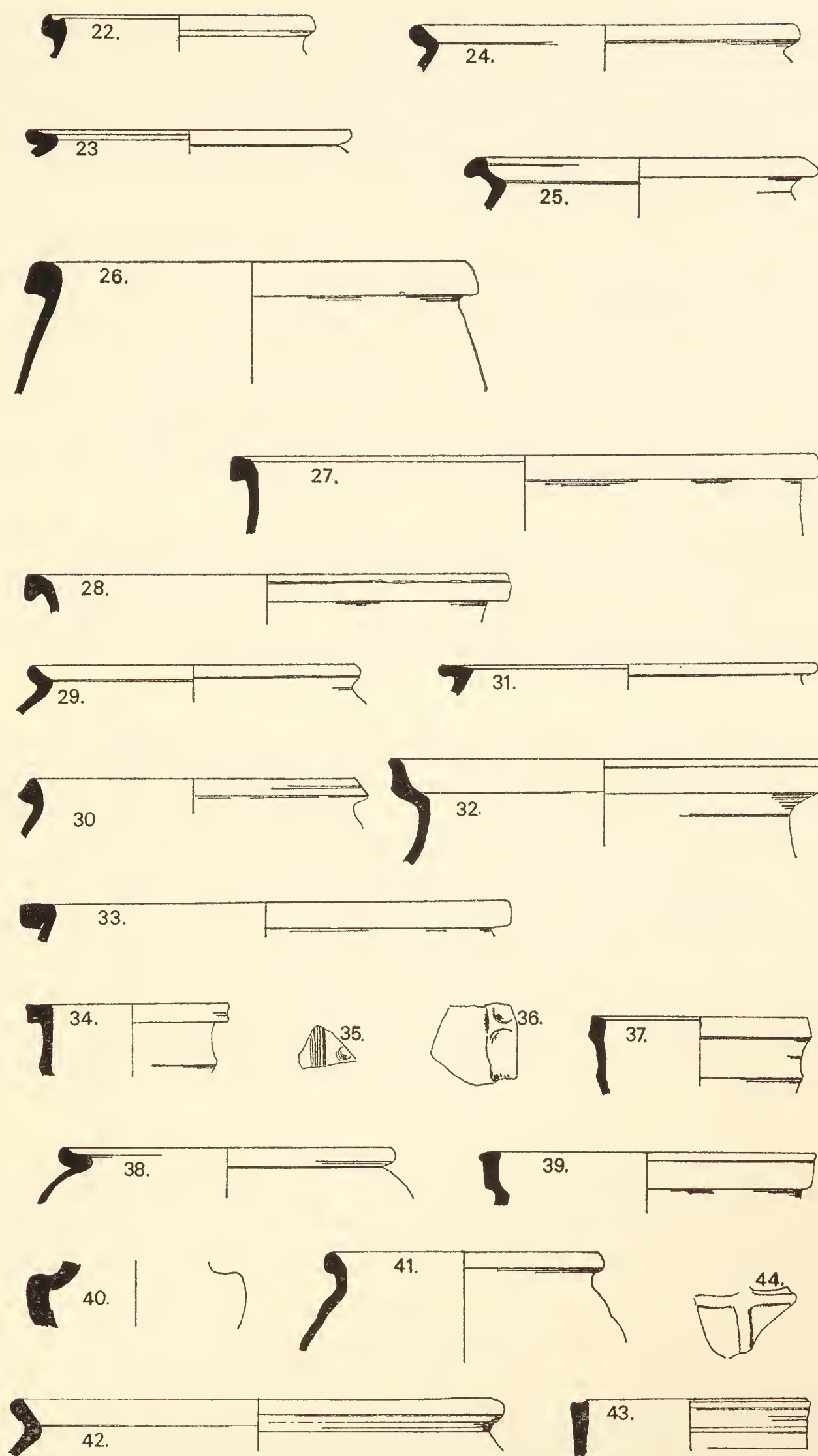
¹ For this opinion the writer is grateful to T. W. French and E. A. Gee, Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England), who examined the floors *in situ*.
² Information from T. W. French.
³ Building site watched by L. P. Wenham, unstratified finds. See below.

FIG. 5. Mediaeval pottery. ($\frac{1}{4}$).

The sandy, reduced fabrics that go under the name of Thetford type wares form the largest group among the early fabrics at King's Square. Most, though not all, of the sherds are considerably darker than typical midland Thetford ware; some may well have come from the Torksey kilns in north Lincolnshire.¹ Other York sites, such as the Hungate excavation,² have produced a similar high proportion of

¹ Excavated by M. W. Barley. *Ant. Journ.* xliv (1964), 177 ff.

² *Arch. Journ.* cxvi (1961), 76-81.

FIG. 6. Mediaeval pottery. ($\frac{1}{4}$).

Thetford type wares. It has been supposed that *York ware* was made locally, and this seems probable since the pimply ware of the twelfth century appears to derive directly from it.¹ Yet only one base (No. 46) and twelve body sherds from this excavation can be identified as *York ware*, though the proportion on

¹ For this development see *Publ. of the Thoresby Soc.* xlix (1965), 109.

the Hungate site was much higher. One York ware fragment came from level 35, the rest, including the somewhat clumsy base illustrated, are probably of pre-Conquest date, in spite of their stratigraphical position. Group I includes both glazed and unglazed Stamford ware. If the strays from higher levels are added to these stratified sherds, the total forms an astonishingly high proportion of the Saxo-Norman finds. One fragment, too small for illustration, was of developed Stamford ware, and should date to the twelfth century; of the remainder, fourteen sherds are from glazed pitchers or jars (orange, light green or yellow glaze) and these are not likely to belong to fewer than a dozen pots. Most of them, including the glazed sherd from level 25, are of the very fine, silky texture that is likely to have been traded from Stamford itself. The cooking pots and bowls, a minimum of fifteen vessels, are all in the dark 'northern' Stamford ware, which, it has been suggested,¹ may have been made in north Lincolnshire. There is evidence that early wheel-thrown pottery was made in, or near towns rather than on the manor.² If this is indeed the case, it lends colour not only to the possibility of a coarse-ware industry in York itself, producing either York ware, or both York and Thetford type wares, but it should also make it relatively easy to locate the place of manufacture of this northern Stamford ware, since town and outcrop of suitable estuarine clay should coincide. Three sherds stand out from the rest by reason of their comparatively harsh texture. They are not, indeed, true Stamford ware, though it is convenient for the present to leave them under this general heading. Lastly, among the Saxo-Norman fabrics, there is one bowl, No. 4, in Shelly fabric. All Yorkshire sites of appropriate date have produced a few fragments of shell-backed ware, sometimes, like this one, of pre-Conquest date, more often, especially in the south of the county, of mediaeval date, for this fabric was made in Lincolnshire until well into the fourteenth century. In York itself Shelly ware is comparatively rare, and is probably an import from further afield.

It has been found impossible to date these Saxo-Norman fabrics, for little or no development has been observed during the period c. 850–1150 when they were in use. The glazed Stamford-ware sherd in level 25, however, is not likely to be earlier than the eleventh century, and the inturned bowls from pit G are unlikely to date much later than the Conquest. This would seem to indicate that the upper levels outside the Roman wall belong to the early eleventh century. The bowl rims on the same side of the wall from below the paved floor (level 37), though they bear a strong resemblance, in shape, fabric and colour to material from the Torksey kiln I³ may, in fact, be considerably earlier.

GROUP II

Pit C contained three sherds, two of Stamford and one of Pimply ware. Pit B and higher levels included glazed sherds of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century type, and these latter predominated in and above level 18. The characteristics and distribution of Pimply ware are now well known,⁴ but in spite of the mass of highly-decorated pottery from York, no classification of the fabrics involved has yet been published. A preliminary distribution into four groups is suggested, which may have to be subdivided as our knowledge of local industries increases. The incidence of these at King's Square is given in Table II. The pottery here is predominantly plain, but this may be because the sherds on the whole are too small to show decoration, which never covers the whole, or even the greater area, of a pot. No. 35, line and pellet work, is a common and characteristic York motif which found its way as far afield as Newcastle and Lincoln. Most mediaeval kilns around York must have copied it for it is known in all the classified fabrics. No. 54 is another common York theme. This example is in *York White* ware (see below) but again continuous rouletting was extensively used in the vicinity, and is the major decorative theme at Winksley kiln, twenty-five miles to the west, and an example was found in the Cowick kiln, sixteen miles to the south-east. No. 44, stripwork in self-coloured clay, is common in all regions. Apart from this the only decorated sherds were part of a type IV Cistercian-ware pot (No. 50) and a late Humberware jug with thumb-pressed strip above the shoulder, a common northern decoration in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Of the fabrics classified, Humber ware, flower-pot red when oxidised, mid-grey when reduced, slightly sandy in texture, formed only 7% of the later sherds, and some of these were from among the surface rubble. This alone suggests that the site was not intensively occupied in the fifteenth century, when Humber ware was imported into York in some quantity. It was never, as far as is known, manufactured in the immediate vicinity.⁵ It is securely dated only from the early fourteenth century, but may possibly, as for instance in Doncaster, extend back to the middle of the preceding century.

A fabric for which the name *York White* is suggested was the most frequent ware in the upper levels here, and is the most frequently found of York fabrics. It varies in colour from off-white to light grey or pale buff, but the core is normally near white and contains small grits. Precise evidence for an industry in York has not been found for a date earlier than 1437, but at that time there must have been one of some importance.⁶ As gradual growth is inherently probable, an industry active at least in the fourteenth century is highly likely. If such an industry did exist, the preponderance of this off-white fabric makes it the most likely candidate for local manufacture. *York Buff*, a related fabric, was almost unrepresented here, although it is one of the more common of the known fifteenth-century pottery types in the City.

¹ G. C. Dunning in *Dark Age Britain, Studies presented to E. T. Leeds* (1956), 230.

² Discussed in *The documentary evidence for the mediaeval pottery industry*, *Med. Arch.* xii, forthcoming.

³ *Med. Arch.* iii (1959), 45, Fig. 19.

⁴ Thoresby Soc. *op. cit.*, 111.

⁵ Sites known to have made Humber ware are listed in *Med. Arch.* x (1966), 160.

⁶ *Med. Arch.* xii, forthcoming.

Lightly-gritted ware is the most difficult to assign to any one source. The distribution of fabrics in the county suggests that not dissimilar pot was made in at least three areas, in each of which a number of village industries may be involved. Such an area must exist in south Yorkshire, possibly centred on kilns at Conisborough where documentary evidence shows potters to have worked; Winksley kilns in the neighbourhood of Ripon were making similar fabric; and a further centre to the north of York is inferred from the products of a number of sites. Each and all of the potters involved are likely at some time to have used the important York market, and it is premature to assign the King's Square examples to any one source.

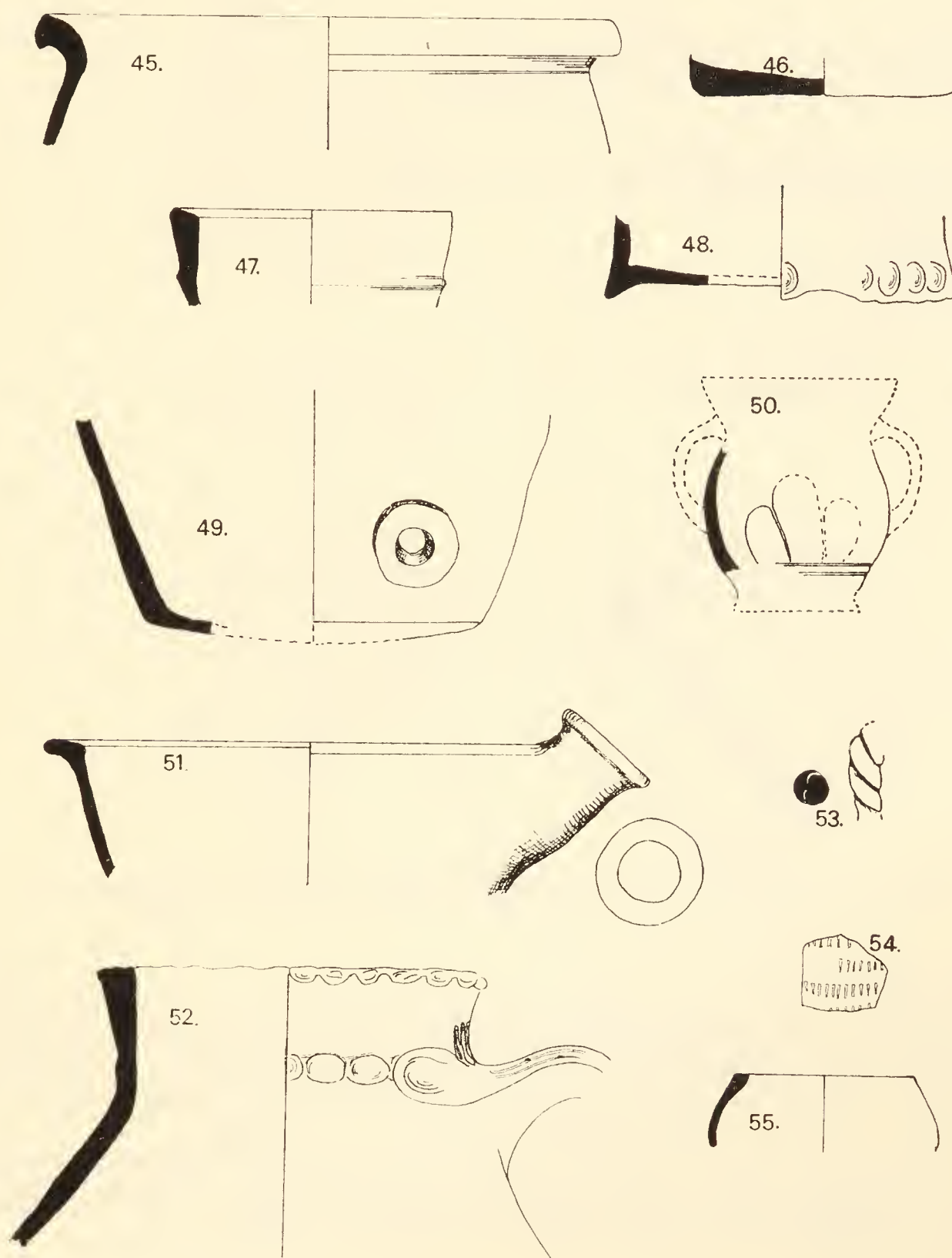


FIG. 7. Mediaeval pottery. ($\frac{1}{4}$).

East Pennine Gritty ware was first isolated at Kirkstall¹ and was made in a number of places in Wharfedale and Airedale. Since many of the York decorative devices are known in this fabric, and since there are clearly, even on this excavation, several subtypes involved, the probability of sites making the fabric nearer to the city must be considered.

Three sherds fall into separate categories. The Cistercian-ware pot mentioned earlier;² No. 40 from Pit B, which seems to be part of a roof finial, in smooth, flower-pot red; and a fine French spouted pitcher, from the upper rubble (Fig. 8).

¹ *Publ. of the Thoresby Soc.*, li (1967), 43.

² For the typology of Cistercian ware see *Ant. Journ.* xlv (1966), 262-4.

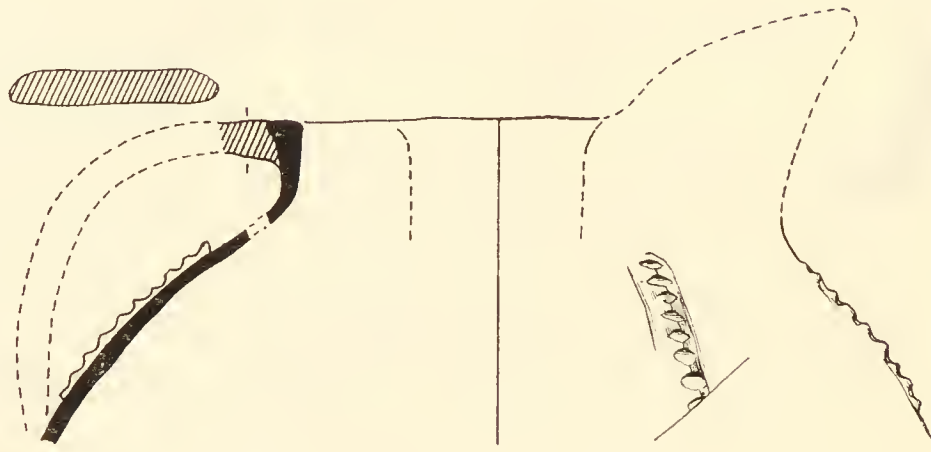
Table II. Fabric distribution of mediaeval pottery above level 25.

(No significant difference is observable between the levels.)

Pimply ware twelfth – late thirteenth century	131.
York White and its variations	68.
East Pennine gritty ware	38.
Humber ware	20.
Lightly gritted ware	31.

Illustrated pottery.

Stamford ware, 5, 10, 11, 18, 19, 23, 25, 29, 31, 38, 39, 55.
 Thetford type ware, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 7a, 8, 13, 14, 22, 42, 51.
 York ware, 46.
 Shelly ware, 4.
 Pimply ware, 12, 16, 17, 26, 27, 28, 30, 32, 33, 34, 36, 41, 45.
 East Pennine gritty ware, 21, 24, 47.
 York White, 43, 44, 48.
 Humber ware, 37, 52.
 Lightly gritted ware, 34, 53.
 Cistercian ware, 50.
 Tile, 20.
 Finial, 40.
 Sixteenth century double glazed, 49.

FIG. 8. Composite drawing of three sherds from two French jugs. ($\frac{1}{4}$).

3. THE FRENCH JUGS (Fig. 8)

by K. J. Barton.

Three fragments from two separate large three-handled jugs of south-western French origin, similar to fragments found at La Chapelle-des-Pots.¹ In a fine smooth fabric with splash copper green glaze on the upper portion and one of a series of rouletted bands around the shoulder. Similar vessels have been found at many sites. The most complete examples are at Chester and Southampton but the finest example is from Lich Street, Worcester, recently described by Mr. G. C. Dunning.²

These jugs have been put in the thirteenth century, but they appear to have a long life and were found in the kiln at La Chapelle-des-Pots recently excavated by Mr. P. Mayes. This could suggest a later date for such vessels, extending into the second half of the fourteenth century.

4. SMALL FINDS (Fig. 9)

(a) A coin, found above layer 21 in the section, Fig. 3. Unfortunately it was found after the side of the trench had collapsed, so its exact stratification is unknown. The coin, identified by R. H. M. Dolley, then of the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, 'is a HARDI D'ARGENT of the Anglo-Gallic series, most probably of Henry IV though perhaps of Richard II'. The date is within the period A.D. 1377–1413. The coin is in poor condition, and broken.

(b) Fragmentary bone object, 1.6 ins. long, possibly part of a handle. Consists of two plates of bone joined by iron pins, and with a space between them. The outer surfaces have been crudely incised with criss-cross decoration. From layer 12.

(c) Fragment of a chalk spindle-whorl, with painted decoration. From layer 12.

(d) Chalk spindle-whorl, with incised decoration. From layer 18.

¹ *Arch. Journ.*, cxx, 1963, 201–15.

² *Worcs. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, 3rd series, I, 1965.

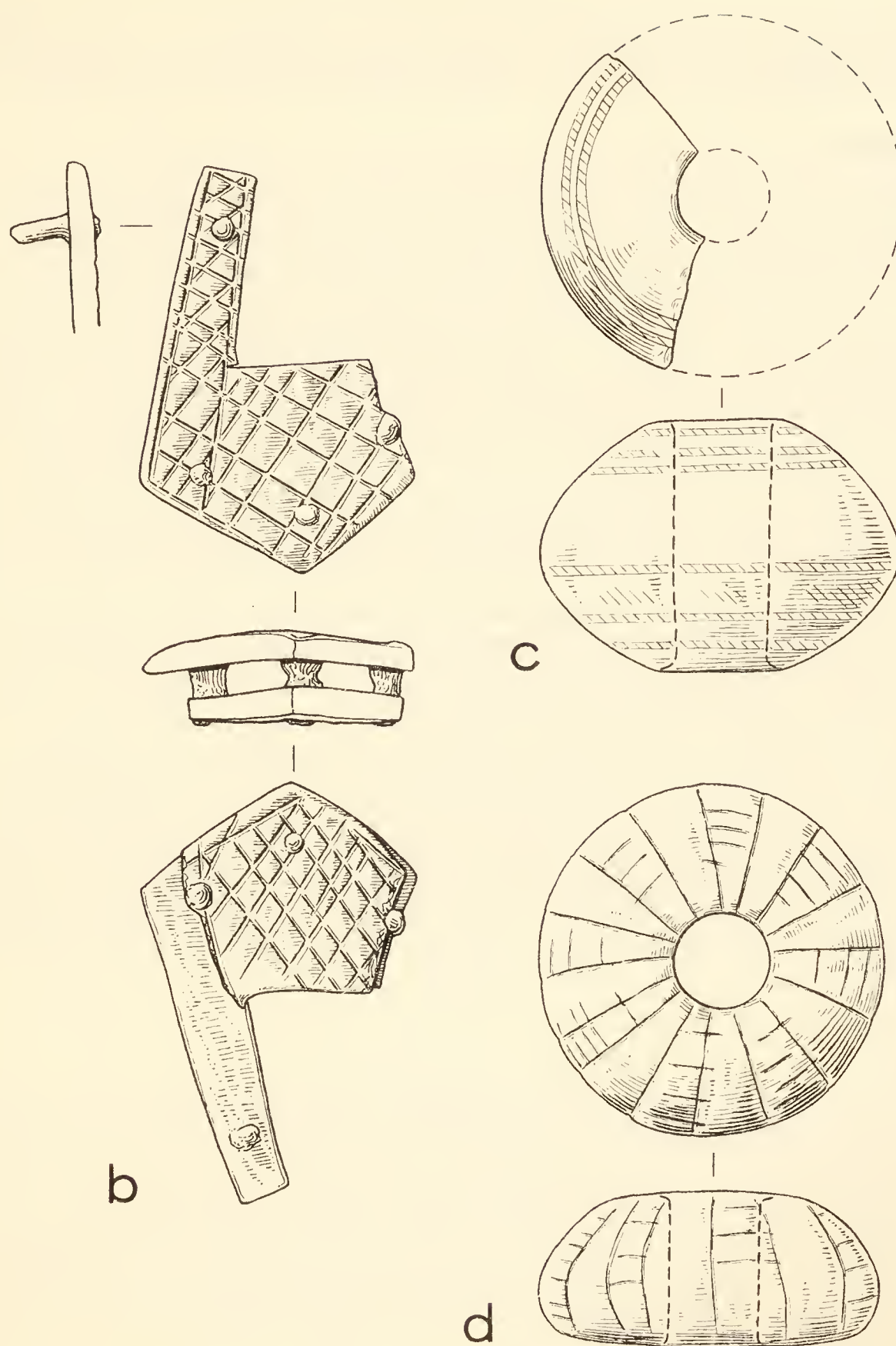


FIG. 9. Small finds: b, bone object; c and d, chalk spindle whorls. ($\frac{1}{1}$).

The Defences of the Roman Fortress at York

The King's Square section may be compared with several excavated by Miller in 1925–27, and with one by Ramm in 1955.¹ Unlike some of the Miller sections which cut through the entire rampart, Ramm's Coney Street excavation extended only 19 ft. behind the fortress wall, and the King's Square section was even shorter. At King's Square additions at the back of the original rampart were not found, and these phases were not even represented by shallow layers capping the front of the rampart – possibly because of the insertion of the mediaeval timber structure. Furthermore, the King's Square section lacked features noted at the front of the rampart at Coney Street.² Perhaps the stone wall and its construction-trench cut farther back into the original clay rampart here, for there was no trench associated with the lower timber strapping (layer 21 at Coney Street);³ in both layers of strapping all the timbers had been cut by the construction-trench, and no front edges survived; and higher in the mound there was no sign of the back of a turf or timber revetment.

¹ S. N. Miller, 1925 and 1928; H. G. Ramm, 1956.

² H. G. Ramm, 1956, 79–80.

³ H. G. Ramm, 1956, Fig. 11.

At King's Square there were clear signs of only two phases: 1, a clay rampart with two layers of timber strapping; cut by 2, a construction-trench with a stone wall in front.

The Early Rampart

A rampart later cut by the construction-trench for a stone wall has been recognised in sections excavated on three sides of the fortress, the only exception being the north-west side where Miller's Section G shows a rampart heaped against the back of a stone wall.¹

In one section, at Coney Street, there was a suggestion that two phases were represented in the construction of this rampart. There were two layers of timber strapping, the one on ground level below the rampart and the other some 2 ft. 6 ins. to 3 ft. higher, and the timber from the two levels was different, for branches had been used in the lower layer and planks in the upper. Furthermore, a trench at right-angles to the timbers, interpreted as a bedding-trench,² was associated with the branches but covered by the planks. This stratification was taken as evidence for two successive clay ramparts, a small original bank having been partially levelled, covered by the layer of planks, and then heightened.³

Elsewhere there is no structural evidence for this first phase. Layers of horizontal timbers have been found in the rampart on the south-west and south-east sides, and the wood varies from the well-preserved at Davygate⁴ and the Bedern⁵ to mere stains at King's Square. But apart from Coney Street, King's Square is the only site where two successive layers of timber have been found; the timbers in the two layers were similar, and there was no reason to suppose that they were not contemporary.

At King's Square the clay rampart is dated after A.D. 70 by a samian sherd found above the upper layer of wooden strapping. The only other site to produce dating evidence is Davygate, where Wenham found pottery dated after A.D. 80 in the body of the rampart.⁶ No dating evidence for Flavian phases has been found in any of the other sections of the fortress defences.

The Stone Wall

The stone wall at King's Square, with courses of unfaced limestone on the inner side, is similar to that which survives round most of the defensive circuit. From the south-east gate to the north-east gate, via the south, west and north corners of the fortress wherever it has been examined the surviving wall has the same characteristics. When it survives to a sufficient height, at least 7 ft. near the west corner⁷ but 12 ft. at Feasegate,⁸ it has five layers of tile used as a bonding course in the front of the wall, and it has been shown that this wall is of the same construction as the Multangular Tower and projecting interval towers on the south-west side.⁹

It has been argued that round this same circuit there were two earlier walls.¹⁰ The first, built on a clay and cobble foundation, was removed completely, including its foundations, and replaced by a second wall on concrete foundations. The second wall, which had dressed ashlar on the inside as well as the outside, was removed down to its foundations and replaced by a third wall – the one which survives. As this argument depends on the complete removal of earlier phases it is not easy to prove, nor to disprove. The evidence in favour of earlier stone walls here may be summarised thus:

¹ S. N. Miller, 1928, Pl. x, section G.

² Thus H. G. Ramm, 1956, 79, and B. R. Hartley, 1966, 11; alternatively this feature has been identified as a marking-out trench, R.C.H.M., 1962, 7 and 20, and L. P. Wenham, 1965, 8.

³ H. G. Ramm, 1956, 82–3.

⁴ L. P. Wenham, 1962, especially Pl. xx.

⁵ S. N. Miller, 1925, Pl. xxix, 1.

⁶ L. P. Wenham, 1962, 512.

⁷ R.C.H.M., 1962, 10, and 21–2.

⁸ L. P. Wenham, 1961, Fig. 6.

⁹ R.C.H.M., 1962, 10, and 17–19; L. P. Wenham, 1965, 16.

¹⁰ R.C.H.M., 1962, 7–10.

(a) *Coney Street*

1. Mortar samples from the lower part of the wall differed considerably from samples taken higher in the wall.
2. A single faced stone on the inner side may have survived from an earlier wall.
3. The filling of the foundation trench belonged apparently to two periods.

(b) *Interval Towers SW.5 and SW.6*

The foundations for these towers were separate from those for the main wall, although the walls of the towers were in one build with the fortress wall.¹

(c) *Parts of the south-west and north-west wall*

The footings course on the outside of the wall has been interpreted as the remains of a plinth from an earlier wall.²

(d) *Re-used Stones*

Re-used stones were a feature of the surviving wall on the south-west front.³

This evidence, although it is not conclusive, suggests that there was an earlier stone wall; but there is not a scrap of evidence to suggest three successive walls.

The dating evidence for any phase earlier than the final wall would, unfortunately, have been removed by the builders of that wall. Only one construction-trench (though possibly two phases in it at Coney Street) has been found and material from that would date only the final wall. Because any earlier walls have been almost entirely removed there is no possibility of definite correlation between various additions to the back of the rampart and stone walls at the front. The only securely stratified evidence which can be used for dating this final wall appears to be the third-century pottery from the construction-trench at Coney Street.⁴

The remaining sector of the fortress defences, from the north-east gate to the south-east gate via the east corner, is quite different. At the east corner, and again at the Bedern, about 100 yds. away, Miller found two stone walls.⁵ At the Bedern a stone wall six courses high was in front of the foundations of a later wall,⁶ and at the east corner an early foundation was superseded by a later foundation and wall.⁷ On the similarity between their foundations, clay and cobbles run with mortar from the top, Miller correlated the early phases at each site. The wall on the second foundation at the east corner was also found further along the north-east wall, and it differed considerably from the surviving wall on the south-west side. Instead of rough unfaced blocks its inner side was faced with ashlar, and at the corner, where the wall survived 16 ft. 6 ins. high, lacked a tile course but instead there was a projecting string-mould, and at the bottom a heavy plinth. Furthermore, this corner was rounded and did not have a projecting tower.

The earlier wall in this sector has been recognised only in a 100-yard stretch, and, apart from in the foundations of an interval tower,⁸ there is no evidence for it elsewhere. It must remain a possibility that this wall was never completed – certainly the builders encountered difficulties in securing the foundations.⁹ There appears to be no direct dating evidence for this wall.

The surviving wall from the east corner north-westwards is dated by Antonine pottery in the construction-trench which cuts the front of the earlier rampart.¹⁰

¹ R.C.H.M., 1962, 17–19; L. P. Wenham, 1965, 16–17.

² R.C.H.M., 1962, marked on Fig. 3 as D, K, L and M; pp. 21 and 28, and Fig. 21.

³ e.g., R.C.H.M., 1962, 10, 13, and 21.

⁴ H. G. Ramm, 1956, 81. Coins of Claudius Gothicus and Tetricus have also been used as dating evidence (R.C.H.M., 1962, 10); but the former was from a shallow layer on the top of the rampart, and isolated from the wall by a later pit (H. G. Ramm, 1956, 81), and the latter is described rather vaguely as 'from the top of the bank' (S. N. Miller, 1928, 89).

⁵ S. N. Miller, 1928, 77, Fig. 20.

⁶ S. N. Miller, 1925, Pl. xxvi, section G–H.

⁷ S. N. Miller, 1928, 66, Fig. 16.

⁸ NE.6. (R.C.H.M., 1962, 31–3; S. N. Miller, 1928, 70).

⁹ S. N. Miller, 1925, 188–89.

¹⁰ S. N. Miller, 1925, 178–80, and 1928, 74–5. This pottery includes four sherds from an Antonine Samian form 37 bowl, S. N. Miller, 1928, Fig. 19, 7–10, re-examined by B. R. Hartley who dates it no earlier than A.D. 160.

The overall structural sequence at York may be represented in tabular form:

A. EARLY RAMPARTS	
Two Phases	Evidence for One Phase only
Coney Street (no dating evidence)	South-west (other than Coney St.), north-east and south-east sides. (Davygate : after A.D. 80) (King's Square: after A.D. 70)
B. STONE WALLS	
I	II
South-east gate to north-east gate, via south, west and north corners. (a) ?foundations of early wall (no dating evidence) (b) surviving wall (third century or later)	North-east gate to south-east gate, via east corner. (a) Wall at the Bedern; foundation at the corner (no dating evidence) (b) surviving wall at east corner (after A.D. 160)

This survey is intended to draw attention to the limitations of the direct archaeological evidence from York for the sequence of the fortress defences and for their dating. It is an attempt to isolate the basic excavated evidence from hypotheses founded on other evidence. It takes no account of the King's Square inscription, which dates the erection of a gate,¹ for that is not necessarily linked with the construction of a rampart or wall. Beyond that it ignores comparable evidence from other military sites, and historical events which might be linked with constructional phases.

The weaknesses in this York evidence are all too apparent, but the excavation of selected sites might go a long way towards strengthening it.

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¹ I. A. Richmond, 1959, 5, and frontispiece; R.C.H.M., 1962, 111, and Pl. 41.

DISCOVERIES IN KING'S SQUARE, YORK, 1963

By LESLIE P. WENHAM

In 1963 the premises now known as 'Refuge House' were built in King's Square, York, on the site of the properties in the backyard of which Dr. Ian Stead carried out his excavation in 1957, a report on which is given in the previous article. Soil was removed to a depth of 12 ft. below the modern surface to construct a basement. In the course of this clearance (Plate I) important discoveries were made relating to both the Roman and the Viking (or Saxo-Norman) periods of York. As these supplement Dr. Stead's discoveries, it seems appropriate to include a note on them here.

Roman

Two sectors, about 5 ft. apart, of the fortress wall were uncovered; one was about 5 ft. and the other 6 ft. in length (Plates II-IV). Both had been robbed, the former more than the latter. Fortunately, in the second sector, part of the wall was still standing sufficiently high to include all, or most, of the red tile band which is associated with the Phase V (the so-called Constantian¹) rebuild of the fortress defences. Four tiles remained in King's Square; elsewhere the tile band consists of five² so that one layer had probably been removed here. This was an important discovery as it is the first time that the tile band has been found anywhere in the sector of wall between the *porta principalis sinistra* and the south corner tower. This discovery lends support to the view that the entire wall surrounding the *praetentura* of the fortress was rebuilt in Phase V.

As the Plates show, the modern clearance for the basement only extended about 3½ ft. below the bottom of the tile band. Normally this band is about 8 ft. above the foundations of the fortress wall. It seems, therefore, that this sector of the wall in King's Square, in its highest surviving portion, is still standing some 9 ft. high above its foundations: a few yards away Dr. Stead found it standing 8 ft. high.

Viking or Saxo-Norman

In the 4-5 ft. of soil between the top of the tile band and below that down to the lowest part of the excavation numerous finds were made by the workmen in the course of their work. These were handed to the writer and are now in Gray's Court, York. Fifteen sherds of Roman pottery (all of grey ware) and ten of late mediaeval ware were found which were not of sufficient interest either to describe or to illustrate. However, finds of a Viking or Saxo-Norman nature were both numerous and important. They consisted of pottery, combs, wooden bowls, whetstones, tines, a skate and a spindle whorl; they are described here:—

(i) POTTERY³

This was of more than usual importance despite its inevitable lack of stratification. The mediaeval sherds in the collection were of no great interest but the 78 sherds of pottery of the Saxo-Norman period exceeded in quantity finds of similar date from any other single site in the city. York ware preponderated, and showed its usual wide variety of rim form and body colour. Some of the base sherds, unusually thick and heavy for this class of pottery, are likely to represent an earlier version of it. The two sandy Saxo-Norman fabrics found in the north, Thetford-type ware (grey) and Torksey ware (black), even taken together, did not form so large a proportion of the total as did York ware. Torksey type vessels included both normal and inturned bowl rims, though the latter are not among the shapes illustrated from the Torksey kiln itself.⁴ Fragments from some ten Stamford ware vessels were found, mostly of unglazed cooking pots, but including sherds from two, or possibly three glazed pitchers. Only Shelly ware, always the rarest of Saxo-Norman fabrics in York, was totally absent.

¹ Phase V is traditionally regarded as the work of Constantius Chlorus but it may be later, see Jarrett, M. G., 1965, 522-3 and Wenham, L. P., 1965.

² *Eburacum* RCHM 1962, 10a.

³ This section has been contributed by Mrs. Jean Le Patourel.

⁴ *Medieval Archaeology*, iii (1959), Fig. 19, 45.

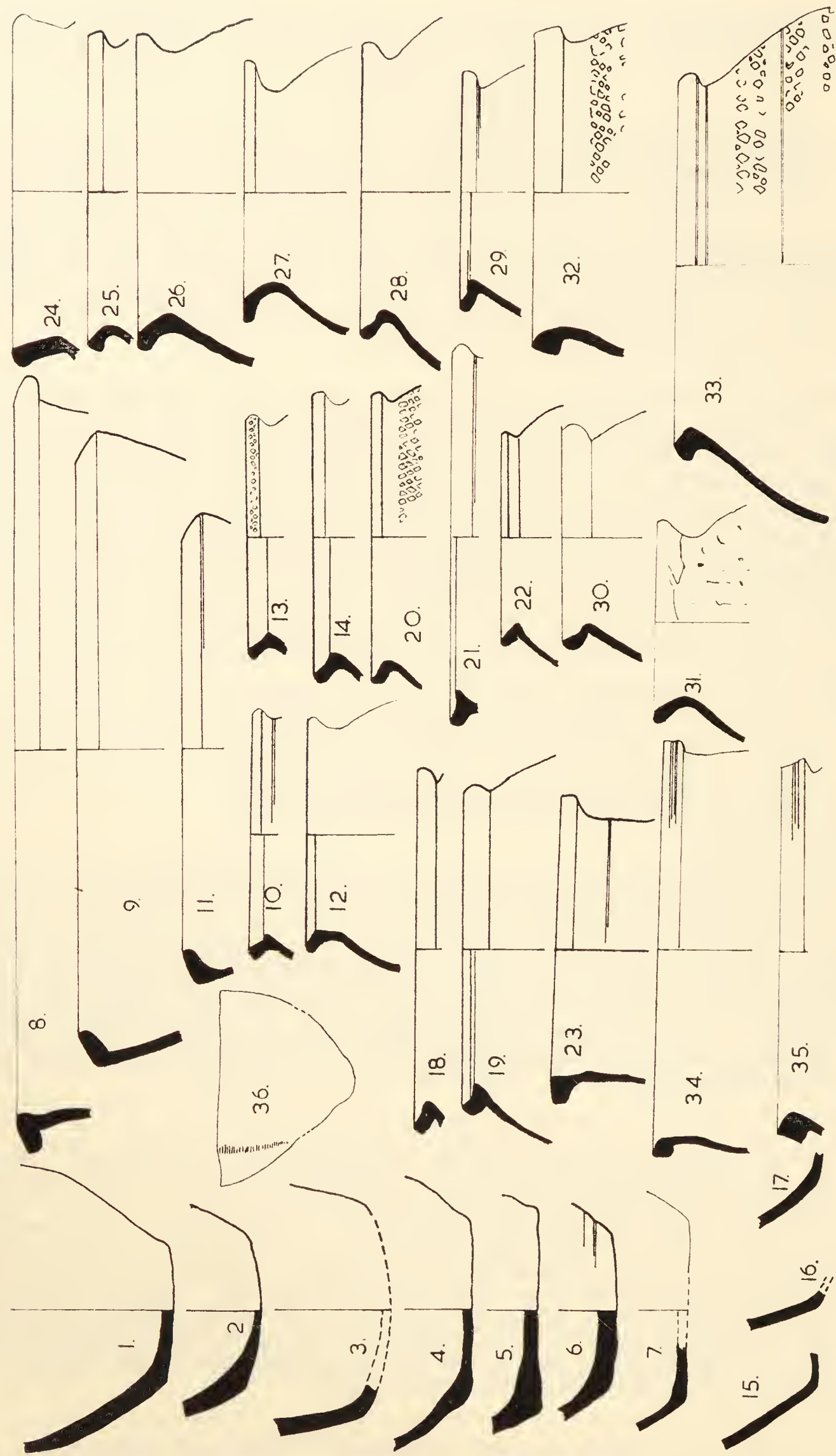


FIG. 1. Saxo-Norman pottery from King's Square, York, 1963. ($\frac{1}{4}$).



PLATE I.
King's Square, York, 1963. The site as cleared.



PLATE II.
King's Square, York, 1963. Sector of fortress wall.



PLATE III.
King's Square, York, 1963. Another sector of fortress wall showing tile band.



PLATE IV.
King's Square, York, 1963. Section through fortress wall.

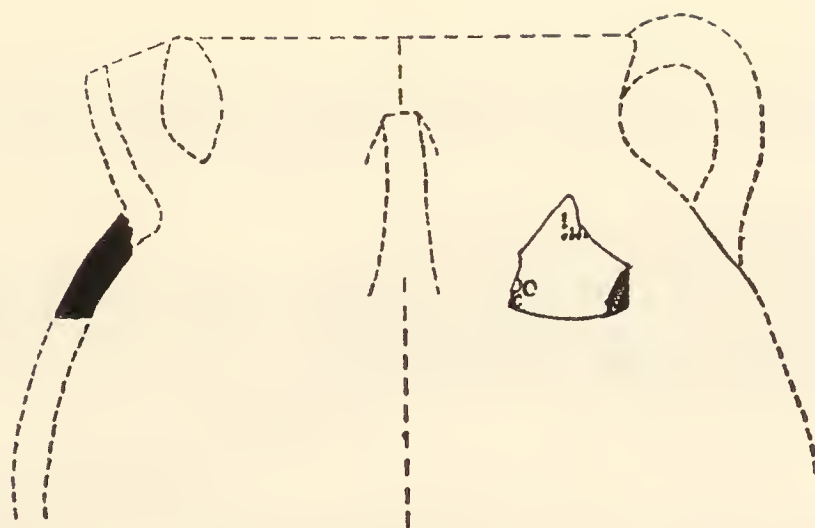


FIG. 2. King's Square, York, 1963. Ipswich ware, stamped pitcher. ($\frac{1}{4}$).

The most important aspect of this collection of pottery, however, was the inclusion of four vessels dating from the Middle-Saxon period (c. 650–850). Though relatively plentiful in East Anglia,¹ only two fragments have hitherto been found in York. One of these, a sherd from a stamped pitcher, was found in Hungate,² the other, either pitcher or storage vessel, came from the site of the Tempest Anderson Hall.³ These King's Square finds comprise one stamped pitcher sherd and parts of three cooking pots, all in mid-grey, slightly gritty, wheel-thrown fabric. At Whitby Abbey,⁴ the only other Yorkshire site to produce pottery of comparable date, though the only native sherds illustrated at the time of the report were hand-made, middle Saxon sherds in a different fabric have been recently recognised.

Description

Middle Saxon (light grey, slightly gritted, slow-wheel with some knife-trimming) 1–3⁵ and Fig. 2⁶.

York ware. 4–7, 24–30.

Torksey type. 8–10, 15–17.

Thetford type, 11–14.

Stamford ware, unglazed, 18–22.

Stamford ware, glazed, 23.

Pimply ware, 32–35.

Crucible, 36.

Non-conforming, 31 (gritty, wheel-thrown with much knife trimming and smearing of external surface).

(ii) COMBS

Plate V. These bone combs are of a common 'Viking' type (tenth-twelfth century.) For another York example from Hungate, for a description of the type and for British parallels, see Richardson, K. M., 1961, 83; Fig. 19, 16. Other York examples are described and illustrated by Waterman, D. M., 1959, 87–90; Plate XVIII and Figs. 16 and 17.

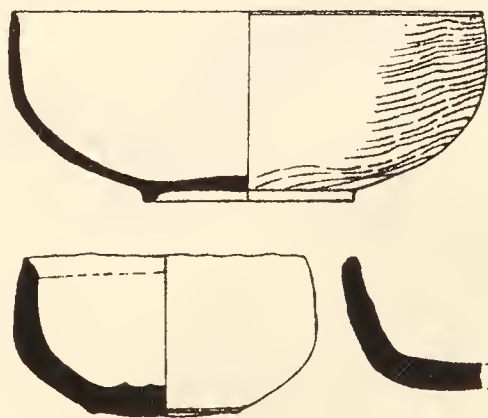


FIG. 3. King's Square, York, 1963. Wooden Bowls. ($\frac{1}{4}$).

(iii) WOODEN BOWLS

Fig. 3. Parts of lathe-turned bowls, possibly of maple wood (*Acer campestre*). The first one illustrated is particularly well made with a dished footstand; the other two are cruder specimens. For a similar example from Hungate, York, described as 'Anglo-Danish', see Richardson, K. M., 1961, 86; Fig. 20.

¹ *Medieval Archaeology*, iii (1959), 13f and PCAS 1 (1956), 29f.

² *Arch. Journ.* cxxi (1961), 76.

³ *YAJ* xxxix, pt. 157 (1958), 426.

⁴ *Archaeologia* 89 (1943), 77.

⁵ The numbers in this section relate to Fig. 1.

⁶ For the drawing of this pitcher and for help with the Middle-Saxon pottery I wish to thank Mr. J. G. Hurst (J. Le P.).

(iv) WHETSTONES

Plate V. For the stones, etc., used, see Richardson, K. M., 1961, 85; Fig. 19, 23. Another example, like the largest one illustrated, was found in the St. Mary Bishophill Junior excavations, 1961–7 (unpublished). Thirteen other York examples are described and illustrated by Waterman, D. M., 1959, 97–9 and Fig. 23.

(v) TINES OR ANTLER POINTS

Plate V – four illustrated. 25 of these were found; all were undecorated. These are common in York excavations of the period, many being ornamented with encircling grooves, diagonal incisions and other designs. For other York examples and a discussion on their possible use, see Waterman, D. M., 1959, 93; Plates XXI and XXII and Fig. 19.

(vi) SKATE

Plate V. Made from an ox-bone. Planed off on the underside and very smooth as if much used. At the rear end a hole, approx. 5 ins. long and $\frac{1}{2}$ in. diam. is drilled into the shaft to take a wooden peg around the projecting end of which a leather thong would presumably bind the skate to the foot over the instep. The front end is cut away at an angle so that another thong could be bound around it and the toe. The only other recorded skate from York was discovered in Hungate in 1951. In that one the heel attachment is similar to this King's Square example but the toe is different – there a hole pierces the skate to take the thong. (Richardson, K. M., 1961, 100; Fig. 28, 13).

(vii) SPINDLE WHORL (not illustrated).

Of stone, decorated with incised concentric circles. For other York examples see (a) St. Mary Bishophill Junior excavations 1961–7 (unpublished); (b) From Hungate, see Richardson, K. M., 1961, 85; Fig. 19, 21; (c) 17 others made of bone, pottery, chalk, lead, stone and jet, see Waterman, D. M., 1959, 93 and Fig. 20.

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PLATE V
Viking combs, hones, tines and skate. ($\frac{2}{3}$).

PEBBLE MACE-HEADS WITH HOUR-GLASS PERFORATIONS FROM YORKSHIRE, NOTTINGHAMSHIRE AND DERBYSHIRE

By FIONA ROE AND JEFFREY RADLEY

Introduction

This paper has two origins: one writer's (J.R.) list of pebble mace-heads began as part of work done for the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England), and was elaborated with a view to testing Rankine's conclusion that they belong to the Mesolithic cultures; the other writer (F.R.) collected similar data as part of a corpus of perforated stone implements in the British Isles.

Since little has been published about pebble mace-heads in northern England, it was decided to combine the two projects and to describe the pebble mace-heads from one part of northern England pending a fuller treatment. Eighty-one implements have been discovered for Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, and the details of these are presented below and in the Appendix.

Previous Work

Sir John Evans¹ had noted examples in East Yorkshire, but W. F. Rankine was the first to give pebble mace-heads individual treatment. From the associations available in southern England, he concluded that this type of mace-head was part of the Mesolithic tradition.² However, although he quoted sites with sealed, stratified Mesolithic flints, all his mace-heads from or near Mesolithic sites were loose finds, which may or may not be associated with the Mesolithic material, or were dated tenuously by pollen analysis. Cupped pebbles of the kind found on Mesolithic sites at Thatcham³ and Lower Halstow⁴ may be related to the pebble mace-head, but clearly there is need for stratified examples before this point can be settled. Rankine implied that the distribution of pebble mace-heads is primarily in the south and east of England;⁵ few of his 120 examples came from north of a line from the Wash to the Severn, none came from Nottinghamshire or Derbyshire, and only five examples were noted from East Yorkshire. The function of pebble mace-heads has not been deduced, and from the above evidence, it can be seen that the question of their age is still open.

Definition

The name 'mace-head', like so many names in archaeology, is incorrect and certainly inadequate, but is retained here since it is a well-established name.

There is a wide range of such implements, but this paper examines only one form, *pebble* mace-heads. They are made almost invariably from a natural pebble, round or oval in plan, and flattened in section. The shape of the pebble is never modified, which sets this tool apart from the more elaborate types of mace-head, such as those of cushion or pestle form.

The typical hour-glass shape of the hole was achieved by working opposed conical hollows or cup marks until they met. Twenty-five 'cupped pebbles' have been found in the area under review, and it is essential to distinguish as far as possible between unfinished mace-heads, and pebbles which were probably hammer-stones, which have opposed cupped hollows to facilitate gripping by thumb and finger. These frequently show signs of battering and bruising at either end. Such cupped pebbles have quite broad, shallow hollows, and were evidently never intended to be fully bored. However, of the twenty-five recorded, five have deep, conical hollows, which are deeper than would be

necessary for thumb and finger holds, and these can perhaps be interpreted as unfinished mace-heads. When complete, the holes have a well-defined hour-glass section, which can be more or less rounded in profile.

Analysis of Size and Shape

The pebble mace-heads range from 2.1 ins. to 4.9 ins. in length, with one exception – a large, damaged example about 7 ins. long – and range from 1.7 ins. to 4.2 ins. in breadth. They weigh from 2 oz. to 26 oz., but 74% weigh 11 oz. or less. These measurements indicate slightly smaller implements than those measured by Rankine⁶ who found that 66% of his examples were from 3 ins. to 5 ins. long, though a further 22% of the ones he recorded were longer than this.

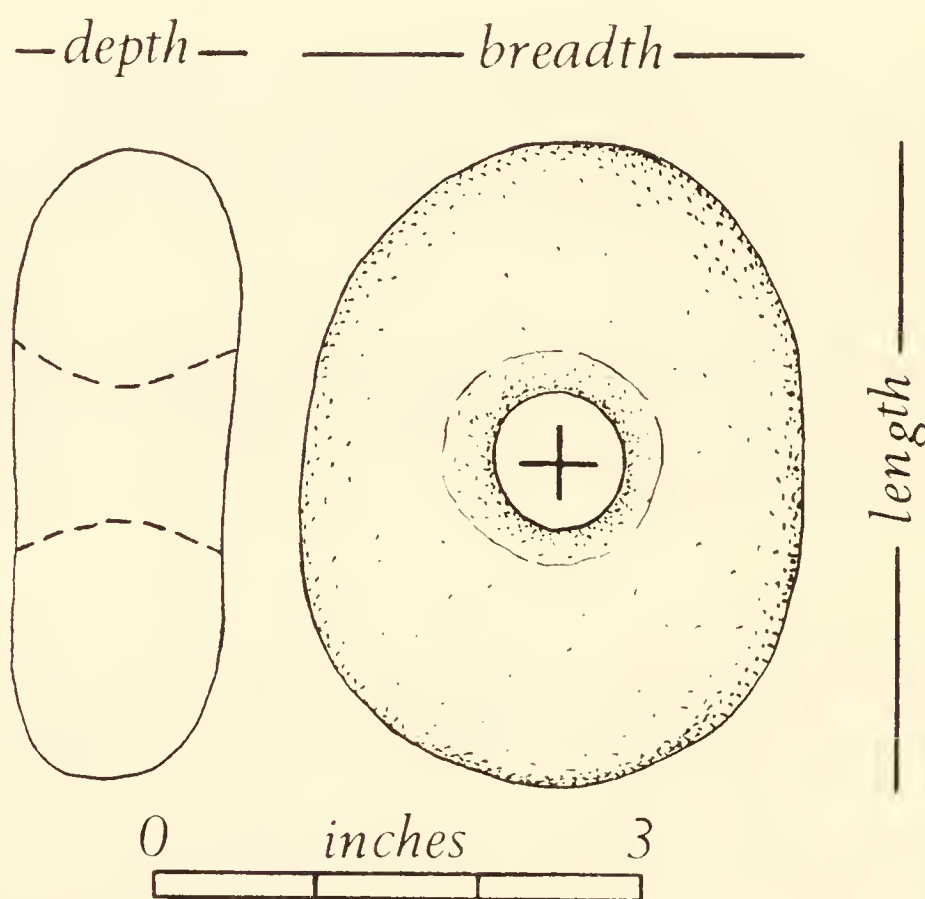


FIG. 1. A typical pebble mace-head from Ashgarth, Skipton.

Pebbles were clearly selected to conform to a restricted shape and size, and this has been demonstrated graphically by metrical analysis. A typical example from Skipton (Fig. 1) shows how maximum dimensions were obtained to give the following proportions:

1. Relative broadness or narrowness: $\frac{b \text{ (max. breadth)}}{l \text{ (max. length)}}$
2. Relative thickness or thinness: $\frac{d \text{ (max. depth)}}{l \text{ (max. length)}}$

Both b/l and d/l showed some variety; b/l ranged from 1.0 to .51, representing circular to oval forms twice as long as they are broad, and d/l ranged from .19 to .58, all but three values being between .26 and .47.

Comparing the values for plan and section by plotting b/l against d/l on a scatter diagram (Fig. 2), a complete, objective representation of all the measured examples is obtained. Any new examples can be plotted against these for comparative purposes; the writers plotted others from southern England and found a similar range of shapes, as might be expected.

Usually the hole is placed exactly in the centre of both axes through the pebble, thus placing the central point of the implement in the narrowest part of the hour-glass shaped hole. The Beauchief, Sheffield mace-head is the only one with a hole truly off centre, and the Salton and Flamborough examples have the holes just off centre. This usual symmetry permits accurate reconstruction of broken mace-heads, an important factor, since for 30% of the surveyed mace-heads only half now remains.

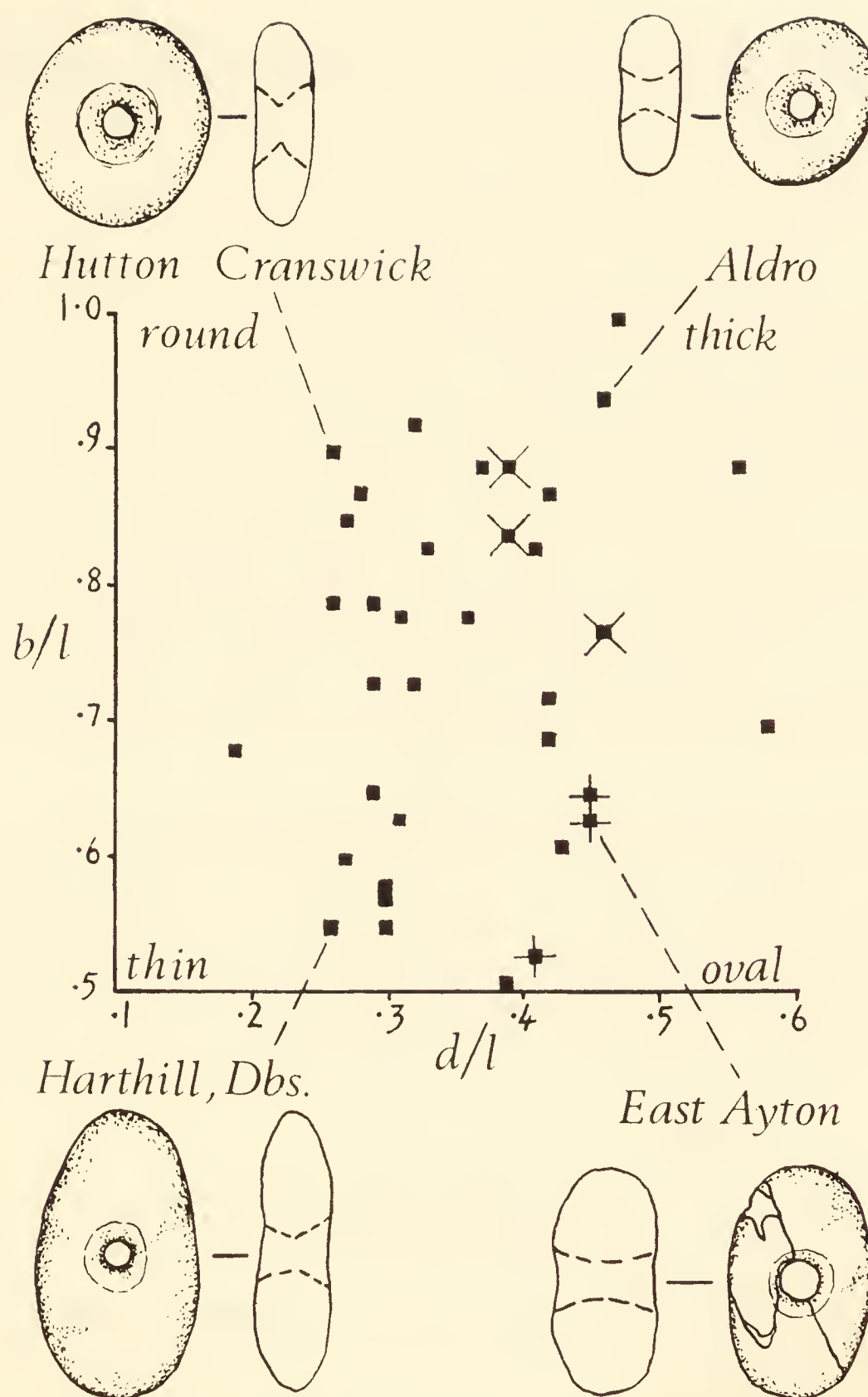


FIG. 2. Scatter diagram to show range in proportions of mace-heads, and four examples at $\frac{1}{4}$ scale.

Key: \times = with Neolithic associations.
 $+$ = with Bronze Age associations.

The range of diameters across the 'waist' of the hour-glass hole is between .34 in. and 1.03 ins., with three small mace-heads having .125 in. diameters. Holes are round or oval in plan, but the minimum diameter is perhaps the most significant when the function of the mace-head is considered (see below).

Rankine has described the making of the hole.⁷ This was worked from both sides of the pebble as revealed in unfinished examples. The initial work was done by pecking away the rock, and the hole was finished by grinding. Whether some examples have been made with a primitive drill is not known, but it seems reasonable to expect either method to be older than the method of drilling cylindrical holes, which may have been with a metal tube rotated by a string bow.⁸

Petrology

Quartzite pebbles with a rich brown surface are normally used, but pebbles of other raw materials are also known. Of the ten mace-heads which have been sectioned, three are quartzite, two dolerite, one Whin Sill quartz-dolerite (Group XVIII), one olivine basalt, one tuff, one greywacke, and one volcanic ash (see Appendix). Macroscopic examination

has revealed two sandstone mace-heads and one of limestone, while a further nineteen are noted as being made of quartzite, three of sandstone and four of igneous rock.

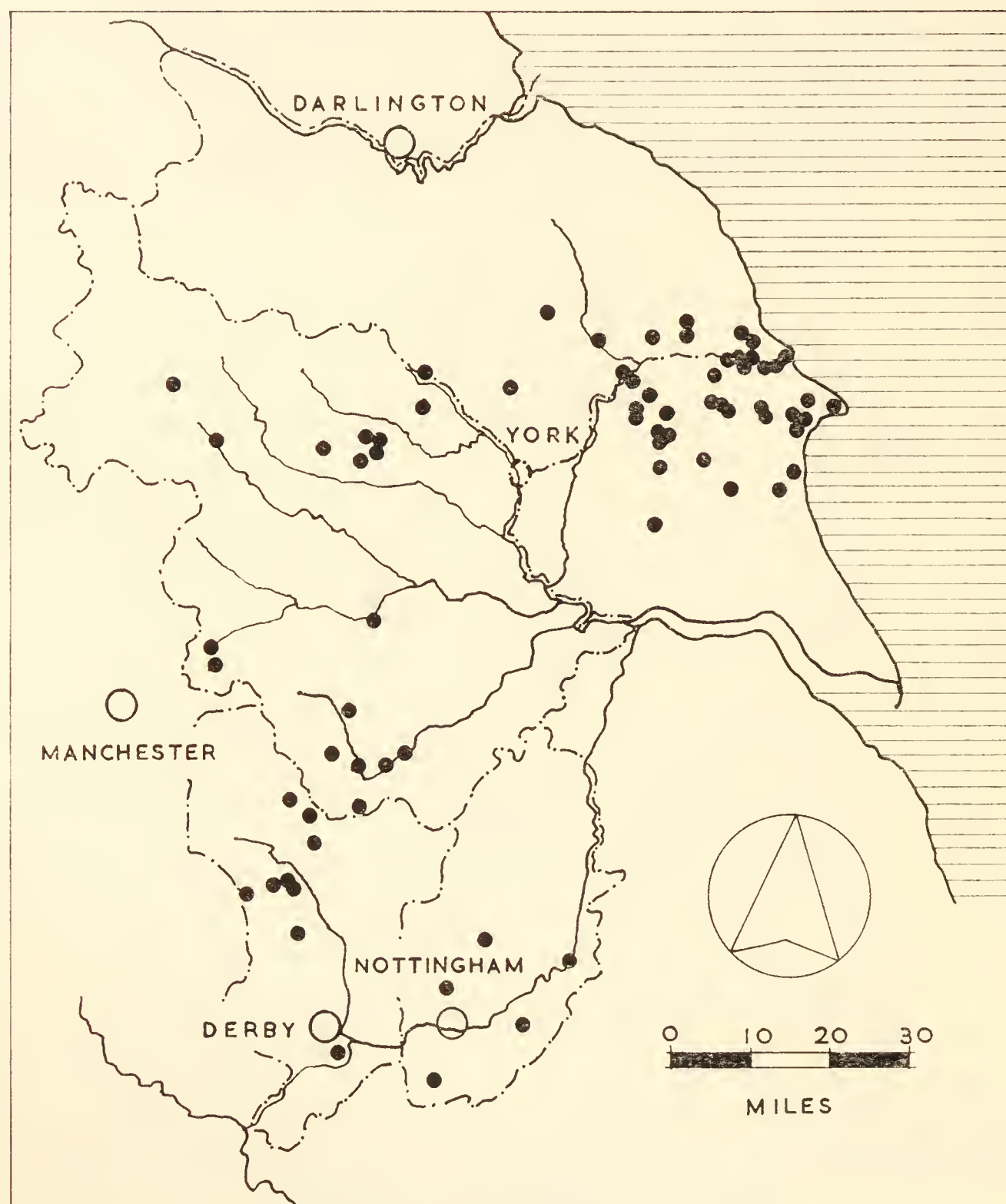


FIG. 3. Distribution of pebble mace-heads.

Distribution

Mace-heads plotted on the map (Fig. 3) show a pattern which reflects well other distributions of Neolithic and earlier Bronze Age material, with marked concentrations in the northern Wolds and the Peak District.⁹ The majority of the mace-heads have been found in East Yorkshire, both on the Chalk Wolds and in the Vale of Pickering lacustrine area, and a more diverse pair of regions could scarcely be found in Lowland Britain. The extensive fieldwork over the last 150 years in this area may be in part responsible for this concentration, but extensive flint collecting in Cleveland has not revealed any as far as the writers have ascertained.

A similar contrast occurs in the lesser concentration of mace-heads extending from the Don Valley in South Yorkshire to the limestone highlands of the Peak of Derbyshire. There is a small group of finds from the vicinity of the henges near Ripon. Finally, there are a few from widely scattered places in the West and North Ridings, and five from the Trent basin.

Function

Two parts of the mace-head may give information about its function: the periphery and the hole. Both ends are frequently battered, with further percussion marks round the edge. Others appear quite undamaged, while a further proportion, inevitably, are weathered, so that no traces of use survive. The 'waist' of the hole is sometimes polished, which may be a result of the final grinding of the perforation, or caused by wear from a haft or thong.

However, the frequent occurrence of pebble mace-heads suggests that they had a mundane domestic, rather than ceremonial use. If they could be successfully hafted, the hour-glass form of the hole would often prevent the tool from being strong; but it is conceivable that those with holes of more than half an inch minimum diameter were used as light hammer stones, perhaps for flint knapping. Polish within the holes may be due to friction from a thong or cord; types of loom weight are well known from the Iron Age, and it seems possible that these mace-heads are earlier counterparts. The grouping of several mace-heads around Seamer and Flixton, and to a lesser extent along the Don river system, makes the idea of net-weights attractive, since the carr lands and riverine lowlands were not productive agricultural land until recent times.

On the whole, therefore, several uses suggest themselves, but it seems likely that one could restrict the probable usage to some association with cord or thong, or as small hammer stones.

A further usage cannot be overlooked, and that is as a charmstone, such as those worn by the American Indians.¹⁰ In Yorkshire perforated stones are still called 'Witch Stones' and they are used to keep away evil or bad luck. The Beckwithshaw, Harrogate mace-head was actually retrieved from a farm where it hung in the cow-house to ensure that the cows dropped their milk regularly, and that the milk did not curdle. Another from Huby 'was suspended in a cow byre . . . as a charm against murrain and other possible products of witchcraft'.¹¹ Perhaps the idea of the holed stone as a charm is some form of continuity of folk memory.

Associations and Dating

Rankine tended to assign all pebble mace-heads to the Mesolithic, from the evidence available to him, but he was aware of the possibility that they could have continued into later periods.¹²

Seven Yorkshire examples have associations of varying usefulness.

1. *Flixton, E.R., No Name Hill*

From John Moore's Mesolithic Site 3, which yielded an industry similar to that at Star Carr. The finder, Mr. S. Feather, records that it came from the second densest area of flints on the surface of the site.

2. *Haisthorpe, E.R.*

Found 'close together' with a greenstone axe.¹³

3. *Ulrome, E.R.*

Found by Thomas Boynton in 1885 in his excavation of a lake dwelling, in an unspecified position.¹⁴ The site also produced flints, a polished stone axe, a ribbed jet armlet, sherds of a straight-sided pot with a flat bottom and a piece of skull.

4. *Rudston, E.R.*

Found by Canon Greenwell in Barrow LXIII. The mace-head was in the fill of this Beaker barrow, one foot to the east of an inhumation, 'but probably having no immediate connection with it'.¹⁵ Also in the body of the mound were flints, including 13 scrapers and a leaf-shaped arrow-head, 3 fragments of polished axe, and a lignite ring, and it seems reasonable to suppose that these and the mace-head are as old as, or older than, the primary burial.

5. *East Ayton, N.R.*

Found in a barrow which had a primary cremation with a Food Vessel. The brief report states that the south-east sector of the barrow was partly occupied by a small

'urnfield' with Collared urns and the mace-head, but the position of the mace-head in relation to the pottery is not stated.¹⁷ I. H. Longworth has described three urns of his Primary Series from this barrow.¹⁸

6. *Willerby, Staxton Beacon, E.R.*

Found in a barrow which contained an inhumation with a Food Vessel, an inhumation with a bronze awl and a cremation. An outer mound covered further inhumations, including a headless skeleton found with the broken mace-head. Another inhumation from this phase had been buried with a pygmy cup, a jet ring and a bronze awl.¹⁹

7. *Saddleworth, Brown Hill, W.R.*

Found in 1884, inside one of two cinerary urns in a barrow, possibly in a secondary position. It is broken into three pieces, probably as a result of being burnt. A 'second celt' is said to have been found later on the same site.¹⁶

The oldest association here established is with the Flixton mace-head which may be contemporary with the Mesolithic flints; only one other has been found on a Mesolithic site in the north and this was at Springwood, Kelso.²⁰ The Haisthorpe and Ulrome examples give a possible Neolithic context for the mace-heads, and similar evidence has been found elsewhere. At Stifford, near Gray's Thurrock, Essex, a pebble mace-head, 3 ins. in diameter, was found with a flint axe.²¹ Half a small pebble mace-head was found at the Neolithic site at Hurst Fen, Cambridgeshire,²² and three other broken ones were found in the vicinity of Windmill Hill.²³ These have no direct association with the causewayed camp, but, as Dr. Isobel Smith has pointed out,²⁴ there are very few finds from the area which are *not* of Neolithic date, so that in all probability the mace-heads should be contemporary with the main phase of activity in the area.

No parallels have been found for nos. 5-7, which were apparently grave goods of the Early and Middle Bronze Age. The Primary Series urns from East Ayton should give a date within the duration of the Wessex Culture, as demonstrated by I. H. Longworth. At Willerby the mace-head burial belongs to a second phase of barrow construction, perhaps not much later in time than the primary burial with a Food Vessel. It may be contemporary with another inhumation of the second phase, buried with grave goods which again suggest a date within the Wessex Culture. I. H. Longworth has kindly informed the writers that the Saddleworth urn falls into his secondary series, belonging to the North-Western style, dating to sometime after 1400 B.C.

Two of these mace-heads occurred with secondary burials and all are damaged, probably from burning, even though no. 6 was found with an inhumation. It is interesting to note that these three mace-heads are all of thick and oval form, and are similar in size as well as shape. Although this use as grave goods cannot be paralleled, mace-heads have occurred in other contexts which suggest a Bronze Age date. A 'partially drilled pebble' was found with Bronze Age pottery at Swaffham Priory, Cambs.,²⁵ and a limestone pebble mace-head was found with stone and bone remains of a Neolithic/Bronze Age date on Portland Island, Dorset.²⁶ The use of a piece of Group XVIII rock for the mace-head from Beauchief, Sheffield may imply an Early Bronze Age date, since this particular rock was often used for making axe-hammers and battle-axes,²⁷ but it may be simply a random selection from the beach. Related to these mace-heads with burials may be the curious kidney shaped implement from Weaponness Barrow, Scarborough, which was associated with a secondary cremation in an inverted Collared Urn of Longworth's Primary Series.²⁸ This implement is made from a pebble, but is perforated with a funnel-shaped hole, and its thickness exceeds its width, so that it does not fall within the range of values for d/l given above for pebble mace-heads, neither does it approximate to other mace-head forms, nor to the blunt type of battle-axe.²⁹

Conclusion

Pebble mace-heads have a wide distribution and are as frequent in occurrence in the study area as they are south of the Thames. Rankine's assertion that they can be associated with the Mesolithic tradition is not disproved, but only one example has been found

on a Mesolithic site. On the other hand, these implements appear to have been in use in the Neolithic and to have lasted until at least the Early Bronze Age, but absolute chronology is lacking, and the comparative evidence examined above is too slight to permit many conclusions.

As a tool type, pebble mace-heads are assumed to be more primitive than those with modified shapes and cylindrical holes, though on the dating evidence presented above they must have co-existed in part with these later forms. If the pebble mace-head had such a long usage, it would appear to have had a function exclusive to itself. The larger mace-heads may have been hafted for use as hammers, while the smaller ones may have been used with a cord or thong, perhaps as a weight or charmstone. Since these implements are regarded as having been made for an actual purpose or purposes, the term 'pebble-hammer' might be regarded as more appropriate for them. This would serve to distinguish them clearly from the apparently unused mace-heads of pestle and ovoid forms which differ further in having the hole placed nearer to the narrower end, the hole being typically cylindrical rather than hour-glass in shape, while the proportions breadth/length and depth/length on the pestle and ovoid forms are carefully standardised within certain limits.³⁰ The pebble tools, with their apparently Mesolithic origins, their very basic form and their probable mundane usage appear to be quite separate phenomenon.

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- ³ PEAKE, H., P.P.S.E.A., iii, 1918-22, 508; COGHLAN, H. H., Tr. Newbury Dist. F.C., vol. viii, No. 4, 1946, 282 and Fig. 1.
- ⁴ BURCHELL, J. P. T., P.P.S.E.A., v, Pt. i, 1925, 75; v, Pt. ii, 1926, 217 and Pl. iii, 10.
- ⁵ RANKINE, W. F., A.N.L., iv, No. 4, 1951, Map p. 55.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 12, 1953, 186-8.
- ⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁸ COGHLAN, H. H., J. Cork Hist. and Arch. Soc., lx, 1955, 102-4.
- ⁹ See maps in FOX, C., *The Personality of Britain*, 1959, Figs. 1, 2, 20, 21 and Plates i, iii, iv, vi and viii.
- ¹⁰ For example early Indians of the San Francisco Bay area; State of California, Div. of Mines, Bull., 154, 1951, 43-8.
- ¹¹ Y.A.J., xxix, 1927-9, 132.
- ¹² RANKINE, W. F., P.P.S., xv, 1949, 76.
- ¹³ SHEPPARD, T., Hull Mus. Pub., 35, 1906, 4 and Fig. 5.
- ¹⁴ SMITH, R. A., Arch., lxii, Pt. ii, 1911, 606.
- ¹⁵ GREENWELL, W., *British Barrows*, 1877, 248 and Fig. 16.
- ¹⁶ WRIGLEY, A., *Saddleworth, its Prehistoric Remains*, 1911, 40-4.
- ¹⁷ P.P.S., iv, 1938, 319.
- ¹⁸ LONGWORTH, I. H., P.P.S., xxvii, 1961, 300.
- ¹⁹ P.P.S., xxv, 1959, 275; xxvi, 1960, 344.
- ²⁰ Per Miss H. Mulholland.
- ²¹ P.S.A., 2nd Ser., iii, 1865-7, 406; EVANS, J., *op. cit.*, 229 and Fig. 157.
- ²² CLARK, J. G. D., *et al*, P.P.S., xxvi, 1960, 227 and Fig. 17.
- ²³ CUNNINGTON, M. E., and GODDARD, E. H., Cat. of Antiq. in Devizes Museum, Pt. ii, 1934, 10, No. 6 and Pl. iva. SMITH, I., Ed., *Windmill Hill and Avebury*, 1965, 124 and Fig. 51, S11 and S12.
- ²⁴ SMITH, *op. cit.*, 24.
- ²⁵ FOX, C., *Archaeology of the Cambridge Region*, 1923, 3 and 47.
- ²⁶ STOPES, OAKLEY and WELLS, Proc. Dorset N.H. & A.S., 74, 1952, 39-45 and Fig. 2.
- ²⁷ PIGGOTT, S., P.P.S., xviii, 1962, 233-240.
- ²⁸ *Gent. Mag.* 1836, ii, 416-18; LONGWORTH, I. H., *op. cit.*, 300 and 305.
- ²⁹ ROE, F. E. S., P.P.S., xxxii, 1966, 213.
- ³⁰ ROE, F. E. S., in Coles, J. M. and Simpson, D. D. A., eds., 1968, *Studies in Ancient Europe*, 145-172.

APPENDIX
INVENTORY OF MACE-HEADS

Parish	Museum, etc.	Size (inches)	Remarks
West Riding			
1. Bradfield, Dam flask	Sheffield. J.1947.328	— x 2.3	Quartzite
2. Fewston	Harrogate		
3. Grassington	Harrogate	4.3 x 4.05	
4. Malham?	Skipton. 1764	4.3 x 3.8	
5. Marton-cum-Grafton	Private Collection		Y.A.J., xxxviii, 1954, 392-3 fragment, sandstone
6. Pannal, Beckwithshaw	Harrogate		
7. Rigton	Harrogate. K.107	3.5 x —	
8. Rotherham, Temple- borough	Rotherham	3.25 x 2.25	T.H.A.S., vii, 1951-7, 40, ill.
9. Saddleworth, Badger Slacks	Untraced		Wrigley ¹⁶ , Pl.K. Quartzite.
10. Saddleworth, Brown Hill	Huddersfield. A.26.58	3.7 x 2.0	Wrigley ¹⁶ , Pl.K. Quartzite.
11. Sheffield, Beauchief	Sheffield. J.1949.103	3.8 x 2.1	Sliced. Whin Sill dolerite (Group xviii)
12. Sheffield, Wincobank Sewage	Sheffield. J.1924.3	4.9 x 3.8	T.H.A.S., iv, 1929-37, 142. Quartzite.
13. Sheffield, Wybourn Estate	Sheffield. J.1932.216	2.7 x 2.25	Y.A.J., xxi, 1932, 1. Quart- zite.
14. Skipton, Ashgarth	Skipton. A.49	3.9 x 3.05	
15. Wakefield, Thornes Road	Wakefield	2.9 x 2.9	Quartzite
16. Wortley	Geol. Mus., London. M.106	— x 3.45	Half a large mace-head; sandstone.
17. Unlocated,? Nr. Harro- gate	Harrogate. K.305	3.9 x 2.7	
18. Unlocated,? Nr. Harro- gate	Mr. McEwan		
19. Unlocated	Bradford		Quartzite
North Riding			
1. East Ayton, Osborne Lodge Barrow	Scarborough. 748.38.3	3.35 x 2.1	P.P.S., iv, 1938, 319; lime- stone
2. Ebberston, Scamridge	B.M.	2.4 x 2.1	
3. Ebberston, Scamridge Dikes	York	— x 2.4	Quartzite
4. Helmsley	York. 1072/1948	— x 3.7	
5. Huby	Untraced	4.75 x 3.75	Y.A.J., xxix, 1928, 132
6. Marton-le-Moor	York. 1025/1948	2.9 x 2.3	Igneous
7. Salton	BM. 302	c.7.1 x 4.2	Evans ¹ , 228
8. Seamer, High Eastfield	Scarborough. 18.55	3.8 x 2.15	
9. Thornton-le-Dale	Private Collection	—	Quartzite
East Riding			
1. Beeford	Hull. 300.42.24	3.5 x 2.2	
2. Birdsall, Aldro	Hull. 300.42.305	2.4 x 2.25	Sliced; quartzite
3. Birdsall, Aldro	Hull. 300.42.308	— x 3.0	Sliced; quartzite
4. Boynton Binsdale	Bridlington	— x 1.75	
5. Bridlington	Salisbury. T.37.30	— x 2.8	Sliced; dolerite
6. Carnaby, Haisthorpe	Hull. 300.42.26	2.15 x 1.8	Sheppard ¹³ , 4 and Fig. 5
7. Grindale, North Dale	Hull. 300.42.52	2.75 x 1.95	
8. Fimber	Hull. 300.42.306	2.6 x 2.25	Sliced; olivine basalt
9. Fimber	Hull. 300.42.30	— x 1.9	
10. Fimber	Mr. E. Cowling	— x 2.0	Spheroidal
11. Flamborough, Near	Ashmolean. 1927.3837	2.7 x 1.9	Evans, 225
12. Folkton, Flixton Carr	York	3.9 x 3.45	Igneous
13. Folkton, Flixton Sand Pit	Scarborough. 808.38	— x 2.7	Rankine ⁵
14. Folkton, No Name Hill	Mr. S. Feather	3.5 x —	Quartzite
15. Ganton	B.M. 332	— x 2.2	
16. Garton, Garton Slack	Hull. 300.42.307	2.1 x 1.65	Sliced; quartzite

Parish	Museum, etc.	Size (inches)	Remarks
17. Goodmanham	Scunthorpe. AMH 2	3.7 x 2.7	Found 1893
18. Huggate, Huggate Wold	Malton		
19. Hutton Cranswick	Hull. 300.42.42	2.9 x 2.6	
20. Kirby Grindalyth, Duggleby	B.M. 331	— x 2.7	Found 1869 Found 1894. Sandstone pebble Greenwell ¹⁵ , 248 and Fig. 16
21. Muston	Hull. 386.38	2.95 x 1.9	
22. Norton	Hull. 300.42.43	3.25 x 2.75	
23. Rudston	Malton. P.50.1	2.5 x 2.0	
24. Rudston, Barrow lxiii	B.M.	2.25 x 2.0	
25. Settrington	Hull. 300.42.28	2.3 x 2.0	Quartzite Found 1881. Igneous Found 1876. Coarse green sandstone Quartzite, broken before completion Arch., lxii, 1911, 606 Sliced; dolerite
26. Sherburn	Malton. P.11.2	— x 2.7	
27. Thwing	York. 1011/1948	— x 2.6	
28. Thwing	York, Boynton Coll.	3.8 x —	
29. Thwing	York, Boynton Coll.	— x 2.7	
30. Ulrome, Round Hill	B.M. 1911,7-10, 93	— x 2.85	P.P.S., xxv, 1959, 275; xxvi, 1960, 344. Evans, 228 Sliced; fine ash, well polished Igneous
31. Weaverthorpe	Hull. 300.42.304	2.35 x 2.5	
32. Willerby, Spittal Corner, Staxton	Scarborough. 305.38	— x 2.0	
33. Willerby, Staxton Beacon	Bridlington	3.6 x 2.35	
34. Willerby, Willerby Carr	Ashmolean. 1927.3867	4.3 x 2.5	
35. Yorkshire Wolds	Scunthorpe. AAB 5	— x 2.1	T.E.R.A.S. xxiii, 1920, 50 and Fig. 38 Quartzite
36. Unlocated, Towthorpe (?which)	York. 1000.1948	4.5 x 4.15	
37. Unlocated	Hull. 300.42.301	2.7 x 2.4	
38. Unlocated	York. Morfitt Coll.	3.2 x 3.0	
Derbyshire			
1. Baslow	Sheffield. J.1954.98	— x 2.6	<i>D.A.J.</i> , 1956, 65; 1963, 102. Bunter quartzite Howarth, 1899, Bateman Catalogue, 10. Quartzite Howarth, op. cit., 10. Quartzite Sliced; Greywacke with much smashed quartz <i>D.A.J.</i> , 1952, 121. Sandstone <i>D.A.J.</i> , 1963, 102. Quartzite Sliced; sheared quartz felspathic tuff Howarth, op. cit., 9 and ill.
2. Chellaston	Derby. 264.55	4.3 x 3.55	
3. Middleton & Smerrill Cornmill Bridge	Sheffield. J.93.21		
4. Middleton & Smerrill Garratt Piece	Sheffield. J.93.18	— x 3.7	
5. Harthill, Near Nine Stone Circle	Sheffield. J.1957.76	4.2 x 2.3	
6. Hartington, Hartington Moor Farm	Private Collection	3.75 x 2.5	
7. Hopton, Near	Derby. 588.63	3.6 x 2.2	
8. Unlocated	Sheffield. J.1944.3.28	— x 2.25	
9. Unlocated	Derby. 819.3.21	4.5 x 4.0	
10. Unlocated, in S. of Derbys.	Sheffield. J.93.17	4.9 x 2.5	
Nottinghamshire			
1. Bestwood	Nottingham. 1892.37	4.7 x 3.7	Possibly a damaged adze
2. Car Colston	Newark. 10.48	4.1 x 3.0	
3. East Leake	Leicester. ? Lost		Harrison, 1877, Geol. of Leics. and Rutland, 50 and ill. 'Oval, flattish, quartzite pebble'
4. Farnsfield	Newark. 777.1	3.6 x 2.6	
5. Newark, Potters Hill	Horniman Mus., London		

A LOST CARTULARY OF ST. LEONARD'S HOSPITAL, YORK

By DIANA E. GREENWAY

Two cartularies of St. Leonard's hospital are described by Dr. G. R. C. Davis in his catalogue of mediaeval cartularies.¹ They are Cotton MS. Nero D. iii, in the British Museum, and MS. Rawlinson B. 455, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. They are two volumes of a single compilation of the early fifteenth century.² The first volume, the Cotton MS., contains copies of general privileges and charters, followed by documents relating to the city of York, arranged in alphabetical order of places. The second volume, the Rawlinson MS., contains copies of deeds relative to the West and East Ridings of Yorkshire, also arranged alphabetically within either section. But these two volumes do not provide copies of documents relating to all the lands of St. Leonard's hospital, for neither has material from the North Riding and elsewhere where it is known that the hospital had much property.³

Both the Cotton and Rawlinson MSS. are mentioned in the 1787 edition of Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*.⁴ But here, as in Tanner's edition of 1744,⁵ there are also references to various transcripts of St. Leonard's documents made by the seventeenth century antiquary Roger Dodsworth,⁶ including three sets of notes taken by Dodsworth 'ex libro S. Leonardi in turre S. Mariae Ebor.'. ⁷ Examination of the Dodsworth notes cited by Tanner⁸ shows that the volume seen by Dodsworth in St. Mary's Tower was neither of the surviving cartularies. Although Dodsworth's notes are scanty, giving extracts from only seven folios of the cartulary, there is enough to establish that this third cartulary of St. Leonard's hospital contained material relating to the North Riding of Yorkshire.

Search among the Dodsworth MSS. in the Bodleian Library has revealed a more complete series of notes which are taken from the third cartulary of St. Leonard's and have not previously been identified.⁹ These notes occupy 50 folios in Dodsworth's own handwriting, and give Latin abstracts of about 350 charters, from which emerges a fairly clear picture of the composition of the manuscript he saw. The volume contained at least 273 folios, and was arranged in four topographical sections, within each section the charters being placed in alphabetical order of place-names. The sections were as follows:

¹ *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain* (London, 1958), p. 128. I am grateful to Dr. Davis for helpful criticisms in the preparation of this note, and to Sir Charles Clay for guidance and encouragement.

² The two volumes are written in the same main hand. The latest documents in this hand are December 1402 in Cotton MS. Nero D. iii f. 8r, and April 1404 in MS. Rawlinson B. 455 f. 173v. Near contemporary additions in a different hand include a deed dated May 1408, Cotton MS. Nero D. iii f. 33r-v, which seems to have been rubricated at the same time as the rest of the Cotton volume. It is possible to compare either MS. with a photostat copy of the other: the Cotton MS. is MSS. Facs. 6. 8-9 in the Bodleian Library, and the Rawlinson MS. is MS. Facs. 466 in the British Museum.

³ See, e.g., *Valor Ecclesiasticus temp. Henr. VIII*, v (Record Comm., 1825), pp. 17-18.

⁴ Thomas Tanner, *Notitia Monastica*, ed. J. Nasmith (Cambridge, 1787), cxxix, no. 23.

⁵ Thomas Tanner, *Notitia Monastica* (London 1744), p. 642b.

⁶ For Dodsworth's career, see N. Denholm-Young and H. H. E. Craster, 'Roger Dodsworth (1585-1654) and his circle', *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, vii (1932-34), pp. 409-19 (also printed *supra*, xxxii (1936), pp. 5-32).

⁷ Presumably following Tanner, Sir T. Phillipps and Sir F. Madden, 'List of monastic cartularies', *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, ii (1835), p. 114, listed three cartularies of St. Leonard's: Cotton Nero D. iii, Rawlinson B. 455 and 'St. Mary's Tower, York (Dodsworth)'; cf. Sir T. Phillipps, *Index to Cartularies now or formerly existing since the Dissolution of the Monasteries* (Middlehill, 1839), p. 40.

⁸ Bodleian Library, MSS. Dodsworth 118 f. 153v, 121 f. 64r, 124 f. 106r.

⁹ MS. Dodsworth 120B ff. 49r-104v. G. R. C. Davis, *Medieval Cartularies*, p. 128, thought these notes were taken from the Rawlinson volume; cf. *Summary Catalogue of Western MSS. in Bodleian Library*, ed. F. Madan *et al.*, no. 5061*. Sir Charles Clay has printed a charter from MS. Dodsworth 120B f. 98v, in *Early Yorkshire Charters*, viii, no. 135, noting that it is not found in either of the surviving cartularies of St. Leonard's.

1. 'Northriding', ff. 1–80 (charters relating to the North Riding wapentakes of Birdforth, Bulmer, Pickering Lythe and Ryedale).
2. 'Alverton Schire cum Burghschire, Clyveland et Richmondshire', ff. 85–203 (charters relating to the North Riding wapentakes of Allerton, Gilling East, Gilling West, Hallikeld, Hang East, Hang West and Langbargh West, and to the West Riding wapentake of Claro).
3. 'Craven', ff. 203–228 (charters relating to the West Riding wapentake of Craven).
4. 'De terris in Cumberland, Westmorland et Lonesdale in comitatu Lanc.', ff. 232–273 (charters relating to Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire).

This cartulary, called by Dodsworth 'the Northriding book', was clearly the third and final volume of the series of cartularies of St. Leonard's hospital. In physical appearance it was very similar to the two surviving volumes, for it had roughly the same number of leaves¹ and about the same number of charters on each folio.² Its alphabetical arrangement within topographical sections is another feature found in the Cotton and Rawlinson cartularies. These similarities of form seem to suggest that the third volume was compiled under the same scheme as the other two volumes. This suggestion is confirmed by the fact that included in the third volume are charters relating to Craven and Claro, which are missing – obviously by design – from the West Riding section of the Rawlinson MS. Despite various errors of arrangement, whereby certain West and East Riding charters were placed in the third volume³ and certain North Riding and Westmorland charters found their way into the Rawlinson MS.,⁴ it is remarkable that no place is dealt with twice.⁵ This fact strengthens the conclusion that the compilation of the volumes proceeded according to a single plan.

What happened to the three volumes of the St. Leonard's cartulary after the Dissolution? The first volume, the Cotton MS., has a fairly straightforward history, for it is known to have belonged to Henry Savile of Banke, who died in 1617,⁶ and to have passed into Sir Robert Cotton's library by 1619.⁷ Subsequently it came into the British Museum, along with Cotton's other manuscripts. The history of the second volume, the Rawlinson MS., is not so clear, and it cannot be positively traced until its appearance in a sale of manuscripts of the Harley library in 1744,⁸ whence it came into the possession of Richard Rawlinson, the nonjuring bishop, who died in 1755, leaving his collection to the Bodleian Library.⁹ Now the long extracts by Roger Dodsworth from the third volume, which were begun on 23 July 1632, are very closely associated with similar extracts from the second volume, begun on 15 July 1632.¹⁰ Indeed, it is clear from some genealogical notes and a list of masters of the hospital made at the same time,¹¹ for which Dodsworth drew material from both volumes, that the present Rawlinson MS. and the third volume were then together. Dodsworth gives no note as to the whereabouts or ownership of the volumes in 1632. It is possible that they were in St. Mary's Tower, York, where the third volume had certainly been on two earlier occasions when it had been seen by Dodsworth, probably in

¹ The third volume had at least 273 folios. The Cotton and Rawlinson volumes had at least 242 and 232 folios respectively.

² All three volumes carried between 4 and 7 charters on each folio.

³ West Riding: Appleton, Arthington, Collingham, Crigglestone, Menston, Middop, Oglethorpe, Ramsholme, Ulvesthorpe. East Riding: Paull.

⁴ North Riding: Stockton on the Forest, Upper Helmsley. Westmorland: Docker, Middleton.

⁵ There are two trivial exceptions: a charter concerning Middleton (Westmorland) is found in MS. Rawlinson B. 455 f. 87r (cf. MS. Dodsworth 120B f. 94r from f. 258 of the third volume), and Ulvesthorpe (West Riding) is found in MS. Dodsworth 120B f. 99r, from f. 199 of the third volume (cf. MS. Rawlinson B. 455 ff. 92v–93v, 137r, where Ulvesthorpe is entered under Pudsey).

⁶ See J. P. Gilson, 'The library of Henry Savile of Banke', *Trans. Bibliographical Soc.*, ix (1908), p. 209.

⁷ Cf. MSS. Dodsworth 9 f. 99v, 129 f. 11r.

⁸ *Catalogus Bibliothecae Harleianae*, iv (London, 1744), no. 20725, cited by G. R. C. Davis, *Medieval Cartularies*, p. 128.

⁹ See W. D. Macray, *Annals of the Bodleian Library*, Oxford (Oxford, 1890), pp. 231–51.

¹⁰ MS. Dodsworth 120B ff. 49r–104v, 1r–43v.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, ff. 45r–v, 46r–48v, 105r–106r.

the period 1618–22.¹ But to conjecture further on the history of the two volumes is impossible. If they were both in St. Mary's Tower at the time of the explosion of 1644, then obviously the present Rawlinson MS. was saved, possibly along with documents salvaged by Colonel Charles Fairfax of Menston, who was Dodsworth's patron.² What happened to the third volume of the St. Leonard's cartulary is unknown. There is no trace of its existence after Roger Dodsworth made his notes in July 1632.

¹ MS. Dodsworth 118 f. 153v perhaps belongs to 1618 (cf. *ibid.*, f. 155r) or 1619 (cf. *ibid.*, ff. 152v, 160v); and MS. Dodsworth 121 ff. 64r perhaps belongs to 1622 (cf. *ibid.*, f. 48r).

² For Fairfax's part in the salvaging of many documents from St. Mary's Tower, see N. Denholm-Young, 'Yorkshire monastic archives', *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, viii (1935–37), pp. 95–100. MS. Rawlinson B. 455 bears on f. 1r the signature 'W. Fairfax', possibly to be identified with Charles Fairfax's son William.

YORKSHIRE SCHOOLMASTERS, 1640-1660.

By J. E. STEPHENS

The period from the outbreak of the Civil War in August 1642 to the time of the King's execution in 1649, contained a body of legislation which affected schools and schoolmasters, directly and indirectly until the Restoration. Much of it was repetitive or confirmatory: it fell into two main categories. In the first were those Acts and Ordinances which dealt with the estates and revenues of the Church and Crown, part of which was retained for the maintenance of education. In this field, the long Parliament seems to have acted disinterestedly, if ineffectively, to see to it that in the course of destroying the hierarchical order in the Church and State they did not, at the same time, harm educational provisions. In the other category were those regulations against individuals who held positions of authority, and might have proved dangerous to the Commonwealth had they been allowed to continue. During the Interregnum, the situation changed only in so far as the machinery of government was different, and the settlement of the Church and Crown lands an established fact, but none of the legislation of the Long Parliament was reversed, as the Protector continued to control the influence of the pulpit and the school-room.

The chief instruments in seeking out those who held seditious opinions were the Committee for Plundered Ministers and the local committees in the provinces which were set up by Parliament to raise money for defence: both were empowered to eject scandalous and malignant schoolmasters and ministers and to appoint others in their places. Few counties or large towns escaped their attentions. Between 27 March, when the first ordinance was issued for the defence of Southampton, and 19 August 1644, Cheshire, Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, Shropshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Berkshire, and the Western Counties were covered.¹ The legislation was quickly extended to the rest of the country. It authorised the committees, in addition to their military functions, to dismiss ministers and schoolmasters 'who are scandalous in their lives or ill-affected to Parliament, or fomentors of this unnatural war, or shall willfully refuse obedience to the Ordinances, or shall have deserted their ordinary place of residence not being employed in the service of Parliament.'²

In the West Riding many ministers and some schoolmasters were dealt with by the county committee. In many cases, for which no records exist, teaching and pastoral duties ran together. The dual role of the minister was set out in the Canons Ecclesiastical of 1604 which gave curates who were graduates of one or other of the universities the right to teach, except in county towns where a school already existed. Ministers with ample livings did not need to have recourse to teaching, but for many it was a ready means of supplementing their incomes.³ Henry Skinn,⁴ the Vicar of Sherburn-in-Elmet since 1619, taught there around 1640 in the grammar school founded by Robert Hungate: Gilbert Nelson, who had Sedbergh School from 1623 until his sequestration in 1646, also had a parish.⁵ Richard Tenant, the Rector of Burnsall, taught school there, and it is

¹ *Journals of the House of Commons*, iii, p. 280; *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum*, i, p. 345; i, p. 409-489.

² *Ibid.*, i, p. 409.

³ Among these were Snaith, Wetherby, Sowerby, Ilkley, Bardsey, Tickhill, Heptonstall, Aberford, and pro tem., Giggleswick and Otley.

⁴ Skinn (or Skinner) was sequestered in 1654 as an intruder. He was Vicar of Cawthorne from 1659 until his death in 1662.

⁵ P. Barwick, *The Life of the Reverend Dr. John Barwick*, p. 6. Barwick was apparently a gifted actor and a fine teacher, 'but he did not always attend school; for his salary not being sufficient to maintain his wife and family he engaged in the cure of souls to the great disadvantage of his scholars. What times he could afford them, he taught them Latin very well and Greek indifferently.' What happened to him during the Interregnum is uncertain, but a Gilbert Nelson, B.A., subscribed in 1662 as schoolmaster of Bingham. Borthwick Institute, S (iv, B,e,5).

possible that Roger Audsley, the Vicar of Batley, may have taught, temporarily, at Batley Grammar School.¹ In the system of pluralities it was possible for the incumbent to hold one or more livings and to be a schoolmaster elsewhere. Ejection from one (at first) did not automatically disqualify from another. The case of Lawrence Castle illustrates this. Forced to fly from the north for scandal and delinquency, he tried to displace Hugh Cox from one of the four livings he held in Somerset, and Edward Brown, the Vicar of Sheffield, disappeared from the parish registers after 16 July 1644, only to reappear as master of Otley School in 1652.²

Others, like Francis Corker, the Vicar of Bradford, did not wait for the County Commissioners to catch up with them. He had served in the King's northern army as a guide, and in 1644 was one of the preachers to the troops under Sir John Ramsden at the siege of Pontefract. He was captured at Gainsborough and imprisoned at Lincoln Castle but escaped before his death sentence could be carried out. During a remarkable career in exile he spent two years in Holland and a year in Sicily with the Royal fleet, only to be captured, escape again, and become a schoolmaster in Sussex.

The legislation of this period, like that of the Interregnum, reduced many ministers and schoolmasters to the direst poverty. Suddenly expelled from their livings without the customary 'fifth', frequently with large families to support, they turned their hands to all manner of occupations. Some of those who could find no other preferments drifted into the printing industry and eked out meagre incomes correcting proofs.³ Others went into medicine, for a corollary of the changes wrought by the Long Parliament in the government of the Church was a general relaxation of ecclesiastical control in licensing physicians, surgeons and midwives. Thomas Barker, who was deprived of his post as master of the Free Grammar School at Skipton-in-Craven when the Castle fell to the Parliamentary army in 1645, became a doctor.⁴ More often the ejected schoolmaster attached himself to a family as a private tutor or opened a school elsewhere. For a short period after 1646, until new and more stringent measures were taken by the government, these avenues remained open. Charles Hoole, the celebrated master of Rotherham Grammar School, left to start private schools in London, first at Aldersgate and then at Lothbury, driven from Yorkshire, no doubt, by intense Parliamentary sympathies which he did not share. His pupils, led by Thomas Rose, a Sheffield boy at school at Rotherham, manned a small canon at the entrance to the bridge into the town and beat off a Royalist attack, killing Captain Francis Errington of Northumberland.⁵ In view of such local enthusiasm, it is not surprising that Hoole found the climate in London more amenable.

After the execution of the King on 30 January 1649, the machinery of central government was radically changed. Executive departments like the Privy Council, the Exchequer and Admiralty were abolished: the offices of Chancellor, Treasurer and Secretary of State disappeared. Many of their functions were taken over by new committees, or old committees with extended powers. The Sequestration Committee in London with its sub-committees in the provinces had heard accusations and had tried suspected delinquents. They depended to a large extent on informers, who received a fifth of the fine. This arrangement, however, encouraged perjury, particularly in areas where loyalties were divided and local jealousies rife; on the other hand, in predominantly Royalist districts it was quite ineffective, since few informers could be found. A more satisfactory

¹ A. G. Mathews, *Walker Revised*, p. 389. Roger Audsley was ejected for scandal from the living of Batley on 14 February 1655, and replaced by Thomas Smallwood (Rawlinson MSS A.31.376). If Audsley taught periodically at the grammar school, this might explain the reference in the Priest letters in the school archives to 'one of the Schoole Masters at Batley Schoole, and ejected for negligence and misdemeanour.'

² Sheffield City Archives. Bright Papers, Vouchers; 185 (d).

³ To them has been attributed the marked improvement during the Civil War and Interregnum of English style and spelling in periodicals, pamphlets and news sheets. See *Cambridge History of English Literature*, vii, p. 360.

⁴ Not as unusual an expedient as might at first appear, for a number of cases are recorded of schoolmasters who were also doctors. Edward Richardson, Curate of Sawley, Ripon, and schoolmaster there, was an extra-licentiate of the College of Physicians. He settled in Amsterdam, where he practised medicine and preached, despite attempts of the government to extradite him.

⁵ T. Guest, *Historic Notices of Rotherham*, p. 343.

arrangement was achieved when the functions of the sequestrators were absorbed into the Committee for Compounding, to which Royalists went of their own accord to confess their delinquency, and to declare in full the value of their possessions. Fines were comparatively less severe, ranging from one half to one sixth.¹ Richard Tenant, the Rector of Burnsall from 1619, compounded in 1649 and was fined at one third, a total of £70. This does not seem to have impaired his livelihood for in 1652, in addition to holding the cure of St. Nicholas, Durham, he was the master of Burnsall School.² The Committee for Plundered Ministers continued during the Interregnum, not only augmenting the income of the ministry from the revenues of rectories and from tithes of sequestered delinquents, but acting as a court in its own right. At Penistone, for example, the Vicar, Christopher Dickenson, was charged before the Committee with being chaplain to Colonel Fitzherbert of Norbury, active in the service of the King in the Royalist garrisons in Yorkshire, and with drunkenness and violent behaviour. He had fought publicly with his own sexton and with the schoolmaster, George Didsbury, to the dismay of the residents of Penistone who had accepted him in place of their legal Vicar, previously ejected.³ The Committee also installed Edward Richardson as Curate at Sawley, Ripon, where he taught school.

The work of these committees was closely bound up with the attitude of the central government. The Long Parliament, for example, was characterised by leniency towards schoolmasters and was well-disposed to education generally – a policy which was extended for a time into the Protectorate. The reverse was true of Barebone's Parliament whose members were nominated by the Congregational churches in each county. In educational matters, this Parliament's record is an unhappy one. On 21 July a committee for the Advancement of Learning met, only to find that its plans were thwarted by a strong pressure group in the House which would have abolished all institutions of learning.⁴ The open warmth with which Cromwell greeted the arrival of the 'godly' to Parliament give way to an uneasy disillusionment as the extent of their reforming programme unfolded, for they envisaged the complete removal of the Court of Chancery and the ending of all forms of endowment to the clergy. What was even more frightening, they appeared set on the establishment of the Rule of the Saints, whom they identified with themselves. The crisis between Cromwell and his Parliament was resolved on 10 December 1653, when Lambert skilfully managed their resignation. On the 16th, Cromwell was made Protector under the terms of the Instrument of Government, and for a time there was a return to as tolerant a system of government as any yet devised. But the danger of Cromwell's new position quickly became apparent. The Royalists were now offered a single target for assassination in the person of the head of State; and the Fifth Monarchy preachers, who rejected all forms of secular government and had some support in the army, suggested Harrison as a possible substitute for Cromwell. Thus, while searching for a workable policy more acceptable to the nation, the Protector was driven to new repressive measures. Shortly before the next Parliament met, further legislation was enacted to curb potential opponents.

On 28 August 1654, an Ordinance was issued for ejecting scandalous, ignorant and insufficient ministers and schoolmasters. In each county lay commissioners were appointed and they were empowered to call before them suspected delinquents, and to hear

¹ It is conceivable that certain schools, the tenants of whose lands were fined heavily, might have found it difficult to collect rents. The Royalist Composition Papers contain a number of possible cases. William Vavasour of Weston, for example, joined the King's garrison at York and supplied two men and horses for the King's army. He compounded in 1646. The assessment was made on his estates in Weston, and these included a lease of tithes worth £5 a year which he held from the Feoffees of Sedbergh School. P.R.O., G. 182, p. 457.

² A. G. Matthews, *op. cit.*, p. 397.

³ Didsbury was the master of Penistone Grammar School, and Curate of Holmfirth Chapel, from 1644–1666, and leader of the parishioners in their struggle to oust Dickenson. With Captain Adam Eyre he presented eight articles against Dickenson before the Committee for Plundered Ministers in March 1647. See A. Eyre, *A Diurnal, or Catalogue of all my actions and expenses from 1 January, 1646*, Surtees Society, lxxv, p. 45; and A. G. Matthews, *op. cit.*, p. 392.

⁴ The attack on schools and the universities is described at length in W. Godwin's *History of the Commonwealth of England*, iv, pp. 86–103.

petitions. The Ordinance included in its definition of 'scandalous' etc., a surprisingly comprehensive statement of the misdemeanours that schoolmasters and ministers could be guilty of. The Commissioners were to act against those who held 'atheistical, blasphemous and execrable opinion, derogatory to the honour of God and destructive to humane society . . . or those guilty of fornication, drunkenness, swearing, common haunting of taverns, quarrelling, fighting, dicing, carding or who countenance the same in their parishes or scholars.' They were also to prosecute those who took part in, or encouraged others to perform, 'Witsun Ales, Wakes, Morris Dances, May Poles, Stage Plays or such like licentious practices, by which men are encouraged to loose and profane conversation, such as have declared or shall declare by writing, preaching or otherwise publishing their disaffection for the government . . .', and schoolmasters 'who absent themselves from their schools or do willfully neglect their duties in teaching their scholars.'¹ A number of Yorkshire schoolmasters warranted their attentions. Richard Browne of Skipton Grammar School, who had conducted a miniature Civil War inside the School, was ejected for 'scandal'. Browne had succeeded Henry Doughty as master in 1654, but had had little success in the School.² The building had suffered severe damage while in use as a barracks during the protracted siege of the Castle, and repairs were difficult to finance. Some of the School's lands were lost in the confusion of the war and others leased out at unprofitable rates. Moreover, the feoffees entrusted with the administration of the School's business had failed in their duty. Although the Inquisition held at Leeds in January 1655 had set in order the administration of the School's property, Browne was ejected by the Commissioners in the following year.³ Sedbergh School also had its difficulties. The Fellows of St. John's College, Cambridge, whose right it was, had nominated as master one Richard Garthwaite, a man, they said, 'of such proved abilities and conversation withall and of such experience we cannot but hope that he will by God's blessing prove instrumental for regaining the reputation of your school.' In fact, Jackson proved to be lacking in most of the qualities described in his testimonial. It seems from the letters exchanged between the school governors and the College, that he was constantly drunk, had dismissed his usher and had closed the school doors to his scholars, who numbered only one sixth of those his predecessor had had. In all these dealings Jackson's chief opponent was George Otway, a passionate and ill-tempered governor of the School and a former Royalist who had been ejected from St. John's College. Against him, the litigious Jackson lodged counter charges of swearing and profanity before a Grand Jury of the County. Only in March 1656 did the Committee for Ejecting Scandalous, Ignorant and Insufficient Ministers and Schoolmasters get rid of him, and appoint Richard Garthwaite, the usher, to the vacant mastership.⁴

As an earnest of their intentions, in the West Riding alone in the first seven months, the Registrar to the Committee was able to report fourteen ejections to Major General Lilburne. In addition to Richard Browne, the master of Skipton School and Richard Jackson, who lost the parish of Garsdale as well as the mastership of Sedbergh, the Committee displaced Mr. Everingham from the parish of Birkin, Robert Allenson from

¹ *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum*, ii, p. 958.

² The son of Robert Doughty, master of the Queen Elizabeth Grammar School at Wakefield, under whom he had served for a time as usher. (He may also have taught for a time at Knaresborough, for a Henry Doughty sponsored William Booth when the latter was admitted by the Committee for the Approbation of Public Preachers on 20 August 1657. Lambeth MSS., 998, p. 90). The Doughty family deserves its own history. Robert had Wakefield School from c. 1623–1662; Henry, in addition to being usher under his father at Wakefield from 1646–1649, was master at Skipton from 1649–1654 and at Doncaster from 1660–1662. The intervening period was probably spent at Knaresborough. John Doughty had Hipperholme School from 1661–1666 and Heath, Halifax, from 1666 to 1688.

³ A. M. Gibbon in his history of the School describes the incident at some length, but names as the master one Edward Browne. An Edward Browne was Vicar of Sheffield from 1643–1644 and appears as master of Otley School in 1652, and again as Rector of Crofton in 1663. But there is no reason to suppose that he is the same Richard Browne whose name appears in the Rawlinson MSS A.31.376, 'An abstract of such ministers and schoolmasters as have been convented before and ejected by the Commissioners for Ejecting Scandalous, Ignorant and Insufficient Ministers and Schoolmasters for the West Riding and City of Yorke.'

⁴ Rawlinson MSS., A.31.377; H. L. Clarke, *A History of Sedbergh School*; A. F. Leach, *Early Yorkshire Schools*.

Mirfield, William Hall from Kellington, Robert Sowell from Thornton, William Warren from Tadcaster, Roger Audsley from Batley, Mr. Rogers from York, John Stanley from Spofforth, Mr. Noble from Adwick on Dearne, Mr. Brook from Brotherton, Lawrence Favill from Hampsthwaite and Thomas Robinson from Kirkthorpe. They secured the profits of the Church and Vicarage of Wakefield which Thomas Parker had vacated and those of Sherburn where Henry Skinner was the incumbent. Both ministers were classed as 'intruders' since they had not received the approbation of the Triers – the Commissioners for the Approbation of Public Preachers. At Rothwell and Beeston where the examination of the ministers Crook and Scurr was pending, and at Birstall, the Committee took similar action.¹

Further repressive measures followed. Existing regulations were more strictly enforced and new orders were issued by the Protector and his Council forbidding 'the Party [i.e., the Royalists] to keep in their houses chaplains, schoolmasters, ejected ministers or fellows of colleges, nor have their children taught by such.'² Those ejected from benefices, colleges and schools were forbidden to teach. County Commissioners and the Major Generals were empowered to give licences to teach and to preach only to those who had proved their loyalty to the government, and records were kept of those ministers and schoolmasters who were considered security risks. Accompanying the tighter restrictions against individuals, there was a firmer control over the press. Although Cromwell's early views were close to those in Milton's *Areopagitica*, they did not persist. By 1655 his attitude was quite intransigent. In October of that year only two weekly newspapers were permitted to appear and they were subject to inspection by a government agent. Vessels entering the principal northern ports were closely watched in case they carried seditious literature, and from time to time batches of books were seized. In November 1656, Lambert sent a copy of *Cautions for Choice* to the Council of State; as a result, an order was issued for the arrest of its supposed author, John Garnet, the master of Leeds Grammar School, who was to be brought before the Council within a fortnight. Despite the order, Garnet seems to have escaped punishment, for he continued to teach in Leeds until after the Restoration.³

It is interesting to compare the legislation of this period with that which followed the return of Charles II. Those schoolmasters and ministers who owed their positions to Cromwellian authorities like the Council of State, the Major Generals, or the County Committees which in lieu of the Church had issued licences to teach and preach, ceased to be paid, or remained dependent for their livelihood before 1662 on voluntary contributions. After that date, the settlement of the Church of England by the Act of Uniformity prevented anyone from teaching who had not rejected the Covenant and subscribed to the practices set out in the Book of Common Prayer. The Church resumed its right to license both public schoolmasters and private tutors, and they awarded substantial punishments to those who taught in defiance of their authority.⁴

It has been estimated that in the two years following the Restoration 1,760 ministers were ejected. Many of these also taught. Ejections from the universities and schools increased this total by 149. In Yorkshire 110 ministers and schoolmasters were turned

¹ Robert Lilburne, to whom the Committee reported, was the brother of John Lilburne, the political agitator. During the period of the threatened Royalist insurrection in 1655 he was in command at York and showed great energy in arresting Royalists. When Lambert was made Major General of the Northern Counties, Lilburne acted as his deputy. He confined his attention mainly to Durham and Yorkshire and added to an already notorious reputation by his uncompromising attitude to the King's supporters 'and such kind of cattle', by his repressive measures and the thoroughness with which he searched out and ejected his enemies. There could scarcely have been a better choice for implementing the Ordinance of August 1654.

² *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, 21 September 1655.

³ Possibly a case of mistaken identity. Garnet can only have been a Parliamentary sympathiser, for he owed his appointment to several of the school's trustees, who with the help of the Cromwellian justices, had ousted their opponents. Moreover, he quarrelled violently with John Harrison, the Royalist benefactor of the school. The collection of letters and papers in the Leeds City Archives (DB.204.1) throws some light on their differences.

⁴ G. Gould, *Documents relating to the Settlement of the Church of England by the Act of Uniformity*, pp. 392, 393.

out, of whom 17 afterwards conformed. Thomas Robinson was expelled from the Chapelry of Rastrick, Halifax, in 1662, 'having taught school there, breeding two sons, scholars',¹ and Ralph Ward from Denby school. Edward Richardson was ejected from Sawley in 1663, and Rowland Hancock, the one-time undermaster at Sheffield Grammar School, from the parish of Ecclesfield in 1662. The ushers Atkinson and Israel Hawksworth, and the master, Garnet, were driven from Leeds Grammar School. Others, whose religious principles were more easily bent to the demands of the new regime, remained in office after the Restoration, as many had during the Interregnum. Paul Greenwood, master of the school at Heath, Halifax, continued, as did Jeremiah Crossley, Curate of Bramhope, and master of the Bradford Grammar School from 1643 to 1653, because 'he had Robert Dinely, Esq. as his Patron, under whose wing he was shrowded after Bartholomew Day.'²

Many who were ejected after 1660 followed those who had suffered under the Interregnum along well-trodden paths. Ministers who lost their livings were somehow able to find positions as private tutors. James Calvert, one of the Assistant Commissioners appointed under the Ordinance of August 1654 for ejecting scandalous and insufficient ministers and schoolmasters became tutor and chaplain in the households of Sir William Strickland of Boynton, and later, of Sir William Middleton of Belsay Castle, Northumberland.³ Some opened schools of their own. Robert Inman, the Rector of High Hoyland, kept a school at Clayton West, in Hoyland, after his expulsion in 1662; and Peter Clark, the Rector of Kirkby Underdale, ejected in the same year, retired to Walkington, near Hull, and boarded gentlemen's sons in his house.⁴ Others who applied for licences to teach soon found the Church authorities as adamant in refusing them, as the Commonwealth committees had been in excluding those who were ejected in the previous period. James Sale, the Assistant at St. John's, Leeds, and Curate of Thornton, Bradford, and his son-in-law, Thomas Sharp, the Rector of Adel, were prevented from opening schools at Leeds and Pudsey.⁵

There seems little to distinguish the educational climate of these years from that of the Interregnum. In both periods the exigencies of the political situation drove governments into decisions calculated to silence the voice of opposition from whatever quarter it came. Both regimes permitted, both connived at, the settling of old scores and private disputes: the price both paid was a general post in the ministry and in the teaching profession. At the same time, education, regarded now with some suspicion, was less well endowed than it had been during the early part of the century, and there is some evidence that schools faced unusual financial difficulties. Moreover, at the universities, graduate and undergraduate numbers declined. Here was the beginning of the prolonged educational depression which lasted for over a hundred years.

¹ O. Heywood, *Autobiography, Diaries, etc.*, iv, p. 323; A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, p. 413. Robinson died in 1671, leaving three sons, Joseph, Elisha and John. The latter was also the schoolmaster at Rastrick.

² A. G. Matthews, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 289, 118, 424, 434.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 434.

HENRY REDHEAD YORKE — RADICAL TRAITOR

By EDWARD FEARN

Throughout their history, popular and radical movements have been dogged by what might be termed the lost-leader syndrome. At one of the critical points in their development, their charismatic leader suddenly fails the movement and in some cases, abandons his cause and his friends to join his former enemies. After an initial period of anger and vilification, when no complimentary word about the deserter can be tolerated by the faithful, a more reasoned attitude gradually prevails and the qualities as well as the weaknesses of the former leader emerge.

For most people alive today, the twentieth century personification of this type is Ramsay MacDonald, the Labour Prime Minister who formed the National Government in 1931. There have, however, been many other examples of radical leaders who, for different reasons and with different consequences, have betrayed their cause. One of the most striking is that of the eighteenth century politician, John Wilkes. Frequently jailed in his fight for constitutional freedom, Wilkes became a Tory in his old age and opposed the French Revolution. A recurrent phenomenon such as this has a fascination all its own, particularly for the student of psychology, though the absence of detailed information makes it difficult to do more than guess at the motives of the people concerned.

One of the clearest examples of the process by which a John Hampden becomes a Ramsay MacDonald is demonstrated in the career of Henry Yorke, one of the leading members of the English Reform Movement of the 1790's. In 1792, when only twenty years old, Yorke became a leading agitator in the campaign for parliamentary and social reform in England, which was sparked off by news of the outbreak of Revolution in France. Two years later, he turned his back on his radical friends and discarded revolutionary principles for True Blue Toryism.

His origins, like those of many a man of the people, are obscure. It would seem that he was born in the West Indies and that his mother was a half-caste. Apart from these details, the only information that is available is Yorke's own testimony and he was always very vague about names and dates, describing himself in one speech as about 22 years old. He claimed that his father was a man of means, with a character respected by all who knew him, but he never made it clear who his father was. He assumed the second surname Yorke, on attaining his majority, and he may well have been illegitimate.

On his own account, he had lived for a time at Little Eaton, near Derby, but spent much of his boyhood on the Continent, in France and Switzerland. His description of this period is too self-consciously Rousseauite to be convincing, however. 'I have', he wrote, 'spent the most delicious moments of my early youth among that innocent and hospitable nation; I have traversed it from one extremity to another.'¹

At all events, Yorke was next heard of in England, where, still in his 'teens, he plunged into the thick of political controversy. He joined the London Corresponding Society, the popular body set up in the autumn of 1791 by Thomas Hardy, the Radical shoe-maker. He also became a member of one of its many provincial branches, the Derby Society for Political Information, and it was as a delegate of this body that he went in the following year to observe the work of the Revolutionary Convention in Paris. Here, on his own admission, he became 'madly in love with Ideal Liberty', and he returned to England an even greater enthusiast for reform.

In the spring of 1793, he moved from Derby to Sheffield and transferred most of his activity to the Constitutional Society there. The exact reasons for this change are not known, but it is clear that the move was made with the consent of all the parties con-

¹ H. Yorke. *Thoughts on Civil Government*, Lond. 1794, p. 44.

cerned. Though close links existed between the Sheffield and Derby societies – they had been founded roughly at the same time, late in 1791 – the latter was distinctly more moderate in tone and its leaders much more cautious than their Sheffield counterparts. They may well, therefore, have breathed a sigh of relief at the departure of a Radical as extreme as Yorke had become. Certainly no objections were made when Yorke left and he was supplied with a covering letter to take with him.

On the other side, Yorke was regarded as a valuable addition by the leaders of the Sheffield Society. During the second half of the eighteenth century, the town had mushroomed in size, from a collection of small villages, only loosely joined together, into a busy industrial centre, with a population of about 45,000. This, together with the rapid process of industrialisation which had accompanied it, had created many problems. In particular, the self-employed cutlers or Little Mesters, working in small workshops of their own, in the traditional manner, were feeling the pressure of increased competition. The very nature of their work made them ideal raw material for a popular reform society. Unlike the workers subject to factory discipline, they did their jobs when and how they pleased. They had ample opportunity to attend meetings and demonstrations and they were renowned for their independent attitudes. A visitor to Sheffield at this time summed them up when he wrote:

‘As the wages given to the journeymen are very high, it is pretty generally the practice of them to work for three days, in which they earn sufficient for them to drink and riot for the rest of the week.’¹

Men such as these had come forward in large numbers and as a result, Sheffield, the ‘storm centre of the North’, boasted the largest radical society outside London, the Society for Constitutional Information, with a membership of 2,000.

Except for a few individuals, the Gentry and the upper middle class remained aloof from the activities of the reformers and there was a distinct lack of leadership. In such a situation, a man like Yorke was certain to do well. His striking appearance – the colour of his hair attracted the name Redhead – and his fiery oratory quickly brought him to the fore. A local newspaper proprietor, Richard Gales, who was one of the leaders of the society, gave Yorke lodgings at his Sheffield home.

Yorke was able to make a strong contribution to the work of the popular reform movement. Although based first at Derby and then at Sheffield, he was free to travel to other towns and he attended meetings in many different parts of the country, especially at Manchester and London. He did not see himself as merely a Sheffield radical and when, for example, he attended a famous Convention of reformers at Edinburgh, in October 1793, he was described as a London delegate. Like another more famous itinerant lecturer, Thelwall, he regarded himself as a radical missionary, with a duty to rally the faithful by giving a strong lead. An informer who was a member of the Manchester Reform Society gave evidence that Yorke had chaired a meeting there and that he had said he was travelling through the three kingdoms to see what strength the different societies could collect to support 50,000 French troops who were expected to land in England to dethrone the monarchy. The ubiquity of men like Yorke enabled the popular societies in different parts of the country to keep in touch with activities of the metropolitan bodies, in an age when poor communications made concerted political organisation difficult.

A second field in which Yorke displayed his talent was in the writing of political pamphlets which were published by his fellow radical, Gales. These ranged from digests of the political ideas of leading philosophers, for example, the *Spirit of John Locke*, to more original works, such as his *Thoughts on Civil Government. Addressed to the Disfranchised Citizens of Sheffield*.

Even more important, however, were his gifts as an demagogue. Outside London, he was the only really professional public speaker to be found in the ranks of the reformers. In the opinion of Gales, he was ‘the finest orator of the Kingdom’. He became chief

¹ P.R.O. H.O. 42/40, 13 June 1792.

spokesman at the great reform meetings held in the open air in Sheffield in the period 1793 to 1794. Many thousands attended on these occasions, and he expounded his views on the need for drastic social and political reform and his support for the principles of the French Revolution.

As so often before and since, however, outstanding gifts were marred by weaknesses of character and these proved disastrous both for Yorke and for the Radical cause. His impetuous temperament and his gift for the telling phrase led him to make sweeping and provocative statements. At a meeting held in London, in November 1793, he had announced that he was going to Belgium to help to lead the French army but that they would be in England by Christmas, by which time the heads of Mr. Pitt and the King would be on Temple Bar. Under leadership such as this, the Sheffield Society, never the most moderate of the societies, lurched violently to the left.

Disaster, both for Yorke and for the Sheffield Constitutional Society, came in the spring of 1794. Together with many other popular societies in different parts of the country, Sheffield had sent several petitions to the House of Commons asking for a reform of the system of parliamentary representation. In particular, the Sheffield radicals had stressed the unfairness of a system which left a great majority of the 45,000 inhabitants of Sheffield without a vote. They stated quite bluntly in their petition that the House of Commons, though formally addressed as such, was not an assembly of the 'real, fair and independent representatives of the whole people'. This statement was described as highly indecent and disrespectful by one member and it is possible that the Sheffield radicals had deliberately framed the petition so as to secure its rejection and convince people that more drastic methods of obtaining reform were required.¹

At all events, the Sheffield petition, together with many more conciliatory ones, was rejected out of hand. Accordingly, a meeting was called for 7 April to decide what further action the Society should take. The choice facing the Sheffield radicals was quite clear. Should they carry on with peaceful methods such as petitioning, or should they resort to force?

The meeting was held in the open-air, on Castle Hill, now the site of an ultra-modern market, and a crowd of many thousands attended. An Aunt Sally motion – that a petition should be presented to parliament – was quickly defeated, as arranged, and the meeting supported Yorke in carrying a resolution that they would indulge in no more petitions.

The question of alternative methods was not raised and no mention was made of revolution. Yorke, however, in a long and rousing speech denouncing the political system in his usual terms, made many statements which could be interpreted in this way. Several times, he referred to 'a grand political explosion which may raise up the people to the dignity and the sublime grandeur of freedom' and he predicted that 'the commanding voice of the whole people would recommend the 558 Gentlemen in St. Stephen's Chapel to go about their own business'.

The Government had been keeping a close watch on the activities of the radicals throughout the country since the autumn of 1792. When in 1793, war broke out with Revolutionary France, suspicion changed to alarm. Many people began to see the reform societies as centres of subversion, as potential English Jacobin Clubs. Individuals such as Yorke were, in this view, Robespierres in the making.

A warrant was made out for the arrest of Yorke on a charge of conspiracy to commit treason and the Sheffield magistrates quickly got in touch with their opposite numbers at ports such as Liverpool, Newcastle, Sunderland, South Shields, Hull and Carlisle, in case Yorke should try to leave the country. This was likely, they stated, as they had obtained possession of letters of his that indicated that 'he had long been employed as an Emissary from France to sow the seeds of discord in this country'. In actual fact, Yorke had gone into hiding at Manchester, which was where his mother, now a Mrs. Hanstock, lived. He was soon captured and, in July 1795, he was brought to trial.

¹ W. Cobbett. *History of Parliament*, Vol. xxx, 775–7.

Further investigation of the activities of the Sheffield Society had brought to light details which made Yorke's prospects seem very grim. One of his companions, Richard Davison, who had been employed by Gales as a compositor, turned out to be an expert on the manufacture of pikes. He had been collecting supplies of these at a workshop in the City and had gone so far as to write to a popular society at London offering to supply them with steel blades for staves at a shilling a time. This was the only clear case recorded of a popular society arming at this time and it serves to indicate the extremism of the Sheffield Constitutional Society, as compared with the other popular societies.

Together with Gales, Davison had gone into hiding at Newhill Grange, near Rotherham. They managed to escape to America and make new lives for themselves there. Some less important members of the Society were acquitted when they agreed to turn King's evidence. All this left Yorke very much in the position of a scapegoat. The attitude of the authorities was summed up by a Sheffield Correspondent of the Home Office, who, in June 1794, shortly after his capture, wrote: 'It gives every honest mind here great pleasure to hear Citizen Yorke is apprehended. Such a notorious villain as him I hope will not have existence in this country very long'.

In these circumstances, with the die so heavily loaded against him, Yorke might have been expected to adopt a conciliatory attitude straightaway. The reverse was the case, however, and there is no doubt that his behaviour in prison, while awaiting trial, did much to dispel any sympathy that might have remained for him. He was given a cell of his own and he was allowed a servant and visitors, who were for the most part small tradesmen in the locality. There were complaints that these friends stayed drinking with him to the early hours of the morning and that Yorke, 'by singing, cursing, swearing, shouting and halloaing, disturbed the prisoners in the Castle'. Two of the many arguments that he had with other prisoners ended in fights. On the second of these occasions, his servant, a publican, who was remonstrating with him, was struck on the head with a pitcher and bled at the temple from the violence of the blow. Yorke was also given to boasting to the other prisoners that he could bring 300 men into the Castle Yard whenever he wanted, to free them all, and some of the Gaolers appear to have thought a breakout a possibility.¹ These apprehensions proved unjustified, however, and in November 1795, after nearly eighteen months in prison, Yorke was found guilty of conspiracy, fined a hundred pounds and sentenced to 2 years imprisonment in Dorchester Gaol. He was also required to give sureties of good behaviour for seven years.

This period of imprisonment represented a decisive turning point in the career of Henry Yorke. He was extremely bitter and disillusioned at the way his fellow radicals had deserted him in his hour of need and, in prison, he underwent a speedy political conversion. He published his recantation in the form of a long preface to a shorthand account on his trial, entitled *Trial of Henry Yorke*. He pointed out that 'there was not one man found in this famous town of Sheffield who would step forward in support of their supposed seditious champion'. Prison had cured him of his political excesses and had taught him that 'he is happiest who takes the noiseless tenor of his way through the sequestered valleys of private life'. When at last he emerged from prison, he was a die-hard Tory and a fervent supporter of the Establishment.

These two years also saw changes in Yorke's private life. The curly hair and impassioned oratory which had served him so well as an orator, he turned to advantage in another sphere, marrying his Gaoler's daughter.

Neither of these events surprised people who knew him well, however. It had been alleged at his trial that he was a ladies' man. A Mr. Frith, a surgeon, said that he had been persuaded to attend the famous open-air meeting of April 1794, by a female patient, with whom Yorke had been 'more intimate than is proper with a married woman'. Moreover, this lady had named a son of hers Henry Yorke in memory of the town's radical hero. He had, according to another observer, taken advantage of his stay at Gales's house to obtain the affections of the latter's younger sister, Sarah, and it was said at the time that a sudden visit Yorke made to Derby in March 1794, was undertaken to

¹ P.R.O. T.S. 11/892/3035.

avoid Gales, who, however, quickly followed him there. Letters sent by Yorke from Manchester to Sheffield, intercepted in June 1794, seemed to indicate that Yorke was to have married Sarah. He might well have had to account to Gales for his actions, had not urgent political matters intervened and made it necessary for the latter to flee the country.

In addition, the change of political views that Yorke underwent was, for him, nothing new. In his early days in Derby, he had published a pamphlet supporting the continuation of the slave trade and this nearly resulted in his being arrested as a spy when he went to France in 1792. As a result, he went to some trouble to disown this view during his extremist radical phase in Sheffield.

In comparison with his early life, Yorke's career after his release in March 1798, was uneventful. He died at the age of 41, in 1813, leaving a widow and four children. His last fifteen years he spent in energetic but unsuccessful attempts to renew his political career, this time as a Tory.

On his release in 1798 Yorke accepted a commission in an infantry regiment and, as a Lieutenant-Colonel and second-in-command to a Colonel Tyndale, went to Sheffield of all places to recruit volunteers for the war against France. He was at this time hoping to be called to the Bar and claimed that the Attorney-General had recommended him to undertake this activity in order to rehabilitate himself in official eyes. Yorke also continued his literary activity, being at pains to disown, as publicly as possible, his radical past. Whilst still in prison, he published his repudiation of his radical views, under the title of *Letters to the Reformers of England*. In this work he went so far from his original position as to justify the war against France, which he had once so roundly condemned. The rest of his life was spent in justifying his change of view. Thus he wrote a long series of letters to the *Star*, under the pseudonyms 'Alfred' and 'Galzacus', and these were later collected and reprinted in a small volume. He also gave a series of lectures on political and historical subjects, which were also published. Finally, he became part proprietor of a right-wing periodical, the *True Briton*.

Despite his efforts, Yorke never did succeed in re-establishing himself as a political force. Indeed, he suffered the fate common to lost leaders in every age. His former colleagues, particularly the moderate reformers of the London Popular societies, wanted nothing to do with a man who had been so closely identified with a society contemplating the use of physical force. On the other hand, the excessive zeal that he displayed in controversy with the radicals was suspect as that of the convert, and did nothing to dispel the uneasiness of his new-found political friends. The attitude of the Establishment towards Yorke was summed up in a letter that a Sheffield magistrate wrote to a fellow dignitary when Yorke reappeared in Sheffield in 1798. 'The conduct of Lt.-Col. Yorke', he remarked, 'will not be unobserved during his stay in Sheffield.' Meanwhile, Yorke, very much aware of the ambivalence of his position, complained bitterly of the 'adverse, violent and turbulent Behaviour of the people of Sheffield against him'.¹ Occasionally, his underlying uneasiness erupted into violence which reminded people of the sort of man that Yorke had once been. In 1802, he had revisited France and he published his revised views on this controversial subject in a volume entitled, *Letters From France*. This brought him into controversy with the famous radical, Sir Francis Burdett. A Midlander and a man of independent means, like Yorke, Burdett contrasted with him in the tenacity with which he had supported reform, in good times and bad. The two of them came near to fighting a duel in 1806, both parties being bound over to keep the peace.

Though there was much tragedy and pathos in the later years of his life, however, there is no doubt that Yorke made a significant contribution to the movement for parliamentary reform.

His leadership played a large part in building up the Sheffield Constitutional Society to the pre-eminent position it enjoyed in the North. Favourable as the industrial and social conditions were in that town for the development of popular radicalism, Yorke's

¹ *Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments. Fitzwilliam Papers.*

oratorical talents undoubtedly swelled the size of the reform meetings and added to the attractions of membership.

More generally, too, Yorke was the most dynamic and energetic of the radical leaders outside London in the 1790's and he did much to stimulate activity in the North of England as a whole. An important factor in this was his lack of parochialism, partly the result of his early residence abroad. Most of the radical leaders preached the necessity of building up connections between the different societies so as to bring about concerted agitation for reform. Yorke was the only man who really tried to carry this policy out, however, in an active and practical way, and his failure to create sufficiently strong links was certainly not for want of trying.

The importance of these connecting links between the reform societies in the different centres was emphasised by subsequent events. When in the post-war years and the late 1820's, the moderate middle-class reformers took up the cause again, they were successful precisely because, as well as imitating the broad lines of organisation of the 1790's, they managed to renew and strengthen the links between the different societies that had first been attempted by itinerant radicals such as Yorke.

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THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR AMONG BEDE'S SUCCESSORS

By KENNETH HARRISON

It is a curious circumstance that a book written by the acknowledged master of chronology in his time should have become the target of a chronological dispute. By reckoning *anno domini*, as opposed to more cumbersome methods then in use, Bede turned the *Historia Ecclesiastica* (*H.E.*)¹ into an engine of propaganda for the views of Dionysius Exiguus who, some two centuries earlier, had for religious reasons put aside the pagan computation. Bede's influence was decisive, not least in the framing of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. But unfortunately there is no clear indication in *H.E.* of when a year was supposed to start. In 725, six years before *H.E.* was finished, Bede had written his chief work on chronology, the *De Temporum Ratione*, and therein favours the Caesarean Indiction, 24 Sept., for the beginning of the year.² Yet counting *anno ab incarnatione domini* should strictly begin on Christmas Day (or at the Annunciation). Throughout *H.E.*, and from the Recapitulation immediately after it, an unsuspecting reader will get the impression that Bede was following Dionysius in the choice of Christmas Day – but was he?

The dispute took shape with a paper written by R. L. Poole in 1918, and reprinted later [9]. Poole argued for the Indictional date, 24 Sept., and has been supported by most authorities. However, W. Levison [7] and others have argued for Christmas Day. It is a tribute to Bede's stature that his text should have been thoroughly examined by many scholars of distinction; all in all it would not be profitable, least of all wise, to tread that ground again. Yet we can refer to the writings of his contemporaries and immediate followers, and enquire what they *thought* his practice was. Bede, Egbert, Ethelberht, Alcuin – master and pupil, or friend and friend, are in the line of succession for seventy years or more; and besides this obvious and established chain of descent at York there will have been collaterals of whom we can now form only a faint idea. Those seventy years after Bede's death were luckily favourable to the growth of annals in Northumbria, and from them we ought to be able to gauge the climate of opinion.

The earliest annals are those annexed to several copies of *H.E.*, forming the so-called Continuation; they extend from 731 to 766. A few may have been added before Bede's death in 735 but for the most part they survive only in late MSS. In any case they do not by themselves resolve the difference between Indictional and Incarnational years. Of far greater chronological importance are the Latin Northumbrian Annals embodied in the *Historia Regum* attributed to Simeon of Durham [1]; they extend from 732 (*recte* 731) to 802; recently they have been examined by P. Hunter Blair [5, p. 63] who shows, partly on grounds of style, that they were edited, along with much other material ranging in date from the seventh century to 887³ by someone who in all probability flourished *c.* 900 or perhaps a little later – someone who was a devotee of what H. W. Fowler called 'elegant variation'. For present purposes this man is called Simeon, although he was not the monk of Durham. Hunter Blair had, however, no reason to examine in detail a slightly different text of these Annals that another man incorporated into the archetype of the 'D' and 'E' versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. We may refer to him as the Chronicler; he probably flourished *c.* 1000 or a little earlier [12, pp. xiv ff.; 3]. If, therefore, we wish to observe the habits of writers during the eighth century we must watch the Continuation, Simeon, and the Chronicler; and yet another man, the Annalist, who compiled the source upon which the two latter depend, and who in his turn sometimes borrowed from the Continuation.

¹ Ed. C. Plummer [8].

² Indictional systems are treated by C. W. Jones [6] and need no discussion here. The Greek Indiction date was 1 Sept. and, like other styles, can be left out of account during the eighth century in England.

³ But excluding the Acca and Alhmund interpolations.

Simeon	Table I	Chronicler
774 Accession of K. Ethelred	774 Accession of K. Ethelred	774 Accession of K. Ethelred
775 Conquests of Charlemagne	775 —	775 —
776 —	776 Death of Pehtwine, 19 Sept.	776 Death of Pehtwine, 19 Sept.
777 Death of Pehtwine, 19 Sept.	777 —	777 —
778 Death of high reeves, 29 Sept.	778 Death of high reeves, 22 Mar. Accession of K. Ælfwold.	778 Death of high reeves, 22 Mar. Accession of K. Ælfwold.
779 Accession of K. Ælfwold	779 Death of Beorn, 24 Dec. (25, 'D') and of Abp. Ethelberht (8 Nov.).	779 Death of Beorn, 24 Dec. (25, 'D') and of Abp. Ethelberht (8 Nov.).
780 Death of Beorn, 24 Dec. and of Abp. Ethel- berht (8 Nov.). Abp. Eanbald receives the <i>pallium</i> .	780 Bp. Alhmund died, 7 Sept. Tilberht cons. 2 Oct. Abp. Eanbald receives the <i>pallium</i> .	780 Bp. Alhmund died, 7 Sept. Tilberht cons. 2 Oct. Abp. Eanbald receives the <i>pallium</i> .
781 Bp. Alhmund died, 7 Sept. Tilberht cons. 2 Oct.	781 —	781 —
782 —	782 Bp. Cynewulf died	782 Bp. Cynewulf died
783 Bp. Cynewulf died	783 —	783 —
784 —	784 —	784 —
785 —	785 Death of Botwine; Legatine Synod	785 Death of Botwine; Legatine Synod
786 Death of Botwine; Legatine Synod	786 —	786 —
787 Synod at <i>Pincanheale</i> , 2 Sept. Death of Eald- berht	787 —	787 —
788 Death of K. Ælfwold	788 Synod at Pincanheale, 2 Sept. Death of Ealdberht	788 Synod at Pincanheale, 2 Sept. Death of Ealdberht
789 —	789 Death of K. Ælfwold	789 Death of K. Ælfwold
790 K. Osred expelled	790 K. Osred expelled	790 K. Osred expelled

Stylistic features would imply that the Continuation, or a source common to both, was drawn upon by the archetype of Simeon.¹ In chronological matters also there is a considerable measure of agreement. The solar eclipse of 14 Aug. 733 is correctly dated by both writers, and Simeon has obviously copied his description of that event from an early MS of the Continuation; similar remarks apply to the lunar eclipse of 31 Jan. 734, although its exact date was a week earlier [8, ii, p. 345]. Agreement on the year 740 for the death of Arnwine is supplemented by Simeon's extended date *die x Kal. Jan. feria vii* (= Saturday 23 Dec.). On this date Hunter Blair remarks that 'In 740, 23 Dec. was a Friday. If the year was reckoned to begin in September, 740 corresponds with 739 when 23 Dec., was a Wednesday. Perhaps *feria vii* is a corruption of *feria iii*' [5, p. 95]. Without changing to the Indictional year we could also emend to *ix Kal. Jan.*, and this reading is in fact preserved by Roger of Howden [13, p. 240, n.4], who also had access to early sources.² After several more annals³ in which Simeon seems to be in part indebted to the Continuation, we reach the year 753. Here the Continuation records (inaccurately) under 756 a solar and a lunar eclipse; the year itself is not in doubt [2, ii, p. 346]; and so, after the example just mentioned, we can without trouble adopt the emendation *mccliii* for *mcclvi*. Simeon has no annal for 756 but has correctly dated the lunar eclipse of 31 July 752. Both writers note the martyrdom of Boniface in 754, supporting the Fulda tradition [7, p. 90, n.2]. For 755 the Continuation has no annal. When we come to 756, Simeon is found recording a lunar eclipse on *viii Kal. Dec.* (= 24 Nov.). 'There was only

¹ Continuation, 731, *captus et adtonsus et remissus est in regnum*; Simeon, 732 (*recte* 731), *captus, attonsus et remissus est in regnum*. Again, Continuation, 754, *cum quinquaginta tribus martyrio coronatur*; Simeon, 754, *martyrio coronatus est cum quinquaginta tribus*. And other examples.

² Professor Whitelock, to whom — as in previous papers — I am indebted for helpful criticism, points out that when a post-Conquest historian writes *feria* this does not necessarily mean that the day was in his source; he may have calculated it. In the present instance this argument works both ways; the monk of Durham has an equal chance of being wrong.

³ A fire in the *monasterium* at York, 741 *ix Kal. Mai* = 23 April, is noticed by Simeon; the Continuation mentions only *siccitas magna* and then goes on to record the death of Charles Martel (which took place on 23 Oct.). This entry shows that the compiler of the Continuation, or a copyist, was not interested in York affairs. It would appear to show that the year did not change on 24 Sept. since droughts usually occur in summer; but the compiler may only have known the year in which the king died, and not the precise date.

Table II

Simeon	Chronicler
774 Accession of K. Ethelred	774 Accession of K. Ethelred
775 Conquests of Charlemagne	775 —
776 —	776 —
777 Death of Pehtwine, 19 Sept.	777 Death of Pehtwine, 19 Sept.
778 Death of one high reeve, 29 Sept.	778 —
779 Accession of K. Ælfwold	779 Death of two high reeves, 22 Mar. Accession of K. Ælfwold
780 Death of Beorn, 24 Dec. and of Abp. Ethelberht, 8 Nov. Abp. Eanbald receives the <i>pallium</i>	780 Death of Beorn, 24 Dec. and of Abp. Ethelberht, 8 Nov.
781 Bp. Alhmund died, 7 Sept. Tilberht cons. 2 Oct.	781 Bp. Alhmund died, 7 Sept. Tilbert cons. 2 Oct. Abp. Eanbald receives the <i>pallium</i>
782 —	782 —
783 Bp. Cynewulf died	783 Bp. Cynewulf died
784 —	784 —
785 —	785 —
786 Death of Botwine; Legatine Synod	786 Death of Botwine; Legatine Synod
787 Synod at <i>Pincanheale</i> , 2 Sept. Death of Ealdberht	(788) Synod at <i>Pincanheale</i> , 2 Sept. Death of Ealdberht
788 Death of K. Ælfwold	(789) Death of K. Ælfwold
789 —	789 —
790 K. Osred expelled	790 K. Osred expelled

one total eclipse of the moon in 756 and it occurred on 18 May, but there was a total eclipse on 23 Nov. 755 . . . If the writer reckoned the day to begin at sunset on the previous evening, he was correct in dating the year to 24 Nov., and if, moreover, he reckoned his year to begin in September, he was equally correct in calling the year 756' [5, p. 95]. But the Annalist upon whom Simeon depended does not seem to have changed the year in September, since this entry follows, and does not precede, another which is precisely dated *prima die mensis Augusti*. Unfortunately the Chronicler and the Continuation are both silent. The very different problem of the Annalist's sources is taken up below (p. 197). Then the Continuation annal for 761 is supported by Simeon's particulars, under 759, about the death of Oswine, which have been elucidated by Hunter Blair [5, p. 95], following Whitelock [13, p. 242]. And the Continuation, Simeon and the Chronicler agree upon the year 766 for the deaths of Abp. Egbert of York and Bp. Frithuberht of Hexham: Simeon and the Chronicler give *xiii Kal. Dec.* = 19 Nov. for the former, and Simeon alone gives *x Kal. Jan.* = 23 Dec. for the latter. Simeon dates the consecration of their successors to 767, and gives the exact date *viii Kal. Mai* = 24 April (a Friday); it would be a happier circumstance if this day had fallen on a Sunday,¹ but the year changed at Christmas. After 766, when the Continuation stops, the next date to notice is 768: Simeon and the Chronicler fix the death of Eadberht to 20 Aug; the former then adds that *eodem anno* King Pepin of the Franks died (on 24 Sept., the very day of the Indiction); we cannot, however, ascertain whether the Annalist was sure of the day and month — had he known them he would probably have written them down. From 776-7 onwards there would appear to be a systematic dislocation of annals, summarised in Table I; only facts in common between Simeon and the Chronicler are mentioned (except for 775) and not all of them, to avoid overloading the space. Faced with entries out of step we must decide, in moving them to and fro, which course will have the least awkward consequences. Clearly, moving back the Chronicler's dates would make the situation even worse; moving back Simeon's dates is, we shall see, for various reasons unprofitable; moving the Chronicler forward results in Table II, which must now be discussed.

¹ Or can we write *viii Kal. Mar.* = 22 Feb. which was Sexagesima in 767?

Under 775 Simeon records some of the campaigns of Charles the Great, for which he is an independent authority. The Chronicler, who was not interested in such things, omitted this entry and seems to have moved into 776 with the death of Pehtwine, whereas he should have skipped that year. Both Simeon and the Chronicler record that Pehtwine had been bishop for fourteen years, more exactly fourteen years and two months if we accept the Chronicler's entry of his consecration under 762 (*recte* 763) 17 July (a Sunday).¹ For the death of the high reeves we have in Simeon, 778: *tres duces Aldwlf, Cynwlf et Ecga . . . fraude necati sunt ab Ethelbaldo et Heardberhto principibus Kal. Octobris* = 29 Sept. And in the Chronicler, 778: In this year Æthelbald and Heardberht killed three high reeves, Ealdwulf, son of Bosa, at Coniscliffe, Cynewulf and Ecga at *Helathirnum* (a lost name) on 22 Mar. Perhaps the archetypal entry ran somewhat as follows: 778 Æthelbald and Heardberht killed Ealdwulf, son of Bosa, at Coniscliffe on 29 Sept.; and 779, Cynewulf and Ecga at *Helathirnum* on 22 Mar. The date of Beorn's death could on the MS evidence be taken as 24 Dec., although 'D' fixes it on Christmas Day; but applying the principle invoked by Hunter Blair [5, p. 95] for the eclipse of 756, if the death took place late on Christmas Eve and if the writer reckoned the day to begin at sunset on the previous evening, he was correct in counting the day to 780. And neither this nor several other discrepancies require explanation by 'the use by the two sources of different starting-points for the year' [5, p. 96]; the sources undoubtedly share an archetype; and Table II offers an alternative approach. For the death of Abp. Ethelbert of York, 8 Nov. 780 seems to be at least probable [2, ii, p. 52]; however, the Chronicler's date for the reception of the *pallium* by Eanbald (781, as in Table II) is surely right, since Alcuin, who had been sent to Rome to fetch it, on his return met Charles the Great in the spring of that year [7, p. 243].

In 781 there is a puzzling entry that derives from both sources: Tilberht was consecrated to Hexham on *vi non. Oct* = 2 Oct. Straightforward tampering with the date seems to be out of the question. The day and month must have been in the archetype and yet, as Whitelock has noted [12, p. 34, n.8] 2 Oct. was not a Sunday in 780 (Monday) or 781 (Tuesday). In the Old English Martyrology [4] 3 Oct. is the anniversary of the two priests, Hewald by name, who were killed while serving with Willibrord's mission to Germany. This event (before 714) created a stir at the time; they were buried at Cologne and there venerated; Bede devotes almost a whole chapter to them (*H.E.*, v. 10), doubtless informed by his friend Acca, who in turn was a friend of Willibrord. Some fifty years later they are mentioned by Alcuin in his poem on the Saints of York [10, 1.1045]. Possibly the eve of their festival (or the day itself if we emend to *v non. Oct.*) was thought to be suitable for the consecration of a bishop; Northumbrians were justifiably proud of Willibrord and his companions. Improbable though this attempt at explanation may sound, any other must explain a ceremony that seems to have deliberately dodged both a Sunday and the feast of St. Michael and All Angels on 29 Sept. Again in support of Simeon's chronology, the Legatine Synod certainly took place in 786, and it is hardly possible that the archetype, compiled only about twenty years later, could have been mistaken about an event of such importance; as Stenton remarks, 'the passage reads like contemporary writing' [11, p. 214, n.3]. For the remaining dates in Table II it is also preferable to trust Simeon; in 788 and 789 the Chronicler appears to be a year ahead.

It is now expedient to look beyond 790. The Chronicler's date for the consecration of Badwulf in 791 is to be preferred, since 17 July was a Sunday in that year. For 792 we have in both sources precise dates for the death of Osred, 14 Sept., and King Ethelred's marriage, 29 Sept. The year therefore did not change on 24 Sept. Problems arising from 794 are discussed below. Simeon's annal for 795 is not helpful, dealing only with continental affairs, and the Chronicler is certainly a year out over several particulars, including the lunar eclipse for which in 796 Simeon has the correct moment, down to the hour; Hunter Blair [5, p. 95] has put right Simeon's inconsiderable mistake over the election of Eanbald II to the archbishopric of York, 14 Aug. (with which the Chronicler agrees). In 797 we have a clear sequence: Eanbald II received the *pallium* on 8 Sept.,

¹ The Chronicler has no annal for 763 and, since the notice of Pehtwine comes at the end of his annal for 762, has probably not made a correct division of years.

Bishop Ethelberht of Hexham died on 16 Oct., and Headred was consecrated in his place on *iii Kal. Nov.* = 30 Oct.;¹ Simeon and the Chronicler are at one. The remaining annals are of no particular interest.

When looking at these items of information we must distinguish between the practice of the various annalists – that is, the system of chronological reckoning that they were working to – and the facts that were available to them. For 797, 792 and 781 (Simeon; 780, Chronicler) there is clear evidence for a Christmas dating. If Table II is valid, then 779 and 778 should be added in; also 766, if we can rely on Simeon. In 756 a date in August is followed by a date (spurious though it is) in November – yet too much importance should not be attached to this point. A trifling emendation, supported by contemporary MS evidence, for the year 740 (above, p. 194) will bring Simeon into line with the Continuation, and is supported by qualitative agreement for a number of years,² and by exact agreement over the eclipses of 734 and 733. So far, therefore, we do not find any sound evidence that Bede's successors were starting their year on 24 Sept., but a good deal of evidence for the Christmas reckoning. There are, however, two further dates to be discussed.

Pope Hadrian died on 25 Dec. 795 by the modern computation – from 1 Jan; or in 796 if the year begins on Christmas Day. The Chronicler, following his exemplar, which here and from 756 is two years behind the true date, puts the death of the Pope and the death of Offa (29 July 796) into the year 794; and in common with Simeon records that Æthelheard died on 1 Aug. and that a monastery at *Donemuthan* was ravaged by heathen raiders. His annal for 795 should (as we have seen above, p. 196) be transferred *en bloc* to 796. But in 796 the Chronicler repeats the death of Offa and omits the death of the Pope, and is in other respects in line with Simeon. Both Simeon and the Chronicler agree on the dating of Æthelheard's death and the raid on *Donamuthan* to 794, and, if the latter's annal for 795 is transferred to 796, they are in good accord. Yet Simeon's annal for 795, although containing no domestic events, is unquestionably reliable – like his annal for 775, as Hunter Blair has explained [5, p. 93]. Why, then, does he ascribe the death of the Pope to 794, when on either Indictional or Incarnational reckoning it should have been dated 795 or 796? Perhaps the simplest solution is that there was a slip in the transmission, a mistake.

The second date is on a similar footing – the lunar eclipse of 23 Nov. 755, dated by Simeon to 756 (above, p. 194). And here it is quite likely that a mistake in the archetype can be ascribed to the proposition that Hunter Blair has put forward. If the eclipse had occurred during cloudy weather in Northumbria, unobserved by the Annalist himself, information may well have come to him from somebody who still thought in terms of the Indictional reckoning. Bede could not, by a few strokes of the pen in 731, abolish the system that he had propounded only six years earlier, even if he wanted to; and we have seen that most scholars believe he did not. And without venturing into the Poole-Levison battlefield we may reflect that Bede, for all his patience and accuracy, could also sometimes have been led astray by the people he depended on.

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¹ Monday in 797; perhaps we should read *iv Kal. Nov.* Here the archetype may have been at fault.

² 766, 765, 758, 757, 754, 750, 745, 739, 737, 735.

THE RECORDS FORMERLY IN ST. MARY'S TOWER, YORK — PART I¹

By B. A. ENGLISH AND C. B. L. BARR²

Immediately to the west of the city walls of York, on the north-east bank of the River Ouse, lie the ruins of St. Mary's Abbey. At the northern angle of the abbey wall, where Marygate joins Bootham, there stands a small round tower known as 'Marygate Tower' or 'St. Mary's Tower'.³ The precinct wall was built between the years 1262 and 1266 by abbot Simon de Warwick (1258-96),⁴ but the tower, replacing an original smaller structure, may not have been erected until the first half of the fourteenth century: its enlargement is perhaps to be associated with the crenellation of part of the abbey walls licensed in 1318-19,⁵ and in 1354 it is referred to as the 'new round tower'.⁶ Roger Dodsworth in 1644 wrote that 'the abbot constructed the tower . . . so as to have somewhere for all the instruments pertaining to his monastery to be kept with the maximum security'.⁷ It is unlikely that this was the original purpose of a tower at the outer corner of a defensive wall, but in view of its subsequent use it may well have been serving such a function at the time of the abbey's dissolution. The visitor today reads on the notice fixed to the tower that 'at the time of the siege of York in 1644 [it] contained the records of most of the Northern Abbeys', it was then blown up, and, so the story goes, nearly all the records were destroyed.

For 230 years at least it has been widely believed that the records stored in St. Mary's Tower came from the monastic houses of northern England, that their deposit there was connected with the presence in the former abbey of the headquarters of the Council of the North, and that a vast quantity of monastic records was completely lost in the explosion of 1644. Thus, in 1736 Drake⁸ writes that the tower had contained 'all the records taken out of the religious houses . . . on the north side of the Trent', that these 'monastical records [were] brought under the care of the lord president, and kept . . . within this tower', until they 'were blown up . . . and mixed with common dust.' A similar story is told, in whole or in part, by a long succession of historians from the eighteenth century down to Mr. Charles Brunton Knight in 1944.⁹ Mr. Knight's account,

¹ Parts II and III, comprising the appendices, are to appear in the next two issues of *Y.A.J.* For the abbreviations used in this part see pages 234-5.

² This article is not the product of regular collaboration. By coincidence Mrs. English and Mr. Barr simultaneously and independently prepared far shorter articles on the same subject, to a great extent overlapping and agreeing in most essentials. It was impossible to print either alone or both together, and it was agreed that the two should be combined into a single article. Mr. Barr undertook the task of amalgamation, and in carrying it out took the argument and research considerably further. His is the responsibility for any errors in the article as printed. We wish to acknowledge kind help from Mr. F. A. Barr, Miss M. Barratt, Sir C. T. Clay, Mr. J. M. Collinson, Dr. G. R. C. Davis, Dr. R. B. Dobson, Miss A. G. Foster, Mr. J. H. Harvey, Mr. N. Higson, Miss K. M. Longley, Mr. D. H. Merry, Mr. J. Morley, Mr. A. G. Watson, Mr. L. P. Wenham, and Dr. C. E. Wright.

³ It is smaller now than in the period of its importance: when it was rebuilt after the explosion of 1644 the reconstruction was carried out on a smaller scale.

⁴ Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 575.

⁵ Cited in some detail from the patent roll for 12 Edw. II by T. Hudson Turner and J. H. Parker, *Some account of domestic architecture in England*, III, ii (1859), p. 408, but the original entry cannot now be traced (information from Mr. J. H. Harvey).

⁶ *C.Pat.R.* 1354-8, pp. 84-86, cited by K. J. Allison in the *V.C.H.*, *The city of York* (1961), p. 358.

⁷ MS Dods. 7, f. ii r; the Latin text is given in Appendix IX.

⁸ *Eboracum*, p. 575.

⁹ John Wallis, *The natural history and antiquities of Northumberland* (1769), i, p. xi; William Hargrove, *History and description of the ancient city of York*, II, ii (1818), pp. 590-591; Thomas Allen, *A new and complete history of the county of York* (6 vols, 1828-31), ii, pp. 362-3, 382; Hunter, *Three catalogues*, pp. 65-66, 73-74, 94; Lawton, p. 40; Caesar Caine, *The martial annals of the city of York* (1893), p. 160; Widdrington, p. 97, n.1; Arthur Francis Leach (ed.), *Memorials of Beverley Minster*, ii (S.S. cviii, 1903), p. ci; Sir Charles Travis Clay (ed.), *Yorkshire deeds*, vii (Y.A.S. R.S. lxxxiii, 1932), p. x; Denholm-Young, p. 95; Knight, p. 377.

being comprehensive as well as the most recent, is quoted here. 'At some time, probably soon after the re-establishment of the Council [of the North] in 1537, all the records taken out of the religious houses north of the Trent at the Dissolution were brought to York and deposited in St. Mary's Tower, at the corner of Marygate and Bootham, under the custody of the Lord President of the Council; where they remained until they were destroyed in the Siege of York in 1644.' This story, long and widely believed though it is, bristles with misstatements. The records in the tower were not from all or even most of the monasteries north of the Trent; it is improbable that they were complete for any religious house; they were not in the custody of the Lord President and Council of the North; and by no means all the records that were in the tower were destroyed in 1644.

Already in the middle ages there were instances of government records being kept and used in St. Mary's Abbey, though never on a permanent basis. Eighteen meetings of parliament at York are recorded between 1283 and 1335,¹ and between 1298 and 1392 the exchequer moved to York six times, for periods totalling over fourteen years.² Each time many cartloads of 'rolls, tallies, writs, memoranda, and other things touching' the exchequer and the other offices were brought to York, and, although the headquarters seems generally to have been in the castle, the chancellor himself and some other officials often stayed, worked, and kept their documents in St. Mary's Abbey. We hear of them there in 1316, 1318, 1322,³ 1327,⁴ 1332,⁵ 1333, 1334, 1335, and 1336.⁶ There in the abbey the great seal was delivered to the chancellor and handed over by him, and used to seal writs, there people appeared 'in chancery', there a new keeper of the chancery rolls had delivered to him 'the rolls, writs, inquisitions, records, processes and other memoranda of chancery', and on one occasion in the reign of Edward III there is mention of a keeper of the rolls having the rolls and briefs of the chancery in a chest in the abbey.⁷ Some of these occurrences took place in the abbey church or in the officials' rooms, and none is specified as taking place in the tower; most, indeed, are at a period before its enlargement.

In any case, this occasional temporary keeping of government records in the abbey is a precursor of the later keeping of records in the tower only in an incidental way. The records whose history is under discussion were purely monastic in origin. When and why did they come there? We can safely disregard the supposition of John Burton:⁸ 'The Reason of the Number of original Charters etc.: amounting to an almost incredible quantity, was owing to y^e Incursions of the Scots, during y^e Wars betwixt them and England; which obliged the Religious Houses, in this County' ('especially', Burton adds elsewhere, 'those to the north and east of this place') 'to repose their Charters' etc. in St. Mary's abbey at this city, as a Place of greater security for their preservation.' The relations between the monasteries were not such that one house, let alone, in Burton's words, 'many of the religious houses', would have willingly entrusted its muniments to another. Besides, the documents deposited at St. Mary's were not 'dead': they were many of them current and liable to be needed at any time, and the administrative difficulties of running an estate when the title deeds were kept (say) thirty miles away would have been considerable; such a situation would never have been created deliberately. Burton, we may be sure, was guessing, and not guessing very well.⁹ His mistaken idea that the records were

¹ Sir F. M. Powicke and E. B. Fryde (ed.), *Handbook of British chronology*, 2nd ed. (Royal Historical Society, Guides and Handbooks, 2, 1961), pp. 508–519; the dates given in the V.C.H. *York* (1961), pp. 29, 54–57, 60, do not correspond in every case.

² Dorothy M. Broome, 'Exchequer migrations to York in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries', in A. G. Little and F. M. Powicke (ed.), *Essays in medieval history presented to Thomas Frederick Tout* (1925), pp. 291–300, at pp. 291–2.

³ V.C.H. *York*, p. 55.

⁴ *C.Cl.R.* 1327–30, pp. 202–3.

⁵ *C.Cl.R.* 1330–33, p. 620.

⁶ *C.Cl.R.* 1333–7: 1333, p. 129; 1334, pp. 295–6; 1335, pp. 493, 539; 1336, pp. 647, 732.

⁷ Close Rolls, cited by Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 575, note f.

⁸ Letter to the Archbishop of York (Robert Hay Drummond), 22 February 1769, now in the Bodleian Library, MS Top. Yorks. c.11, f.16; printed by Davies, *Burton*, pp. 432–4, and Denholm-Young, p. 98; the additional detail is in Burton's *Mon. Ebor.*, p. vi.

⁹ No better than when, on the next page of the *Mon. Ebor.*, he supposes that 'all the [York archiepiscopal and cathedral records] of an earlier date [than A.D. 1225] were burnt with York Minster, in A.D. 1137'!

especially from the north and east of Yorkshire is no more than a careless blunder: he has glanced at the title of Dodsworth's volume of records copied from St. Mary's Tower, and his eye has caught the words 'Monasticon Boreale . . . Ex Autographis in Turri beate marie iuxta eboracum nuper custoditis . . . In quo cartæ terrarum in Northriding et Estridinge precipuè Transcriptæ sunt'.¹ He has not looked carefully enough to observe that this is 'Tomus primus', and that it is accompanied by a 'Tomus Secundus, cartas de Westriding præcipuè continens'.

Burton must, however, be given credit for getting one point right: he speaks consistently of the records of the *Yorkshire* religious houses as being in the tower, whereas Drake and most later writers, as we have seen, speak of it as having contained the records of the monasteries north of the Trent, i.e., of the whole of the north of England.² Evidence given below shows that it was only Yorkshire houses – and not all of those – whose records were in the tower. Drake's error, like Burton's, almost certainly arose from a misunderstanding of Dodsworth's title, 'Monasticon Boreale . . . Ex Autographis in Turri beate marie . . . nuper custoditis'. The reference to the tower relates only to the first two volumes of the 'Monasticon Boreale', which deal with houses in the three Ridings, while the third volume, compiled from other sources, has in its title the words 'ultra Trentam' seized on by Drake. The title of MS Dods. 7 explains that it and its companion volume were written 'in these turbulent times, when there is no peace at home', in the house of Dodsworth's friend Sir Francis Neville at Chevet, near Wakefield. Dodsworth will not have had all his 150-odd tomes of notes with him, and these two volumes must represent only the beginnings of a draft, to which he intended to add afterwards material from his collections relating to the religious houses in the other northern counties. This intention was fully carried out, with the incorporation of selections from the 'Monasticon Boreale' and the addition of further Yorkshire documents from other sources and of documents concerning monasteries outside Yorkshire, in his wider project, the well-known *Monasticon Anglicanum*, which goes jointly under his name and that of Sir William Dugdale.³

What is probably the correct explanation of the circumstances in which the records of Yorkshire monasteries came to St. Mary's Tower is given by Dodsworth in the title of his 'Monasticon Boreale': 'When the monasteries throughout all England were dissolved, under Henry VIII, the muniments, neither few nor contemptible, of very many monasteries of the same county [Yorkshire] were deposited, in several chests, in the said tower, as the most suitable place.'

¹ Title of MS Dods. 7; a full transcript is given in Appendix IX.

² James Raine, *York* (Historic towns; 2nd ed., 1893), pp. 130–131, has it both ways: 'Marygate Tower . . . had for a long time been used as a record office for the north. In it the charters and books taken from the Yorkshire monasteries at their suppression had been deposited, and were in the charge of a record-keeper who was a patent-officer of the crown.' But apart from the opening reference to 'the north', this is an accurate account, and the only one to mention the record-keeper appointed by patent.

³ Published after Dodsworth's death and commonly known under Dugdale's name alone: vol. i, 1655; ii, 1661; iii, 1673. For the relative parts of Dodsworth and Dugdale in the work, see Denholm-Young and Craster, pp. 5–32, spec. pp. 5–9, and David C. Douglas, *English scholars, 1660–1730* (2nd ed., 1951), pp. 30–51. How provisional a collection, based on inadequate available materials, the 'Monasticon Boreale' is, is evident from the small proportion of its contents included in the *Mon. Angl.*; this was already noticed by Kennett in his note to MS Dods. 7 (1697), and by Tanner, who made extensive use of the 'Boreale' in his *Notitia monastica*, first published in 1695. The immediate practical importance of these collections may be seen from the complaint made by Thomas Millington (*D.N.B.*), fellow of All Souls, in 1666, that 'the publication of the *Monasticons* had bred a great deal of trouble, and had caused suits in Westminster hall' (Anthony Wood, *The life and times*, ed. by Andrew Clark (Oxford Hist. Soc. xxi, 1892), p. 76), and from the fact that the *Monasticon* 'hath been admitted as a good Circumstantial Evidence in the Courts of Westminster when the Records therein transcribed could not upon diligent Search be otherwise recovered' (J[ames] W[right], on the second page of the preface to his abridged English translation of the *Monasticon*, 1693); a similar statement was made in the reign of George III (Appendix V, Stewards, 1694–1703); however, four judgements from the period 1795–1837 are cited by Roscoe, *Digest of the law of evidence* (9th ed. 1858), p. 114, rejecting even original cartularies in the British Museum and the College of Arms, 'it not appearing that the possession of the grant was connected with any person having an interest in the estate'; modern lawyers would probably be more lenient with a cartulary, wherever kept, but their attitude to the *Monasticon* still requires, as far as we are aware, to be tested.

Note that Dodsworth connects the collection of the records with the dissolution of the monasteries and their being kept in the tower simply with the convenience of its situation as, presumably, a major crown building in the chief city of the county; he makes no suggestion of any link with the Council of the North. In this Dodsworth is doubtless right, and Drake and all who have followed him are wrong. Although the Council was granted accommodation in the former abbey within a month of its dissolution late in 1539,¹ the abbey buildings came to be known as the King's (not the Council's) Manor, they were administered on behalf of the crown by a 'keeper of the site of our [i.e., the King's] palace or manor of the late monastery of St. Mary by the walls of the city of York' appointed by letters patent issued through the exchequer and not by the Council,² and parts of them were occupied by other individuals and organisations³ at the same time as the Council and independently of it. The account rolls of the receivers general for Yorkshire, which record the payment, as is shown below, of the record-keepers in the tower, and also the payments of the members of the Council,⁴ give these two sets of salaries quite separately and with no hint of any connection. A link between the Council and the records in the tower will have been easier to conjecture when, in addition to their both occupying parts of the same premises, the records were wrongly thought to have belonged to all England north of the Trent, precisely the area of the Council's jurisdiction. The Council's work⁵ had little to do with the lands of the dissolved monasteries, and it is difficult to see why their documents should have been singled out for special custody at the Council's headquarters in the case of Yorkshire, particularly as the records of northern monasteries outside Yorkshire were not kept at St. Mary's. The Council's own records, as is well known, have been almost entirely lost,⁶ and this might be taken as an explanation of the silence of the government records about the monastic archive at York until the

¹ The abbey was surrendered on 29 Nov. 1539 (*L.P.Hen.VIII*, XIV, 1539, ii, p. 213), and on 17 Dec. 1539 the Council thanked the King 'for appointing unto us the House which of late was called Saint Mary Abbey, withoute the Citie of Yorke' (*op. cit.* p. 258: the letter is printed in full by L. Howard, *A collection of letters* (1753), pp. 276–7; its date – the year is not stated on the letter – is wrongly given as 1538 in the *V.C.H. York*, p. 529, following Robert Davies, 'Historical notices of the edifice called the King's Manor', in *A.A.S.R.*, 1870, X, ii, p. 245, republished as *The historie of the King's Mannour House at York* (1883), p. 4.

² For these keepers see Appendix III B.

³ E.g., the steward, bailiffs and other officials of the Liberty of St. Mary's, which outlived the Council, continuing in active existence until the eighteenth century.

⁴ The receivers paid the Council not because there was any direct connection between the Council and the Augmentations but simply because the receivers held the government fund most convenient for paying the Council: cp. Richardson, pp. 228, 338. Royal warrants of 1565 and 1595 authorising the receivers to pay the Council's fees are mentioned in H.M.C. *Cecil*, v (1894), p. 395.

⁵ See Reid, spec. part iii; and more briefly, F. W. Brooks, *The Council of the North* (Historical Association publications, General series, G 25, 1953), pp. 20–30.

⁶ Reid, pp. 468–9, mentions a 'tradition . . . that the Council's papers were kept in St. Mary's Tower . . . and perished when the Tower was destroyed during the siege of 1644. It is possible', she adds, 'that the tradition is true to fact so far as the depositions and so forth are concerned, but there is some reason to doubt its truth in respect of the books of decrees. These must have been constantly in use by the Court, and there seems no good reason why they should have been kept in the Tower along with the evidences of the dissolved monasteries which were stored there, rather than in the Manor House itself, which was certainly large enough to afford storing room for them. If any volumes were to be kept elsewhere than in the building where the Court met, they would almost certainly be the earlier ones; yet we know that these earlier volumes were extant when Sir Thomas Widdrington, Recorder of York, 1638–74, compiled his *Analecta Eboracensia* (Egerton MSS. 2578),' written in 1660 and published by Caesar Caine in 1897. 'Sir Thomas', Miss Reid writes (p. 470), 'must have been able to refer, not to one book of decrees but to a whole series of them, and that, some years after the siege of 1644.' Reid gives no hint of any administrative connection between the Council and the monastic archive in St. Mary's Tower. The absence of even one Council document among the considerable number of records shown below to have survived the explosion makes it even less likely that any Council records were kept in the tower, and that there was any connection between the Council and the tower records. Three volumes of Council records which did survive at a later date contained compositions for recusants' estates, two volumes of the original documents, 1629–32, and one a transcript; they were given by Thomas Craven, mayor of Ripon, to Ralph Thoresby (Thoresby, *Ducatus Leodiensis*, 2nd ed. by T. D. Whitaker (1816), 'A catalogue of manuscripts in the musæum', p. 78, nos. 63–65). The tradition as reported by Reid goes back at least as far as 1728, when in a lawsuit about tithes a witness deposed that 'the Records of which Court [the Court of Equity of president and Councill of the north parts of England held at York . . . 1626] being deposited in a Tower in or near the dissolved Monastery of St. Mary's in which Monastery the said Court was kept were in the said Civill Warrs (amongst many other Records and Writings there also deposited) were burn[t] and destroyed when the said Tower was blown up' (York City records, Clifton estate papers, M 31: 471, p. 13).

closing decade of the sixteenth century, but in view of the many gaps in the documents now in the Public Record Office, and our inadequate knowledge of many of the relevant papers that are there, the *argumentum ex silentio* is not a conclusive one.¹ Besides, there are sufficient documents regarding the St. Mary's archive to connect it positively with precisely those crown departments with which it ought to have been connected in accordance with the general history of monastic records after the dissolution.

In the absence of any direct evidence as to how a large collection of Yorkshire monastic archives came to be in St. Mary's Tower, it is necessary to consider what was done with the records of the dissolved monasteries in the country at large. It is remarkable how little attention scholars have paid to the ways in which monastic records were dealt with at the dissolution of the houses and in the half-century between that time and the advent of the earliest Elizabethan antiquaries. Little more than a hundred years after the dissolution Thomas Fuller, after bemoaning the destruction of the monastic libraries and their books as a loss to learning, adds: 'And now these ignorant owners, so long as they might keep a Lieger-book, or Terrier, by direction thereof to finde suche stragling acres as belonged unto them, they cared not to preserve any other Monuments'.² While Fuller thus says that at least some of the records were cared for, if not from interest in them as historical documents, a century later John Tanner sounds a more gloomy note when lamenting the failure of the Tudors to take effective steps for their preservation:³ 'the learned world could not but have received great advantage from their books, if they had been preserved. Their mss. bibles, fathers, and classics, would certainly have been of great use; and from their chronicles, registers, and other books relating to their own houses and estates, the history and antiquities of the nation in general, and of almost every particular part of it, might have been more fully discovered. For the many good accounts of families, of the foundation, endowment, and appropriation of several parish churches, and the ordination of their vicarages; of the ancient bounds of forests, counties, hundreds, and parishes; of the privileges, tenures and rents of many manors and estates, and the like, which we meet with in such of their books as have been preserved, is a sufficient proof that the advantage would have been still greater, if we had been so fortunate as to have preserved more of them.' To the fate of the monastic libraries and their books much scholarly attention has been given,⁴ but the history of the monastic archives has remained a subject with more questions than answers.⁵ What happened to the documents when the monasteries were dissolved? How and by whom were they collected, where were they stored, and what use was made of them? How did they come to the places and the condition in which they were fifty years after the dissolution, when antiquaries began to take an interest in them?

In some cases monastic archives have survived till the present day near the monasteries to which they once belonged. In Yorkshire, for example, a great many of the documents which once belonged to Fountains Abbey were still in Studley Royal estate office until the

¹ 'Nothing has been written concerning . . . that vast collection of land and revenue records which eventually found lodgment within the Augmentation Office of the Exchequer' (Richardson, p. 475). 'The 524 volumes of Miscellaneous Books, still inadequately indexed and calendared, now constitute the largest and most important single collection of all the Augmentations records . . . A complete list (is given by Giuseppi) of the Miscellaneous Books, inadequately described and often mislabeled'; only 26 of the volumes are calendared in the published *L.P.Hen.VIII* (*id.* p. 486, with n.34). 'Many of the records of the Court [of Augmentations] have been lost or inadvertently destroyed, leaving the unconquerable silence of time hanging over certain aspects of policy and personnel' (*id.* p.v).

² Thomas Fuller, *The history of abbeys* (= *The church-history of Britain*, book vi), 1655, p. 335.

³ In the preface to his edition of Thomas Tanner's *Notitia monastica* (1744), pp. xli-ii; = new ed., by James Nasmyth (1787), p.xxvi.

⁴ A convenient survey is C. E. Wright, 'The dispersal of libraries in the sixteenth century', in Francis Wormald and C. E. Wright (ed.), *The English library before 1700* (1958), pp. 148-175. Add John Dee's appeal to Queen Mary in 1556/7, printed in Thomas Hearne (ed.), *Johannis Glastoniensis Chronicon* (1726), ii, pp. 490-495; *Biographia Britannica*, iii (1750), 1634-5, n.D = 2nd ed. by Andrew Kippis, v (1793), 33n.; and *C.Tr.P.* 1556/7-1696, p. 1. The 'records' and 'monuments' constantly referred to by Bale, Leland, Parker and Dee are not archives but chronicles and annals.

⁵ A noteworthy but brief attempt to answer some of the questions in regard to cartularies is made by Davis, pp. xiv-xvi, 'The descent of cartularies'.

1950's;¹ many of the charters of Kirklees Priory are still at Kirklees Hall; some Sawley Abbey charters are still at Gisburn Park;² and a Guisborough Priory rent roll was in the last century at Longhull near Guisborough.³ How are instances of this sort, and they could easily be paralleled elsewhere, to be reconciled with the instructions given to the commissioners for the suppression of the monasteries?⁴ 'The King's commissioners . . . [are] to call for the convent-seal, with all writings, charters, evidences and muniments concerning any of their possessions to be delivered to them, and to put the same in sure keeping . . . Item, To examine . . . what leases hath been made to any farmer, of the farms belonging to the same house; and what rent is reserved, and to whom, and for how many years, and a copy of the indenture, if they can get it, or else the countre payne.' And again,⁵ 'The Commissioners shall . . . take into their hands the common and convent seals and cause them to be broken or safely kept to the King's use; they shall . . . make them [the governors and officers of the monasteries] declare upon oath . . . what leases, corrodies, fees, &c., have been granted by them . . .; they shall . . . put in safe custody to the King's use all evidences and writings; they shall appoint pensions to the governors and notify them to the Chancellor and Council of the Court of Augmentation, with the total value of the possessions . . .'. Presumably the order to 'put in safe custody to the King's use all evidences and writings' might be carried out simply by taking possession of the keys to the muniment room or cupboard. Many of the monastic estates were almost immediately alienated from the crown, and in such cases a mere handing over of keys would be the easiest and most convenient method by which the crown could within a short interval take and again hand over bulky and often doubtless loose collections of estate papers together with the estates to which they related. Even in such cases, however, the crown had real need of at least some of the documents, for the receivers' accounts show that they were in every case careful to collect the house's debts for the year.⁶ But it was not often that the complete estates of a religious house were alienated by the crown to a single new owner as a unity, and in all other cases, particularly where the crown retained at least some of the lands of a house, the state must have taken possession of the monastic archives by removing them to its own custody. The department concerned with this task was the same one to which the commissioners were ordered to notify pensions granted to the ousted monastic 'governors', viz., the Chancellor and Council of the Court of Augmentations.

'The Courte of Thaugmentacions of the Revenues of the Kinges Crowne' was established in 1536 by Act of Parliament,⁷ to take charge of all dissolved religious houses⁸ and their property and administer them on behalf of the crown. To do this the court required to keep such records of the monasteries as were sent to it by its various field officers, and these records were initially in the charge of the clerk of the court, whose duty it was to draw up and keep record of fresh leases, gifts, and sales.⁹ With the rapid development of the court, its statutory custodianship of the records old and new pertaining to the former religious houses soon made it one of the greatest depositories in the country.¹⁰ The clerk's salary was raised from £10 to £40, and after a year he was in 1537 given an assistant to take charge of the 'charters and evidences of the religious houses

¹ They are now in the Archives Department of Leeds Central Library.

² Joseph McNulty (ed.), *The chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of St. Mary of Sallay*, ii (Y.A.S. R.S. xc, 1934), p. 200, n.18.

³ William Brown (ed.), *Cartularium prioratus de Gyseburne*, vol. i (S.S. lxxxvi, 1889), p. xxv, n.1.

⁴ Gilbert Burnet, *The history of the reformation of the Church of England*, ed. by N. Pocock (7 vols, 1865), iv, 304-7; more briefly in *L.P.Hen.VIII*, X, 1536, pp. 303-4.

⁵ *L.P.Hen.VIII*, XI, 1536, p. 596.

⁶ Several such accounts are printed in Clay, *Suppression*, pp. 87-178.

⁷ 27 Hen. VIII, c.27: *S.R.* iii. 569-574. The account of the court and its custody of records which follows is mainly drawn from scattered pages in Richardson, with the addition of some further details from elsewhere.

⁸ The smaller monasteries dissolved under 27 Hen.VIII, c.28 (1536: *S.R.* iii. 575-8), the larger monasteries under 31 Hen.VIII, c.13 (1539: *id.* 733-9), colleges, etc., under 37 Hen.VIII, c.4 (1545: *id.* 988-993) and 1 Edw.VI, c.14 (1547: *S.R.* iv. 24-33).

⁹ Richardson, pp. 45-46. For the clerk and his successors see Appendix I.

¹⁰ Richardson, *Tudor chamber administration, 1485-1547* (1952), p. 313.

suppressed' at a salary of £6 1s 8d.¹ After ten years, letters patent of 1 January 1547 set up a new 'Courte of the Augmentacions and reuenues of the Kinges Crowne',² which in addition to the property and records of the monasteries suppressed in the regular way took over from the Court of General Surveyors,³ which was now abolished, those of the houses suppressed by attainder after the Pilgrimage of Grace. This second Court of Augmentations continued to have a keeper of the records,⁴ at an increased salary of £10.⁵ In 1554 a general reorganisation of the financial departments of the crown incorporated the court into the Exchequer, of which it became a new department, the Augmentation Office.⁶ The main part of its records, including the ex-monastic archives, was placed in a special 'Tresourie House',⁷ with a keeper appointed by the clerk of the Pipe,⁸ until, after several moves, it came to the Public Record Office in 1856–7.⁹

It is possible to see something of how the Augmentation records in London – and, by implication, the corresponding documents in York – were administered in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, how documents were added to the archive and lost from it, lent out (and not always returned), referred to, and copied.¹⁰ The bulk of the evidence is supplied by a series of indentures and warrants, comprising eighty-two pieces.¹¹

The receipt of documents into the Augmentations records is represented by the smallest group of these warrants, four in number. The only one concerned with Yorkshire (piece 3) notes the delivery in 1531–2 by Thomas Grice of Wakefield¹² to Christopher Hales, attorney general from 1529 to 1536,¹³ of court rolls and evidences of the lordship of Wakefield from 2 Edward III (1328–9); in view of the date of delivery this appears to have nothing directly to do with Augmentations records. More interesting is an indenture (79) for the delivery in 1538–9 by Thomas Mildmay, auditor from 1536 to 1541/2,¹⁴ to Griffen Tyndale, servant of Sir Richard Rich, chancellor of the Court of Augmentations from 1536 to 1544,¹⁵ of a book of ministers' accounts of the possessions of the dissolved religious houses in London and five of the southern counties in 'Circuit 1' of the Court,¹⁶ 28–29 Henry VIII (1536–8): these are regular Augmentations records, but still not archives

¹ Richardson, *Augmentations*, pp. 45, 110, 153, 493.

² *L.P.Hen.VIII*, XXI, 1546–7, ii, pp. 408–9, summarising P.R.O. C 66/790, membranes 15–28; the patent was confirmed by an Act of Parliament, delayed by Henry's death, eventually passed as 1 Edw.VI, c.8 (*S.R.* iv. 13–14). See Richardson, pp. 111 ff.; *Guide to the contents of the P.R.O.* (1963), i. 80–81.

³ Richardson, p. 129; *Guide*, i. 80: 3 Hen.VIII, c.23 (*S.R.* iii. 45–48); 7 Hen.VIII, c.7 (*id.* 182–194); 14 & 15 Hen.VIII, c.15 (*id.* 219–230); 27 Hen.VIII, c.62 (*id.* 631–2). The Court of General Surveyors also had a keeper of the records: Richardson, p. 128.

⁴ Patent, P.R.O. C 66/790, mem. 27; cited by Richardson, p. 153; cp. G. R. Elton, *The Tudor revolution in government* (1953), p. 228.

⁵ Richardson, pp. 153, 493.

⁶ Original letters patent dated 24 Jan. 1554, P.R.O. E 407/13/2; enrolled in the Close Rolls, C 54/500, mem. 3–6.

⁷ Patent, articles 21–25: Richardson, pp. 438–9; *Guide*, i. 81; Sir Thomas Fanshawe, *The practice of the exchequer court* (1658), pp. 124–5, articles 11–15. 'This Court contaynes all the Records of the Lands of all Religious Houses, as well the greater, as the lesse, which at the time of their Dissolution could bee brought into the Kings hands': Thomas Powell, *Directions for search of records remaining in the Chauncerie, Tower, Exchequer* (1622), p. 59.

⁸ Richardson, pp. 439–440.

⁹ Richardson, pp. 440, 476–482.

¹⁰ By the seventeenth century antiquaries such as Roger Dodsworth appear to have been allowed to come and do their own copying: MS Dods. 92, f.101, a charter relating to the Isle of Man, 1304, from the original *penes* Mr. Masters, keeper of the records in the Augmentation Office.

¹¹ P.R.O. E 324: descriptive accounts are given by Richardson, pp. 441–2 and 476–7, and by Dr. N. J. W[illiams] in an introductory note to the unpublished class-list in the Round Room of the P.R.O. A parallel group of 31 notes, etc. (E 163/12/9), relates to the delivery of various records and evidences in the custody of the keeper of records at the Tower of London.

¹² For Grice, a leading citizen of Wakefield, who played a prominent part in the Pilgrimage of Grace, see Dodds, index; *L.P.Hen.VIII*, XI, 1536, index; and J. W. Walker, *Wakefield: its history and people* (1934), p. 349, and other references in the index. About 1535 he was steward of Fryston and Brayton for Selby Abbey at a fee of £1 (*Val. eccl.* v.13).

¹³ *D.N.B.*

¹⁴ Richardson, p. 55.

¹⁵ Richardson, pp. xi, 65–66.

¹⁶ Richardson, p. 55.

formerly belonging to religious houses. A monastic cartulary, that of Pershore in Worcestershire, did, however, come in 1620: from the hands of a Fleet Street bookseller in 1598 the register passed, via two intermediaries, to Sir Fulke Greville, then chancellor of the Exchequer (1614–21),¹ who in 1620 sent it to William Mintern,² 'keeper of his Majesties Records, commonly called the Records of the Augmentacion Court of the Exchequer in Westminster'.³ This is an accession of an exceptional sort.

Six warrants concern requisitions of records in the Augmentation Office for use in the counties by auditors and other officials, or for production in courts of law, and of these, three relate to Yorkshire. The earliest (49) shows keeper Mintern in 1602–3 delivering to the deputy of the auditor of Yorkshire divers ministers' accounts of lordships in the north of the county for 1531–2. The other two are about a single set of accounts and surveys from 1537–8 of lands in Yorkshire and elsewhere in the north, on each occasion delivered by the executor of one auditor of Yorkshire to the succeeding auditor (62 and 52, 1609–10 and 1613–14). None of these relates to monastic charters or cartularies. It seems likely that many records lost to the central Westminster repository in such ways never returned to it.

Far more numerous is the group of warrants, 72 in number, relating to the transfer of various records from the Augmentation Office to purchasers of crown lands.⁴ In many cases not only court rolls of recent date but also accounts, deeds, and other muniments dating back as far as the thirteenth century were permanently alienated from the public records by these transfers. Only two of the entire collection relate to Yorkshire. One (23) shows keeper Smith in 1570–71 delivering two deeds of property in Hull to Sir Henry Gates;⁵ the other (1) shows Sir Edward Stafford, clerk of the Pipe,⁶ in 1596–7 delivering a lease of the manor of Chellow (Heaton, near Bradford) to Dr. Richard Taylor. Chellow had been a possession of Selby Abbey, and Richard Taylor is recorded as negotiating for the purchase of the manor after the dissolution,⁷ so this is an instance

¹ *D.N.B.*; in 1621 created baron Brooke.

² Appendix I.

³ *Reports from the Commissioners . . . respecting the public records, 1810–1819* (1820), p. 518; Richardson, p. 476. The cartulary is now P.R.O. E 315/61; Davis, p. 86, no 753.

⁴ A further instance is given in H.M.C. *Cecil* xvi (1933), p. 374, the Earl of Dorset in 1604 orders keeper Mintern to deliver to a representative of Viscount Cranborne (Robert Cecil) all court rolls and other muniments in his custody relating to the manor of St. Michael's Mount, Cornwall, purchased of the late Queen by Cranborne.

⁵ Sir Henry Gate or Gates of Seamer made a rapid rise in royal service and became an important figure at Scarborough. By 1552 he was a gentleman of the privy chamber, and in that year he was appointed augmentations receiver for the Duchy of Cornwall, but he held this office for only a year (Richardson, pp. 282–3; at p. 258, n.35, he is given, probably erroneously, as still in office in 1554). In 1553, as an adherent of Lady Jane Grey, he was condemned to death and escaped execution only by a royal pardon (J. G. Nichols (ed.), *The chronicle of Queen Jane and of two years of Queen Mary* (Camden Soc. xlviii, 1850), pp. 13, 18, 33; id. (ed.), *The diary of Henry Machyn* (Camden Soc. xlii, 1848), pp. 37, 41). In 1558 he received a grant of Hull Charterhouse (Clay, *Suppression*, p. 120), and became a member of the Council of the North until his death (Reid, pp. 186–7, 196, 284, 493). He was M.P. for Scarborough in the parliaments of 1558–9, 1562–3 and 1572, and governor of Scarborough Castle 1569–79 (Smith, p. 45; Park, p. 188; *Return*, i, pp. 406, 412; Thomas Hinderwell, *The history and antiquities of Scarborough* (1798), pp. 135, 297; 2nd ed. (1811), pp. 157, 330; J. B. Baker, *The history of Scarbrough* (1882), pp. 97, 245, 317–322, 358, 434–5; *C.S.P.Dom.* 1547–80, pp. 321, 336, 371, 388; *id.* 1601–3, *Add.* 1547–65, p. 568). In 1565–70 he was appointed a commissioner for sewers in the three Ridings of Yorkshire, Hull and Cumberland (*C.Pat.R.* 1569–72, pp. 216–217, 221, 223–4), in 1567 and 1570 a commissioner to hold inquisitions *post mortem* in Yorkshire (*id.* 1566–9, p. 131; 1569–72, p. 33), in 1568 a commissioner to enquire touching offences against the acts of uniformity and supremacy, etc., in the province of York (*id.* 1566–9, p. 172), and in 1570 he acted as a justice of oyer and terminer at Durham (*id.* 1569–72, p. 360). In the rebellion of 1569 he was loyal to the Queen (A. J. Grant in Arthur Rowntree (ed.), *The history of Scarborough* (1931), pp. 219–220; cp. also pp. 222–4). He was deputy steward and constable of Pickering and Pickering Lythe under the earl of Leicester (Reid, *loc. cit.*). He rented a group of vicars choral tenements within the close at York from a date between 1557–8 and 1567–8 until a date between 1581 and his death in 1589 (Y.M.L. Vicars choral muniments, Chamberlains' rolls, Vn 66 (1557–8) to 72 (1590)). His pedigree is in Foster, *Visitations*, p. 60; Dugdale-Davies, p. 76; Dugdale-Clay, iii, 310; Frederick Walter Dendy (ed.), *Visitations of the north*, ii (S.S. cxxxiii, 1921), p. 4.

⁶ Appendix I.

⁷ William Cudworth, *Manningham, Heaton, and Allerton* (1896), pp. 225–7; cp. also J. T. Fowler (ed.), *The coucher book of Selby*, i (Y.A.S. R.S. x, 1891), pp. 314–318; Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* p. 393; W. W. Morrell, *The history and antiquities of Selby* (1867), p. 37.

of a monastic deed being delivered out of the custody of the Augmentations Office into the hands of the purchaser of the property to which it relates.

Besides the Chellow deed it is possible to trace the early post-dissolution history of a number of other Yorkshire monastic documents, and an examination of such descents sheds some light on the circumstances in which St. Mary's Tower became a repository of records relating to the county of York (except the archdeaconry of Richmond) and in the keeping of the Court of Augmentations, and in which various groups of records did or did not come to be placed there. The evidence is most readily traceable in respect of cartularies and registers, and the case histories traced in Appendix VIII fully confirm the state of affairs reflected in the warrants for the delivery of records in the Court of Augmentations. It is thus clear what the regular policy was for the custody and disposal of monastic records after the dissolution. In the first place they came, like the religious houses and all their property, into the hands of the Court of Augmentations. There they were not regarded, as might have been expected in what was established to be a court of record,¹ as inalienable state property, preserved in perpetuity in the Court's record office or 'Tresourie House'. Nor had the time yet come in the 1530's and 1540's when it would occur to anyone that they should be systematically preserved as historical or antiquarian archives. They were regarded in a strict and narrowly legal way as deeds of title to the former monastic estates, and as soon as the estates were sold by the crown, as most of them were within a decade or two, the evidences would more or less automatically go with the ownership of the land and so come into the possession of the landowners.² Hence, of the 825 houses of the regular orders which were dissolved in the 1530's and 1540's,³ only two dozen cartularies have been preserved among the public records from an early date, and over a third of the cartularies that survive today are still in private ownership.⁴

It was not until the last ten or twenty years of the sixteenth century, over half a century after the greater part of the monastic records had been dispersed with the lands to which they related, that the heralds and antiquarians⁵ began to realise that they had not merely value as evidences of land ownership but a permanent historical importance, and some, such as Sir Robert Cotton (1571–1631) and Sir Simonds D'Ewes (1602–1650) set out to acquire them and were not always particular about the means by which they did so. Cotton came to own about 140 monastic registers and the like, sixteen of them relating to Yorkshire houses,⁶ D'Ewes barely a dozen, two of them from Yorkshire.⁷ A poor second behind Cotton is Roger Dodsworth, with eight Yorkshire cartularies: he was a note-taker rather than a book collector, and five of these are no more than fragments.⁸ On one

¹ 27 Hen. VIII, c. 27, s. 1, *ad fin.*; *S.R.* iii. 570.

² This conclusion has been correctly stated by C. E. Wright, 'The dispersal of the libraries in the sixteenth century', in Francis Wormald & C. E. Wright (ed.), *The English library before 1700* (1958), p. 151: 'First, there are the muniments; their subsequent history is normally that of the house and the major properties to which they relate – thus, several of the monastic chartularies, for example, are preserved, or were until very recently preserved, in the possession of those families to whose ancestors the properties had passed.' Likewise the registrar and keeper of all records concerning the crown lands ordered by Parliament on 16 July 1649 to be sold was instructed to 'deliver unto the Purchaser or Purchasers of the said premises, or any part thereof, such Records, Writings and Evidences as concern the premises by him or them purchased': Henry Scobell (ed.), *A collection of acts and ordinances . . . 1640 . . . unto . . . 1656* (1657–8), ii. 55; C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait (ed.), *Acts and ordinances of the interregnum* (3 vols, 1911), ii. 175.

³ David Knowles & R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses: England and Wales* (1953), p. 364.

⁴ Davis, pp. xiv–xv, where may be found a sad but accurate picture of the toll taken by ignorance and indifference. A case of deliberate destruction in 1728 is given in *N. & Q.* 3rd series, i (1862), pp. 2–3.

⁵ Davis, p. xv, gives reason to suppose that the heralds, to whom ex-monastic records were produced as evidence of descent, may have been ahead of the antiquarians in this.

⁶ Davis, pp. 160–161; Yorkshire registers: Davis, nos. 414 (Fountains), 465 (Guisborough), 479 (Healaugh), 648 (Malton), 654 (Meaux), 721–2 (Nostell), 728 (Nunkeeling), 786 (Pontefract), 811 (Rievaulx), 881–2 (Selby), 1086, 1089, 1095 (York Minster), 1106 (St. Leonard's Hospital, York).

⁷ Davis, p. 170; Yorkshire registers: Davis, nos. 876 (Sawley), 1100 (St. Mary's, York); these are respectively nos. X 14 (p. 319) and A 234 (p. 126) in Andrew G. Watson, *The library of Sir Simonds D'Ewes* (1966).

⁸ Fragments: Davis, nos. 141 (Byland), 816 (Drax), 1098–9 and 1103 (St. Mary's, York); complete registers: 517 (Kirkham), 782 (Pontefract), 1000 (Warter). According to Dugdale's diary Dodsworth pawned to Sir Thomas Widdrington the 'leger books' of Castle Acre, Binham, Waltham, Warter, Byland, and Pontefract, the last three being Yorkshire houses: W. Hamper (ed.), *The life, diary, and correspondence of Sir William Dugdale* (1827), p. 125; analysis by G. R. C. Davis, 'Two cartularies from the West Riding', in *The British Museum Quarterly*, xxiv, 3–4 (1961), p. 70, n.16.

occasion we find Dodsworth in 1641 purchasing a batch of thirty-one charters from John Winkworth 'in officio clerici Pipe',¹ and we may wonder how many more monastic records left public custody in this way. Charles Fairfax had three Yorkshire cartularies,² Brian Fairfax one,³ Sir Christopher Hatton five,⁴ Sir Thomas Widdrington two,⁵ Richard Gascoigne two.⁶ The Yorkshire landowners retained as many as most of these: the Ingilby family had seven,⁷ the Constables two,⁸ the Saviles three,⁹ the Hildyards two.¹⁰ In comparison with all these it is easy to see how little was kept in public custody, two registers with the Duchy of Lancaster and only four cartularies known to have been in St. Mary's Tower.¹¹

Precisely when in the sixteenth century St. Mary's Tower came to be an official record repository for certain Yorkshire ex-monastic documents, no specific evidence has come to light to show. There can, however, be no doubt that the records there were, directly or indirectly, in the charge of the Court of Augmentations. While from 1599 onwards the patents appointing the keepers of the evidences in St. Mary's Tower were originated in the Exchequer, of which the Augmentation Office was then a department, as documents of the dissolved religious houses in one county kept in that county the records in the tower will have come under the immediate control not of the central office in Westminster with its keepers of the records, but of the local representatives of the Augmentations. In Yorkshire, as in the other Augmentations circuits, there were two such officials, the Auditors and the Receivers, and some points suggest that the one and some that the other had the responsibility for the bringing together of the archive.

The senior field officers of the Augmentations in Yorkshire were the Auditors.¹² Their principal work was to check on the financial activities of the receivers, and they were thus appointed primarily for their ability at accountancy and not for their local interests, knowledge, and standing, as were the receivers.¹³ The first auditor for Yorkshire, Hugh Fuller, had been a crown auditor since as early as 1523, and with his constant employment in similar capacities it is not surprising that he retained the Augmentations post for at least eleven years and probably more. He had been known to Cromwell, Beckwith and Lawson for some years before the dissolution, and was a Visitor of the Yorkshire monasteries. In his later years as Augmentations auditor he had as deputy one William Fuller, presumably a relative, who afterwards became an auditor of the Exchequer. His successor, Anthony Rone or Rowe, was by origin a minor country gentleman from south Yorkshire, but from his Augmentations post he proceeded to an auditorship in the Exchequer and settled in the London area, becoming a churchwarden at St. Botolph Without and acquiring a residence at Hounslow. In 1554, on the absorption of the Augmentations into the Exchequer, the duties of the Augmentations auditors were taken over by a smaller number of Exchequer auditors with less clearly defined geographical responsibilities,¹⁴ and any effective control by the auditors of what must by this time have become largely a 'dead' archive for their purposes will have ceased. Such an abandonment of responsi-

¹ MS Dods. 100, ff. 119–136, mainly relating to 'Ossulveston priory', i.e., Owston, Leics.

² Davis, nos. 417 (Fountains), 517 (Kirkham), 721 (Nostell).

³ Davis, no. 142 (Byland).

⁴ Davis, nos. 648 (Malton), 721 (Nostell), 1098–9 and 1105 (St. Mary's, York).

⁵ Davis, nos. 782 (Pontefract), 1000 (Warter).

⁶ Davis, nos. 479 (Healaugh), 660 (Meaux).

⁷ Davis, nos. 61 (Bolton), 73 (Bridlington), 415, 417, 420, 424–5 (Fountains).

⁸ Davis, nos. 315 (Drax), 354 (Easby).

⁹ Davis, nos. 49 (Beverley), 427 (Fountains), 1097 (St. Mary's, York).

¹⁰ Davis, nos. 653 and 659 (Meaux); no. 1101 (St. Mary's, York) was acquired by Francis Hildyard probably in his capacity as a bookseller rather than as a member of his family.

¹¹ D.L.: Davis, nos. 518 (Kirkstall), 878 (Selby); St. Mary's Tower: nos. 411 (Fountains), 517 (Kirkham), 655 (Meaux), 1101 (St. Mary's, York).

¹² Appendix II A.

¹³ Richardson, pp. 54–57. The fact that 'strangers' to a county were deliberately chosen as auditors for it was noticed by Thomas Helsby in his second edition of George Ormerod, *The history of the county palatine and city of Chester* (1882), i. 89, note a.

¹⁴ Some later auditors, however, are described as 'of Yorkshire', e.g., in 1602–3, 1609–10, and 1613–14 (above, p. 205; also Appendix IIA), but the geographical responsibility was informal, not being embodied in the patents of appointment of the Exchequer auditors.

bility for the York archive would accord well with the casual way in which it seems to have been administered at this period, and is one point in favour of the auditors, rather than the receivers, having been in charge of the records. Another is the fact that the Exchequer warrants for the delivery of records seem on the whole to be made out to auditors and not to receivers.¹ On the other hand, the auditors seem slightly less likely than the receivers either to have had the opportunity to collect the ex-monastic records at the dissolution² or to have needed regular recourse to them afterwards.³ The question remains an open one.

The early Receivers for Yorkshire were as follows:⁴

1536-46	Sir Leonard Beckwith
1546-52	Richard Whalley
1552-58	John Fisher
1558	John Herbert
1558-70	William Patten
1570-91	John Jenkins
1591-1621	Thomas Scudamore

Beckwith was an ambitious, unscrupulous and successful self-made man. The son of a moderately well-to-do country gentleman, he made a considerable fortune out of trafficking in monastic lands. Though an official of both St. Mary's Abbey, York, and Selby Abbey, he was a commissioner for the dissolution of the northern monasteries. He was a commissioner too for the dissolution of the Corpus Christi Guild in York, of which he was himself a member. As receiver he was accused of embezzlement on a large scale, but he managed to escape punishment. Though his advancement came mainly through his active participation in the dissolution, his will shows that he died an adherent of the old faith, and he was buried in the Lady Chapel of York Minster next to a row of archbishops.

Whalley was related to one of the last abbots of St. Mary's, York. Like Beckwith, he was closely involved in the dissolution, and profited from trafficking in monastic lands. As receiver he was found guilty of embezzlement, dismissed and imprisoned, but influential connections brought his release and eventual return to public life as a member of parliament. Whalley too appears to have adhered to the old faith. Fisher, apparently a York lawyer, is barely known except as an official of the Augmentations. Herbert held a number of posts in St. Mary's Liberty, and was concerned in the receivership only as an on-the-spot assistant in the handover from Fisher to Patten. Patten's father was a London cloth-worker, but his great-uncle had been lord chancellor and he studied at Cambridge and afterwards gained the friendship of Lord Burghley. He was busily engaged in a variety of public affairs, mainly in the London area, and at the same time he was an antiquarian and a poet, and a humanistic scholar in oriental languages, particularly Armenian. Jenkins, of obscure Welsh origin, founded a family of some importance in York, being himself buried in the Minster. He had previously resigned the receivership

¹ Above, pp. 204-6.

² In Yorkshire, the first auditor and the first receiver had both been commissioners for the dissolution and so will have had equal opportunity in the first place, but the receiver's opportunity continued thereafter while the auditor's did not; for an instance of the commissioners themselves making a careful examination of at least some of the monastic records see Thomas Wright, *Three chapters of letters relating to the suppression of monasteries* (Camden Soc. xxvi, 1843), pp. 171-3, G. H. Cook (ed.), *Letters to Cromwell and others on the suppression of the monasteries* (1965), pp. 156-8; *L.P.Hen.VIII*, XIII, 1538, i, p. 152.

³ A strong piece of evidence in favour of the receivers having had responsibility for the disposal of the ex-monastic records may be drawn from the closely parallel activities of the Duchy of Lancaster at the dissolution of houses falling within its jurisdiction. At Furness in June 1537, the receiver, William Sandes, accounted for 35s 4d spent 'pro cariagio trium les packes de Evidenciis et libris terrarum et possessionum dicti nuper monasterii a Furnes super tres equos usque London una cum certis cannabo [canvas] et aliis stuffuris emptis pro salvacione cariagii earundem' (D.L. Receiver's Account, 28-30 Hen.VIII, cited by Thomas Alcock Beck, *Annales Furnesienses* (1845), p. 352; J. Stanley Leatherbarrow, *The Lancashire Elizabethan recusants* (Chetham Soc. N.S. cx, 1947), p. 4). The two known Furness cartularies were formerly both in the D.L. office, where one of them still remains (Davis, pp. 48-49, nos. 428-9).

⁴ Appendix II B.

in favour of his son-in-law, Thomas Scudamore. Scudamore, also of Welsh descent, was only distantly if at all related to Sir John Scudamore, an earlier official of the Augmentations, but his name as well as his marriage will have helped his entrance into the department. Thomas Scudamore died in April 1621, and within a short period no less than seventeen persons claimed or exercised the receivership in competition, but this dispute can here be ignored because by this period there is adequate information about the actual keepers of the records in St. Mary's Tower.

It is in fact likely that none of the auditors or receivers after the first, though the keeping of the ex-monastic evidences theoretically came into their charge, exercised any practical control over them. Beckwith, before being appointed receiver general for Yorkshire in the Augmentations in 1536, had been particular receiver of almost all the individual houses in Yorkshire (other than Richmondshire) dissolved in the years 1534-6.¹ While Beckwith sold most of the 'ornamentes, jewelles, goodes', etc., of the houses as he was instructed,² the monastic records, which are likely to have come into his hands at the same time, he must have kept so that debts could be pursued and rents received. Where could he have kept them?³ Certainly not at first in St. Mary's Tower, for St. Mary's was not dissolved and available for use by servants of the crown until November 1539,⁴ and there would be no question of depositing ex-monastic records now crown property for safe keeping in a monastery not yet dissolved, particularly one which had already shown itself solicitous to recover from the crown muniments acquired by the crown at an earlier dissolution.⁵ Where else in York could the crown keep these records? Contemporary evidence shows that only one place is likely. 'The King has not in York or nearby any house able to lodge his commissioners or councillors except the site of the castle',⁶ and this must also have been the only place suitable to receive the records. The castle was said to be 'in ruins',⁷ but it was not all in such a state, for throughout this period the state papers show that it was used for the county court and gaol.⁸ Any crown documents thus deposited in the castle would presumably come into the immediate charge of the curator of the official records already there, namely, the clerk of the castle and county court.⁹ As it was the clerk of the court of the Augmentations who in the first place had charge of those Augmentations records which were in London, this will have appeared an appropriate arrangement for York.

Since 1529 the clerkship of the castle and county court of York had been held by William Maunsell. He had a close connection, perhaps even a relationship, with one of

¹ Clay, *Suppression*, pp. 87-178, where Beckwith is named as receiver of the following houses dissolved 1534-6: Arden, Drax, North Ferriby, Haltemprice, Healaugh, Keldholme, Marton, Nunburnholme, Sawley, Sinningthwaite. William Blitheman, Augmentations receiver for Durham and Richmond, 1536-44 (Richardson, p. 49), acted in 1536 as receiver of Coverham and Easby, both in Richmond, and of Ellerton on Spalding Moor and St. Andrew's, York (1538), both Gilbertine houses. The Gilbertines enjoyed a peculiar status in the dissolution: see Gilbert Burnet, *The history of the reformation of the Church of England*, ed. by N. Pocock (7 vols, 1865), iv, 307; Rose Graham, *S. Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertines* (1901), pp. 174-6; *L.P.Hen.VIII*, X, 1536, p. 304; D. Knowles, *The religious orders in England*, iii (1959), p. 317; Richardson, p. 82. At his death in 1544 Blitheman was in debt to the crown for the sum of £2783 8s 2d (Richardson, pp. 57-58).

² Clay, *Suppression*, pp. 21-23.

³ Not, surely, at any of Beckwith's own houses: after the triple assault in 1535 on his houses at Stillingfleet, South Cave, and York, when he was robbed of evidences belonging not only to himself but also to crown lands which he was administering (H. B. McCall (ed.), *Yorkshire Star Chamber proceedings*, ii (Y.A.S. R.S. xlv, 1911), pp. 124-133), he is hardly likely to have afterwards kept crown evidences in any large quantity at home but will have felt it prudent, even if less convenient personally, to keep them more securely in crown custody.

⁴ Above, p. 201, n.1.

⁵ Clay, *Suppression*, pp. 1-2; Thomas Wright (ed.), *Three Chapters of letters relating to the suppression of monasteries* (Camden Soc. xxvi, 1843), pp. 1-4; G. H. Cook (ed.), *Letters to Cromwell and others on the suppression of the monasteries* (1965), pp. 16-18; *L.P.Hen.VIII*, IV, ii, 1526-8, p. 2064: this letter shows St. Mary's in 1528 asking for the return of 'munimentes, evidences', etc., confiscated at its cell at Rumburgh in Suffolk.

⁶ *L.P.Hen.VIII*, VIII, 1534, pp. 616-617.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *L.P.Hen.VIII* and *C.S.P.Dom.* passim, indices s.v. York Castle; and Cooper.

⁹ Appendix III.

the most prominent of Yorkshire families, the Darcys, he was a friend of Sir Leonard Beckwith and Sir George Lawson and much in favour with Thomas Cromwell, the Earl of Northumberland, and abbot Edmund Whalley of St. Mary's, York. He held a number of minor posts in Yorkshire, and received Clementhorpe Nunnery after its dissolution in 1536, thereafter apparently removing from his earlier home at Huntington to St. Clement's. In 1539, he was appointed receiver of St. Mary's Abbey, despite opposition from Beckwith, who was receiver of almost every other house in Yorkshire outside Richmond, and he seems subsequently to have held every office in the Liberty of St. Mary's until his death a couple of years later. It seems likely that Maunsell, finding himself having to house a large and motley collection of Yorkshire monastic records in the cramped quarters of the half-ruined castle¹ and taking over the bulky St. Mary's records in addition, moved the entire collection to the more spacious abbey, using the Tower perhaps in order to keep the documents separate from the main buildings, where the Council of the North quickly became seated, and from the gatehouse area, where the Liberty jurisdiction was centred. Maunsell died in December 1541, and early in the following year Reynold Beseley, a local lawyer, was appointed to the clerkship of the castle and county court, and despite opposition from Sir Henry Savill, high sheriff of Yorkshire, who claimed that the post was his and not the crown's to dispose of, he continued in the office. In 1555 Beseley was joined in the clerkship by his younger relative and protégé, Edward, and after Reynold's death in 1563 Edward continued alone. The exclusion of Richmondshire records from the Tower makes it certain that the archive had been brought together as a collection before 1552, after which date the archdeaconry was united with the remainder of Yorkshire under the same receiver,² and, while the Beseleys held a number of legal and political offices in and around York up to the 1550's, they are not likely to have been appointed to any fresh office after Queen Mary's death in 1558. The Beseley family was firmly recusant, and Edward and his second wife Bridget were particularly rigid in their adherence to the old faith regardless of consequences. From 1572 until at least 1604 they were in constant trouble at York and at their country residence at nearby Overton for their 'obstinate recusancy'; they were repeatedly gaoled in York Castle, released for a time on bond in the hope that they would conform, and re-imprisoned when they would not. The keepers of the gaol in York Castle must thus often have had the strange duty of imprisoning the clerk of the court held in the same buildings,³ and it is surprising, and perhaps illustrative of the infiltration of Roman Catholics into many positions of power in Yorkshire, that Beseley retained office as long as he did. It was not until 1589 that he was ousted and, despite an unsuccessful appeal by Beseley to the Privy Council, the crown appointed as clerk of the castle and county court the thoroughly reliable Anthony Ashley, already clerk of the Privy Council and later to become a privy councillor and a baronet. With his other duties Ashley could not attend to his York office in person,

¹ There were repeated proposals over the centuries to extend the buildings, but economy or indifference in London frustrated them all (Cooper, pp. 148-9, 210-211). Repairs to the prison taking £40 and thirty trees from the royal woods were authorised in 1556 (H.M.C. (JP 6), *A calendar of the Shrewsbury and Talbot papers*, i (1966), p. 27), but this would not ease the problem of housing archives. Long afterwards Sydney Smith remarked that 'The Castle of York is very awkwardly situated for any increase of building' (*A letter to the committee of magistrates of the county of York, appointed to alter and enlarge the county jail* (York, 1824), p. 2). A special record room for the castle and county court was not built until 1826 (Cooper, p. 239). The existence in the castle, and probably in Clifford's Tower, of empty quarters suitable for the accommodation of a small collection of records, and so perhaps known to have held some earlier, may be suggested in a letter of 19 June 1596 from Lord Burghley as Lord High Treasurer to archbishop Matthew Hutton putting forward a proposal that Clifford's Tower be made 'a place for the keeping of the records of the city' of York (Cooper, p. 159).

² See John Fisher's patent, Appendix II B. Previously, in the receiverships of Beckwith (1536-46) and Whalley (1546-52), Richmondshire was administered separately from the rest of Yorkshire under a receiver who combined Richmond with the bishopric of Durham and, from 1547, with the counties of Lancaster, Westmorland, Cumberland, Northumberland, and the Isle of Man: Richardson, pp. 49-50, 281 (Fisher's patent, by including Richmond with the rest of Yorkshire, necessitates an amendment to p. 281).

³ In 1569-70 the gaoler himself, Oswald Wilkinson, was imprisoned there (Cooper, pp. 303-4; *C.S.P.Dom. Add.* 1566-79, pp. 223-4); again in 1596 Robert Redhead (Cooper, pp. 307-8; H.M.C. *Cecil*, vols vi (1895) and vii (1899), *passim*).

and while a deputy acted as clerk at the castle, he ignored the monastic records which Maunsell (probably) had transferred to St. Mary's Abbey and whose custody there had been taken over by the Beseleys. Thus Edward was able to continue as *de facto* keeper of the evidences, in person when he was free and through a deputy when he was not, and in this way he occurs in 1592 delivering Kirkstall Abbey deeds to Sir Walter Calverley, the then holder of the estates to which they referred. Beseley appears to have kept this up for ten years, until in 1599 the crown made another attempt to push him out of office. In this year Ashley was reinforced as clerk of the castle and county court by the energetic Thomas Lake, clerk of the Signet and later secretary of state, and for the first time a specific keeper of the ex-monastic documents in St. Mary's Tower was appointed, Edward Bee. Bee may have belonged to another Yorkshire family of lawyers, though he is described merely as gentleman and steward of the royal chamber. His patent states that his salary is to be paid 'out of the revenues and profits of the law of the county of York', and this phrase, at first sight remarkable in its context, is important as showing that the keepership at St. Mary's Tower sprang from the clerkship of the county court, to which Beseley's appointment is recorded.¹

Undeterred by this twofold attack, Beseley, though he must now have been about seventy years old, strenuously continued to maintain his rights to the offices granted him by patent forty-four years earlier. It was probably Beseley who encouraged successive high sheriffs of Yorkshire, a high proportion of whom were, as dean John Thornborough complained to the Privy Council in 1607,² more or less crypto-catholics, to urge that the appointment to the clerkship lay with them and not with the crown. Doubtless Beseley had the idea from the experience of Reynold, who had had to resist a sheriff in this way in 1542, and more than once the sheriffs made similar attempts to oust crown appointees to the keepership of the gaol and replace them by their own nominees.³ In this way sheriffs tried to put their own candidate, probably Beseley, into the clerkship in 1593, 1600, 1601, and 1605, and, while usually a letter from secretary Cecil, prompted by Lake, was enough to restrain the sheriff, on the last occasion the dispute came so far as to have a hearing before the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer. Beseley was unsuccessful in this, and at the same time had a setback in his attempts to ignore Bee's appointment as keeper of the evidences. While Beseley succeeded in acting as keeper in 1603 and on other occasions after the death of Elizabeth and accession of James,⁴ in 1605 Bee's patent was renewed by the crown. This could have been done simply because of the succession of a new sovereign, but in this case there may have been a further reason. It seems likely that Beseley may have been maintaining that Maunsell had acted as keeper of the evidences in St. Mary's Tower by virtue not only of his clerkship of the county court at the castle but also of his clerkship of the liberty court in the abbey. Weak though this argument is, it will have been completely answered by Bee's appointment in his second patent to the additional office of clerk of the courts of St. Mary's, a post otherwise unnecessary – it had not been filled for fifty-five years – this giving him also some standing in the abbey besides an additional 13s 4d per annum. Thereafter the posts of keeper of the evidences and clerk of the courts of St. Mary's were constantly held in conjunction. Nonetheless Bee seems still to have been totally ineffective – he is the only keeper not known to have certified copies from records in the tower – and may even lie under some suspicion of having acquiesced in Beseley acting more or less as his deputy. It is precisely in the probable year of Beseley's death, 1613, that Bee is found appointing new deputies, and, like Beseley, they regularly styled themselves as keepers of the evidences without any reference to the fact that officially they were no more than deputies to the patentee, Bee.

¹ The surviving archives of the county court itself cannot be expected to record anything about the ex-monastic evidences, as they do not begin until well into the seventeenth century: 1640 according to James Raine (ed.), *Depositions from the castle of York* (S.S. xl, 1861), p.[v], and Cooper, p. 338; 1629 according to the P.R.O. *Guide* (1963), i, 130, referring to a different class of documents.

² Hugh Aveling, *Northern catholics* (1966), p. 210.

³ (1) 1549–50: Cooper, p. 303; *A.P.C.* 1547–50, p. 405; H.M.C. (JP 6), *A calendar of the Shrewsbury and Talbot papers*, i (1966), p. 189; (2) 1578: Cooper, pp. 305–7; *A.P.C.* 1577–8, pp. 144, 212, 279.

⁴ Appendix VII A.iii–iv, B.ii.

The succession of keepers of the records, first at the castle and subsequently in St. Mary's Tower until its destruction, may now be given as follows:¹

? -1541	William Maunsell
1542-55	Reynold Beseley
1555-63	Reynold and Edward Beseley
1563-99 (-1613?)	Edward Beseley
1599-1625	Edward Bee
(1613-25	Thomas and Henry Sandwith, deputies)
1625-35	Henry Sandwith
1636- ?	John Ranson

The deputies appointed by Bee in 1613 were Thomas Sandwith and his son Henry. Members of the Yorkshire family of Sandwith had been tenants of St. Mary's Abbey since early in the sixteenth century, holding the manor of Gate Fulford and property in Marygate. Thomas made money by hard dealing in property and finance, and was so active in deputising for Bee that he was generally regarded as himself keeper of the evidences. Henry, only fifteen years old when first made joint deputy keeper, was so much under his father's thumb that in 1629, four years after he (Henry) alone had formally been appointed keeper in his own right, it was still Thomas who was named as receiving the salary. Henry died in 1635, only eighteen months after his father. As Beseley had done on a handful of recorded occasions, the Sandwiths too made a regular practice of supplying, doubtless for a fee, certified transcripts of records in their charge to landowners requiring them for legal purposes, and, less frequently, passing documents which were regarded as deeds of former monastic lands to the persons who now held the lands. In addition the archive was made accessible to antiquaries such as Roger Dodsworth, on several occasions between 1623 and 1636, and, probably a little earlier, Richard Gascoigne.²

Sandwith's successor, John Ranson, was a lawyer who had held several posts for the Dean and Chapter of York since 1617 and continued in their employ until 1641. Judging by the way he compiled elaborate careful indices both to the Chapter muniments of his time and to at least one of the monastic cartularies in his charge at St. Mary's Tower, he was a conscientious official with a regard unusual at the period for the present and future users of his archives. Moreover, he had not been long in office when he petitioned the Lord High Treasurer to have delivered into his charge a number of 'coucher books', all of Yorkshire monasteries, which were known to be in private hands. The original petition does not survive, but it was successful, being answered by a warrant from Treasurer Juxon ordering that thirteen cartularies named by Ranson should be handed into his custody at St. Mary's Tower.³ In this warrant we can see a significant development in the official attitude to monastic records – or cartularies at least, individual charters, as more properly deeds of title, not being called in – since the original dispersal of the records following the dissolution and even since the keepership of the Sandwiths. This is the first time⁴ that we find the crown taking positive steps to collect monastic archives, and it is noteworthy that as early as 1637 we find a York official apparently insisting on the then new conception of public records as being not merely for the use of crown officials but for the use of

¹ Appendix III B.

² Appendix III B, Thomas Sandwith.

³ Appendix VIII A.

⁴ Not quite the first time: in 1592 Sir John Wolley, clerk of the Pipe and keeper of the Augmentations records, and Sir John Fortescue, chancellor and sub-treasurer of the Exchequer, instructed a Surrey landowner 'immediately to return to the Exchequer, safe and undefaced, all books and evidences of the possessions of the late dissolved monastery of Chertsey, Surrey, as their remaining with him may be detrimental to the Queen, and injurious to those concerned to search them' (*C.S.P. Dom.* 1591–4, p. 213; cp. Appendix I).

members of the public at will.¹ The series of cartularies and their owners given in the warrant also provides valuable information on the descent of the cartularies, even though it is not in every case easy to marry the alleged owner with a particular cartulary.² In ten cases the warrant confirms our knowledge of the ownership of cartularies; it adds to our knowledge regarding Newburgh and Whitby, and provides fresh problems in respect of Byland and Roche. Only in one case, the Meaux cartulary held by Sir William Alford, is it possible to suppose that the warrant may conceivably have had any effect in inducing the possessor of a cartulary to transfer it to public custody in St. Mary's Tower.³

How long Ranson continued to exercise the office of keeper of the house of evidences when the civil war began it is not possible to say. If, as is likely, he was still active as keeper in 1640, when he was certainly still acting for the Dean and Chapter of York, he may have had an opportunity to confer with a senior colleague from London, Sir John Borough, keeper of the records in the Tower of London since 1623, who was in York with King Charles from c. 23 August to 29 September 1640.⁴ Ranson probably died at Beverley in 1662, and his successor was appointed only in 1666, but Ranson is not spoken of in connection with the disaster that overtook St. Mary's Tower and the records in it when he had been keeper for eight years and York lay under siege.

On Trinity Sunday, 16 June 1644, in the course of an assault by the Parliamentary forces on the north-west sector of the city, an attack was made on St. Mary's Tower, as a keypoint in the defences.⁵ 'By many dayes labour'⁶ men of the Earl of Manchester's army had undermined it by digging an access tunnel and a chamber beneath the tower to hold explosive. 'Tempestuous rainy weather'⁷ had delayed the completion of the mine and other preparations for a number of simultaneous attacks planned for a concerted offensive, but now the 'waters which increased . . . in the chamber of the Mine'⁸ made it impracticable to delay. Although no orders were given for the other attacks planned to take place simultaneously with that on the Tower, indeed the commanders of the other sectors were not informed of this attack in advance, at noon⁹ on 16 June the mine was

¹ V. H. Galbraith, *An introduction to the use of the public records* (1934), p. 56, says it was Sir Thomas Wilson, Clerk of the Papers at Whitehall from 1606 to 1629, who first 'insisted on the principle that State Papers were *public* records'. In 1610 Arthur Agarde, deputy chamberlain of the Exchequer in charge of records, drew a distinction between (a) the *arcana imperii* or 'matters of estate and the Crowne only' and (b) the legal and financial records which concerned both the crown and the subject and were public records in the sense that the public had reasonable access to them upon payment of fees (Agarde's introduction to his 'Compendium of the records in the Treasury', 1610, printed in Sir Francis Palgrave (ed.), *The antient kalendars and inventories of the Treasury of the Exchequer* (Record Commission, 1836), ii, pp. 311–335 at pp. 311–312; cp. R. B. Wernham in Levi Fox (ed.), *English historical scholarship in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (Dugdale Soc. 1956), p. 12). The actual term 'publiq' Records' was used in 1638 by Dugdale of the sources used by Dodsworth and himself (W. Hamper (ed.), *Life, diary, and correspondence of Sir William Dugdale* (1827), pp. 10–11). The present warrant's reference to 'free accesse' means free from hindrance, not free from fees. Fees for searching and making copies of the records in 'The Court of Augmentation', together with an outline list of the classes of records, are given by Thomas Powell, *Direction for search of records remaining in the Chauncerie, Tower, Exchequer* (1622), pp. 59–60. The Augmentations records are not mentioned in Agarde's list.

² The warrant was used for this purpose by Tanner, but he has coupled the persons with the monasteries wrongly, so misleading others: see Appendix VIII B.iv.

³ The Fountains cartulary owned by Dame Honor Proctor in 1619 had come to the Tower by 1630: MS Dods. 156, ff. 113–132.

⁴ *D.N.B.*, art. Borough; John Rushworth, *Historical collections*, iii (1721), pp. 1276–1307; Borough's 'Minutes of what pass'd in the Great Councill of the Peers at Yorke, from 25 September 1640 to 27 October 1640', MS Harl. 456, are printed in the earl of Hardwicke's *Miscellaneous state papers* (1778), ii, 208–298. Of this period Borough was in Ripon c.30 September to 27 October, with brief visits to York c. 6/7 to 9/10 and again 27/28 October: John Bruce (ed.), *Notes of the treaty carried on at Ripon . . . 1640, taken by Sir John Borough* (Camden Soc. c. 1869); *C.S.P.Dom.* 1640, p. 620; *id.* 1640–41, pp. 15, 152, 202.

⁵ The best general accounts are John Rushworth, *Historical collections*, part iii, vol. ii (= vol. v) (1721), p. 631; Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 166; additional sources mainly collected by Mr. L. P. Wenham.

⁶ Simeon Ash & William Goode, *Number 4. A continuation of true intelligence from the English and Scottish forces in the north* (1644).

⁷ The Earl of Manchester to the Committee of Both Kingdoms, a letter dated 8 June, in *C.S.P. Dom.* 1644, p. 217.

⁸ Ash & Goode, *op. cit.*

⁹ 'Noon': Sir Henry Slingsby, *The diary*, ed. by Daniel Parsons (1836), and *Original memoirs* (1806), pp. 45–46; 'in time of Common-Prayer at the Minster': [Christopher Hildyard], *A list or catalogue of all the mayors . . . of Yorke, etc.*, (1664), p. 57.

sprung on the orders of Sergeant-Major-General Laurence Crawford, Manchester's divisional commander in control of this sector.¹ The part of the Tower which was blown up fell outwards,² and 'in the fall . . . many were slain, and found dead on the ground, the most of them . . . Townsmen and women'.³ Fierce fighting in and around the resulting breach in the walls continued for some hours, and the following morning dead and injured were brought from the wreckage, but the defenders, not wishing to risk an incursion, continued to beat off the Parliamentarians, and it was Wednesday or Thursday before there was an hour's truce for the recovery of the dead.⁴ Thus the blowing up of St. Mary's Tower did not enable the Parliamentary forces to take the city, but it did inevitably wreak havoc among the records stored in it, and it is unfortunate that the contemporary accounts are so preoccupied with the undoubted military importance of the incident that they do not so much as mention the documents or their fate.

Clearly, with the city at York at stake, conditions were not propitious for the salving of the archives from the Tower. That any were rescued at all is in part to the credit of two members of the family of Fairfax, Ferdinando, the second baron, one of the besieging commanders and afterwards governor of the city, who himself gave several hundred books to York Minster Library⁵ and saw to it that a keeper of the Library was maintained,⁶ and his son Thomas, the later 'great' Lord Fairfax, the same who saved the Bodleian Library from being plundered⁷ and in 1671 bequeathed to it twenty-eight manuscripts⁸ and the 160 volumes of the Dodsworth collection.⁹ Anthony Wood tells us that Thomas Fairfax, 'to his great honour be it spoken, shew'd himself very generous to all such Soldiers at *York* that could retrieve any of the said Charters that were so blown up'.¹⁰ One man did risk his life to rescue the documents. Dodsworth¹¹ tells us that 'se extremo mortis periculo exponens Thomas Tomsonus, homo integerrimus, maximam eorum partem ad Archiua publica Archiepiscopi Ebor' adduxisset.' The worthy 'Thomas Tomsonus' has not previously been identified. Fairfax's offer was made to the soldiers, and the register of St. Martin's Church, Coney Street, records a 'Thomas Tompson, Souldier under Sr. Jo[h]n Girlin[g]ton', buried this month.¹² His interment, however, is dated 7 June, nine days before the Tower was blown up.

There can be little doubt that the saviour of the records is the Thomas Thompson, notary public, who both before and after the commonwealth is found as an official of the

¹ The authorities differ as to whether Crawford's action in prematurely springing the mine was forced by the water rising in the powder chamber (Ash & Goode) or motivated by his 'being ambitious to have the Honour alone' and by his 'foolish rashness . . . and his great vanitie' (Thomas Lord Fairfax, *Short memorials*, ed. by Brian Fairfax (1699), p. 81; Robert Baillie, *The letters and journals*, ed. by David Laing, ii (1841), p. 195).

² Slingsby, *loc. cit.*

³ Ash, *Number 5*, *A continuation of true intelligence from the English and Scottish forces, in the north . . . now beleaguering York, from the 16th of June, to . . . the 10th of July, 1644* (1644), p. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ [J. Raine], *A catalogue of the printed books in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of York* (1896), p. xii.

⁶ *Ibid.*, from York City records, E 31, f.19; printed by Angelo Raine (ed.), 'Proceedings of the Commonwealth Committee for York and the Ainsty', in *Miscellanea*, vi, ed. by C. E. Whiting (Y.A.S. R.S. cxviii, 1953), p. 5.

⁷ John Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. by O. L. Dick (1949), p. 104; see also the long hexameter poem 'In honorem illustrissimi domini Thomæ, baronis Fairfax, Universitatis Oxoniensis patroni munificentissimi', in the Bodleian Library, MS Fairfax 32, ff. 145r-146v, near the end:

Interea dux ipse graves sub pectore curas
Concipit, intentus Musis gentique togatæ;
Ite, ait, Oh Juvenes & cingite milite forti
Bodlei sacros aditus & templa verenda,
Congite Doctorum mentes secretaque magna,
Nec sinite æternos bellum violare penates.

⁸ MSS Fairfax 2-29 (S.C. 3882-3909), partly acquired by Charles Fairfax the antiquary, Thomas's uncle. These include the cartularies of Kirkham (MS 7) and Warter (MS 9).

⁹ MS Fairfax 1 = MSS Dods. 1-160 (S.C. 3881, 4143-5101).

¹⁰ Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, ii (1692), col. 696 = 2nd ed., ii (1721), part ii, col. 11; repeated by Richard Gough, *British topography* (1780), ii, p.396.

¹¹ Appendix X; paraphrased by Drake, p. 575, and Hunter, pp. 94-95.

¹² Robert Bielby Cook (ed.), *The parish registers of St. Martin, Coney Street, York* (Y.P.R.S. xxxvi, 1909), p. 100.

diocese of York,¹ and can hardly fail to have been acquainted with John Ranson. He was clerk of the Sheriffs' Court of the city of York from 1644 to at least 1648, and actuary of the Exchequer and Prerogative Court of the diocese from 1648 to 1649 and again from 1660 to at least 1664. In 1662, as a deputy registrar, he had custody of the ancient volume of the Minster statutes, part of the Dean and Chapter muniments. Under the commonwealth and afterwards he lived in a house adjoining the south wall of the Minster, only a few yards from the diocesan registry. He was probably steward of the court leet and court baron of the manor of Acomb from 1656 to 1664. He died in 1668-9, apparently unmarried. At some date between 1648 and Thompson's death the third Lord Fairfax presented him with a fifteenth-century manuscript of ecclesiastical law, with an inscription describing him as 'Keeper of y^e Records att Yorke'. What does Fairfax mean by giving Thompson this title? He may possibly mean keeper of the records (formerly) in St. Mary's Tower, which, while with the archiepiscopal archives, are likely to have been in Thompson's care, or more probably he may simply be referring in a loose way to part of Thompson's duties in the archiepiscopal courts and registry. However this may be, the 'Archiaua publica Archiepiscopi Ebor' will have been the natural place for Thomas Thompson to take the documents to when rescued from the Tower, as Dodsworth says he did. The archiepiscopal archives were then housed in an office adjacent to the Minster.² Here they will have been kept safe during the commonwealth. On 2 August 1645 the Committee governing the city 'Ordered that Henrie Thompson, Stephen Watson and Thomas Dickinson, Aldermen, three of this Board . . . take a view of all the evidences, manuscripts, counterpartes of leases and other writings which formerly belonged to the said Archebushope or Deane and Chapter . . . and the said evidences and writings the said Concillors are desired to preserve in safe keping for the use of the publique till further order be given touchinge the same'.³ Two days later the Committee 'Ordered that . . . Mr Jo. Penrose shall deliver the key of the chamber wherein the evidences and records of the Archbishop and Deane and Chapter of York are kept to the Lord Maior of this City . . . together with all the writings, records and books which came to hand or remained herein, to be preserved by this Committee according to ordinance of Parliament'.⁴

The documents taken by Thompson to the archiepiscopal registry were not the only ones to be saved from St. Mary's Tower. Six weeks after the explosion on 16 June, Dodsworth's friend the antiquary Charles Fairfax,⁵ who also happened to be a colonel in the parliamentary army under the command of his elder brother Ferdinando, 2nd baron Fairfax, and his nephew Sir Thomas, later 3rd baron, 'found amongst the rubbish of St. Maries Tower . . . divers deedes, muniments and other Records'; these documents were taken by Fairfax to his home at Menston, and there copied by Dodsworth on 21 August.⁶ A month after this, on 1 September, Dodsworth and Fairfax together made a further search in the ruins and found more 'deedes'; these too went to Menston.⁷ 'From the Fairfax family', Drake⁸ supposes, 'they were once more restored to the custody of the steward of St. Mary's after the Restoration, and deposited in the chamber where St.

¹ For particulars see Appendix V.

² Probably the 'old stone building at the east end of Belfray's church' which served as the 'archbishop's register and prerogative-office' in Drake's time (*Eboracum*, p. 571). The site is now occupied by the vestry of St. Michael-le-Belfrey. Cp. J. S. Purvis, *The archives of York diocesan registry* (St. Anthony's Hall Publications, 2, 1952), p. 7.

³ York City records, E 31, f. 4; printed by Angelo Raine (ed.), 'Proceedings of the Commonwealth Committee for York and the Ainsty', in *Miscellanea*, vi, ed. by C. E. Whiting (Y.A.S. R.S. cxviii, 1953), p. 3.

⁴ *Id.* f. 5v; printed *op. cit.*, pp. 3-4.

⁵ Dodsworth was copying charters and other documents in Charles Fairfax's possession at Menston already in 1629 and 1631: MSS Dods. 155, f. 105r, and 128, ff. 153r-154v.

⁶ MS Dods. 95, f. 29r.

⁷ MS Dods. 95, f. 41v. Another charter found long afterwards on the site of St. Mary's Abbey but well away from the Tower may have nothing to do with the dispersal of 1644. It was found in September 1827 in the course of excavations preparatory to the erection of the Yorkshire Museum (Joseph Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, i (1828), p. 266, n.1). The charter is not distinguished by J. Raine, 'Catalogue of ancient charters, etc., in the possession of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society', in *Annual report of the council of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society* for 1887 (1888), pp. 37-45.

⁸ *Eboracum*, p. 575.

Mary's court was usually kept.' If this is correct, it explains why the charters in Charles Fairfax's hands in 1644 did not, with his other manuscripts, come either to the Bodleian Library,¹ or to Lincoln's Inn.

Whether or not the Menston documents were in fact returned to St. Mary's, as Drake says, some others that were in Dodsworth's hands shortly after the explosion were certainly not returned to their former place of custody. The title of the *Monasticon Boreale* tells us that Dodsworth began to write it on 1 October 1644 in the house of Sir Francis Neville, Chevet Park.² A group of perhaps seventeen charters once in St. Mary's Tower which passed through Dodsworth's hands has in recent years been found at Chevet Park, evidently left behind there by Dodsworth.³ Two of them are printed in the *Monasticon Anglicanum* 'ex autographo (nuper) in turri beatæ Mariæ Eboraci',⁴ at least five are transcribed in the *Monasticon Boreale*,⁵ and three bear the initials 'R.D.'⁶ Two have connections with the Neville family and may have been left by Dodsworth at Chevet at Sir Francis Neville's request, but the presence there of the remainder seems purely fortuitous.⁷

On 9 October 1646, when abolishing the offices of archbishop and bishop, Parliament appointed trustees 'to demand, receive, and in safe custody to put all the said Charters, deeds, books, accompts, rolls, writings, and evidences ['concerning the premisses . . . which do belong to any the said Archbishops, or Bishops, Archbishopricks & Bishopricks'], that they may be put in such place in the City of London, as [they] shall order',⁸

¹ MSS Fairfax 2-29: see above, p. 214, n.8. Of these the Kirkham cartulary (MS 7) was seen by Dodsworth in St. Mary's Tower (MS Dods. 95, ff. 1-28) and owned by Dodsworth in 1632 (MS Dods. 7, f. 340; Davis, p. 58, no. 517, is probably confusing the different parts of MS Dods. 95 when he writes that Charles Fairfax salvaged the volume from St. Mary's in '1645'), and the Warter cartulary (MS 9), at one time owned by Dodsworth and for a while possibly pawned by him to Sir Thomas Widdrington (above, p. 206, n.8). Widdrington, writing in 1660, mentions one of the documents rescued by Charles Fairfax as 'now in the custody of Thomas, Lord Fairfax' (*Analecta Eboracensia*, p. 97), but this particular item is not in William H. Turner & H. O. Coxe, *Calendar of charters and rolls preserved in the Bodleian Library* (1878).

² Appendix IX.

³ Printed by Sir Charles Travis Clay, *Yorkshire deeds*, vii (Y.A.S. R.S. lxxxiii, 1932), pp. x-xi; nos. 1, 2, 11, 19, 372-4, 419, 444, 452-3, 474, 564-5, appendices II-IV. Sir Charles reckons a total of 'about 14' (*E.Y.C.* ix, 1952, p. x, n.1), excluding no. 444 because of uncertainty about its source and nos. 564-5 because of their post-dissolution dates.

⁴ Clay, appx II, p. 202, archbishop Geoffrey's letter of protection to the nuns of Sinningthwaite, *Mon. Angl.* i, 828 = v, 464; appx IV, p. 204, Alexander de Crevequer's grant of Kirkandreas and Culgaith to Wetherall Priory, *Mon. Angl.* i, 399 = iii, 584. The latter is not in *The register of the priory of Wetherall* (ed. by J. E. Prescott, 1897), which however does include two related grants, one by Adam de Montebegon in almost identical terms (no. 233, pp. 368-9), and a similar one by Alexander de Crevequer (no. 195, pp. 308-310); these two grantors were married to two sisters. Alexander's widow Amabil or Mabilia afterwards married Galfrid de Nevill (cp. n.7 below).

⁵ No. 1 = *E.Y.C.* iii, 463, no. 1855, from MS Dods. 8, f.158; no. 2 = *E.Y.C.* iii, 464-5, no. 1857, also from MS Dods. 8, f.158; no. 19 = W. Brown (ed.), *Cartularium prioratus de Gyseburne*, ii (S.S. lxxxix, 1894), no. 1127, pp. 309-310, from MS Dods. 7, f.44v; no. 419 = *E.Y.C.* ii, 5-6, no. 654, from MS Dods. 7, f.56 (this is the original transcribed in the Guisborough cartulary [B.M. MS Cotton Cleop. D.ii, f.249v]), *op. cit.*, no. 679, p. 45; appx III (see the following note) = *E.Y.C.* iii, 59, no. 1338, from MSS Dods. 116, f.62v and 9, f.338.

⁶ Nos. 372, 373, Appx III; the last (see the preceding note) has been re-edited as *E.Y.C.* xi (1963), no. 96, pp. 103-4. From this it appears that the collection was in 1963 no longer in the possession of Sir Thomas Pilkington at Chevet, where it had been when published in 1932, but had passed to Mr. H. L. Bradfer-Lawrence, of Sharow End, Ripon. Mr. Bradfer-Lawrence died in 1965, and at the time of writing, this part of his Yorkshire collection is on deposit in the library of the Y.A.S.

⁷ For the Neville connection of Appx IV see n.4 above. No. 474 is a confirmation by Henry de Nevill of a grant to St. Mary's Abbey by his mother, Emma de Humaz. It is endorsed 'Sc[ri]bitur LI[br]o B. fol. lxii^{do}' (fifteenth cent.), and is registered in one of the surviving cartularies of the abbey (York Minster Library, MS XVI.A.1) on fol. lxix (fourteenth cent.) = 155 (seventeenth cent.) *verso*. Emma's original grant is on the *recto* of the same folio in the cartulary, and is quoted thence by James Torre, *York* (Y.M.L., Dean & Chapter muniments, L1 (8), 1691, p. 817a, followed by Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 588, and MS Dods. 156, f.13. Between the grant and the confirmation is registered a regrant by Emma on behalf of herself and her son Henry (*E.Y.C.* ii, 365-6, no. 1054). The endorsement shows that the charter is the abbey's copy and not Nevill's counterpart.

⁸ Edward Husband (ed.), *A collection of all the publicke orders, ordinances and declarations of . . . Parliament . . . 1642 untill 1646* (1646), pp. 922-3; Henry Scobell (ed.), *A collection of acts and ordinances . . . 1640 . . . unto 1656* (1657-8), i, pp. 99-100; *Journals of the House of Lords*, viii, pp. 515-7; John Rushworth, *Historical collections*, vi (= IV, i), 1722, pp. 373-4; C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait (ed.), *Acts and ordinances of the interregnum* (1911), i, pp. 880-881.

and on 16/17 November following Parliament proceeded to appoint Henry Elsyng,¹ clerk of the House of Commons, as registrar or keeper of the records, at a fee of £100, to 'methodise and put in good order all Charters, Evidences & Writings belonging to the late Archbishops and Bishops . . . to be kept by him as Records, and make Catalogues of them, and fit them in such manner as the Subject may readily see, and have Copies (if he desire it) of whatsoever be brought into the Registers Office, and be under his charge and custody'.² On 30 April 1649, when Deans and Chapters were similarly abolished and their lands and muniments taken over by the state, Gurney House in Old Jewry³ was designated as an office and registry for the capitular archives which were thus added to the episcopal ones previously accumulated, and Henry Scobell,⁴ Elsyng's successor as clerk of Parliament since 1648, was appointed registrar or keeper of the records at a like fee of £100.⁵ If the records were ever 'methodised and put in good order', which at the best is very doubtful, in view of a contemporary account of them as 'brought [there] in a promiscuous and disorderly way and made altogether useless',⁶ any such order was utterly destroyed in 1654, when they (the records, but not the trustees⁷) were transferred – 'removed promiscuously' in the contemporary account⁸ – to the Excise Office in Broad Street.⁹ Here they still were, 'trodden under foot upon the flore in a farre greater confusion than before',¹⁰ in several rooms,¹¹ on 7 November 1660, when the restoration Parliament returned to the church all its lands and records.¹² Apparently it took several years more for the return of the archives to their episcopal and capitular repositories to be as complete as was possible after the confusion of more than a decade. The task was not eased by a further move of the collection, at some date after 13 May 1662, to Lambeth Palace.¹³ Certainly the muniments of the Archbishop and of the Dean and Chapter¹⁴ of

¹ 1598–1654: *D.N.B.*

² Husband, pp. 936–7, 943; Scobell, i, pp. 106, 111; *Journals of the House of Commons*, iv, p. 716; Rushworth, vi, pp. 381, 387; Firth and Rait, i, pp. 894–5, 904; Dorothy M. Owen, 'Bringing home the records: the recovery of the Ely Chapter muniments at the restoration', *Archives*, viii, 39 (April 1968), pp. 123–9 at p. 123; *id.*, *Charters in Lambeth Palace Library* (1968), pp. 2–4.

³ Old Jewry, linking Gresham Street and Cheapside. Formerly the residence of Sir Richard Gurney or Gourney (1577–1647: *D.N.B.*), a silk mercer in Cheapside, a great benefactor to the city of London, and an ardent royalist, lord mayor in 1641, imprisoned by Parliament from mid-1642 until shortly before his death. Gurney House had been sequestered in 1642 (*Journals of the House of Commons*, vi, p. 616). While the ordinance of 1649 names Gurney House as the repository of the records, that of 1646 does not, and the evidence of William Ryley's petition of 1660 (Owen, *art. cit.* p. 124, *op. cit.* p. 3, from Bodleian MS Tanner 141, f. 109) is perhaps insufficient to prove that Gurney House was so used from 1646, though this may in fact be the case. From their location in these premises the Trustees for the Sale of Dean and Chapter Lands were sometimes known as the Gurney House Trustees, and they remained there until the end of the Commonwealth (*C.S.P. Dom.*, *passim* from 1650, p. 569, to 1657–8, p. 131; also 1663–4, p. 541; 1664–5, p. 343; 1665–6, p. 286; William A. Shaw, *A history of the English church . . . 1640–60* (1900), ii, p. 518).

⁴ Died 1660: *D.N.B.*; his salary for this post is recorded in Shaw, ii, p. 517.

⁵ Scobell, ii, pp. 17, 21; Firth and Rait, ii, pp. 82, 103; Owen, *art. cit.* p. 123.

⁶ Petition of William Ryley (died 1667: *D.N.B.*), Lancaster Herald and Keeper of the Records in the Tower, 1660 (?), cited by Owen, *art. cit.* p. 124, and *op. cit.* p. 3, from Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 141, f. 109.

⁷ The records were 'dead', as 'the sales of church lands appear to have come to an end by or before 1654' (Owen, *art. cit.* p. 124), but the trustees continued their other functions at Gurney House until the end of the commonwealth.

⁸ Ryley's petition, as above, cited by Owen, *art. cit.* p. 125.

⁹ The Excise Office in Broad Street, now Old Broad Street, is mentioned in (e.g.) *C.S.P. Dom.* 1649–50, p. 348; 1654, p. 174; 1655, p. 513; 1655–6, p. 205; 1660–61, p. 259. A survey of 1677 shows it to have occupied the site of the later (Old) South Sea House (H. A. Harben, *Dictionary of London* (1918), pp. 221, 451, 540), which today is the City of London Club, 19 Old Broad Street. Shortly after the restoration the Excise Office apparently moved to Bartholomew Lane, which links Lothbury and Throgmorton Street with Threadneedle Street on the eastern side of the Bank of England, for it was from there that it was moved as a result of the fire of London in September 1666 (*C.S.P. Dom.* 1666–7, p. 172; Harben, p. 221; T. F. Reddaway, *The rebuilding of London after the great fire* (1951), p. 30).

¹⁰ As above, n.6.

¹¹ *C.J.* viii, p. 112; Owen, *art. cit.* p. 125.

¹² *C.S.P. Dom.* 1660–61, p. 353.

¹³ *C.J.* viii, p. 428; Owen, *art. cit.* p. 128. At Lambeth they were safe from the great fire of 1666, which consumed both the earlier repositories, Gurney House and the old Excise Office in Broad Street (see the map in Reddaway, between pp. 54 and 55). At Lambeth the archbishop of Canterbury was 'desired to take care for the Preservation [of the records]; and to dispose of the same to the respective Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, who are therein concerned, if he shall think fit.'

¹⁴ But not all these of the Dean and Chapter: 'In charges' when Rob^t Graves [verger] and M^r [Henry] Johnson [clerk of the works] went into Darbyshire to fetch the Church writings from M^r Stanhope [probably Thomas S., rector of Hartshorn, Derbs., and son of George Stanhope, precentor of York Minster from 1631 until his death in 1644]—£2' (Y.M. Fabric accounts, E3 and E4a, 1662).

York were subjected to these vicissitudes, for in November 1664 Dugdale records that he had received 10s from the Archbishop, *per* the late dean of St. Paul's,¹ and an unspecified 'gratification' from the Dean and Chapter, towards his pains in sorting out their evidences.² Possibly then the documents from St. Mary's Tower which Thompson had taken to the diocesan registry suffered further confusion by being taken to London, there moved once or twice, and eventually brought back in this way.

It seems likely that after the restoration (Drake's dating) possibly the charters saved by Charles Fairfax, more probably those rescued by Thomas Thompson, and perhaps others, were returned to St. Mary's Abbey, not to the now ruinous Tower, but to 'the chamber where St. Mary's court was usually kept'.³ This place of deposit will have been convenient for the keepers of the records, who after the commonwealth as before were at the same time clerks of the court of St. Mary's liberty. The court was kept in the gatehouse of the abbey, leading into Marygate just below St. Olave's church,⁴ either over the gate (Hargrove) or in the rooms adjoining it (Wellbeloved). In 1687 and afterwards successive lessees of the abbey were required by the crown 'sinent et permittent senescallum nostrum manerii nostri de beata Maria ibidem pro tempore existentem libere et quiete possidere uti et gaudere omnia et singula romeas cameras et alios locos quaecunque quæ senescallus noster ibidem ad aliquot tempus ante dat. harum presentium (literarum nostrarum patentium) ad conservandas (et tenendas) curias sive letas uti sive possidere consueverit'.⁵

Two charters may be cited as examples of more which were doubtless salvaged from the explosion but never returned to St. Mary's. They are Henry III's confirmation charter to Baysdale and archbishop Henry Murdac's confirmation of the foundation of Watton, both entered in the *Monasticon Anglicanum* as from the St. Mary's Tower.⁶ In his copy of the *Monasticon* the non-juring clergyman Marmaduke Fothergill, vicar of Skipwith in the East Riding until 1688, has written that the originals were in his own possession. He lived till 1731, and after his death his extensive library came to York Minster Library, but there is no trace of the charters having come with it.⁷

Some delay in the return of the documents which did come back to St. Mary's after the restoration is likely, for while a keeper of the site or palace, a steward and keeper of the courts, a bailiff and collector of estreats, and a collector of rents, were all appointed for the Liberty in 1660 or 1661, no keeper of the house of evidences and clerk of the courts or understeward appears to have been appointed until 1666. The series of keepers of the evidences then continued as follows:⁸

1666-77	Joseph Scudamore
1677-97	Nicholas Battersby
1697-1703	John Blackbeard
1703-1718	William Whitehead
1718-(1735?)	Francis Taylor

Joseph Scudamore was grandson of the Thomas Scudamore who had been receiver for Yorkshire from 1591 to 1621, and appears to have lived at Ripon. Whitehead and Taylor

¹ John Barwick, dean from October 1661 until his death in October 1664 (*D.N.B.*).

² W. Hamper, *Life, diary and correspondence of Sir William Dugdale* (1827), pp. 117-118; Owen, *art. cit.* p. 128. The relevant accounts of the Dean and Chapter of York for these years do not survive. To the examples of mis-sorting of Ely documents given by Owen, p. 129, may be added a document now among the Dean and Chapter muniments in York Minster Library, an account of the bailiffs, etc., of Ely Cathedral, 17-18 Eliz. (1575-6).

³ Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 575.

⁴ V.C.H. *York* (1961), pp. 358, 497; Drake, p. 574; J. J. Sheahan & T. Whellan, *History and topography of the city of York . . . and the East Riding*, i (1855), pp. 489-490; William Hargrove, *History and description of . . . York*, II. ii (1818), p. 591; Charles Wellbeloved, *Account of the ancient and present state of the abbey of St. Mary, York* (Vetusta monumenta, 5; Society of Antiquaries, 1829), p. 12, with plate LI.

⁵ Leases to Henry Lawson, Alderman Robert Waller, Sir Tancred Robinson, etc.: see Appendix IV.

⁶ Baysdale: *Mon. Angl.* i, 840 = v, 508-9; Watton: *Mon. Angl.* ii, 798-9 = vii, 955.

⁷ Drake, *Eboracum*, pp. 379-380; [J. Raine,] *A catalogue of the printed books in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of York* (1896), pp. xvi-xviii. Fothergill's copy of the *Monasticon* is Y.M.L. IV.C.10-12.

⁸ Appendix III B.

were not only keepers of the evidences and clerks of the courts but also bailiffs and collectors of profits. Whitehead's accounts as bailiff survive for the years 1703-6, making nonsense of a complaint made in 1718 that he had not rendered any accounts, but the more important feature of these accounts is that they show that the income of the Liberty was not even nearly sufficient to pay the fees of the steward and bailiff. Taylor was a friend of Ralph Thoresby, to whom he gave an archbishop of York's account for 1602-3, and his wife was a granddaughter of archbishop Matthew Hutton; in 1720 he and the steward attempted to have the gaol and court-house repaired.¹

In 1690-91 the York antiquary James Torre, in the course of listing 'the MSS authorities perused' for his volumes of ecclesiastical collections for the diocese of York,² gives this: 'Registrum Cartaru(m) vel Munimentoru(m) ad Abbathiam S(an)c(t)æ Mariæ Ebor. spectant(ium), pars prima, & altera, penes d(omi)n(u)m Hildiard de Ebor. Jurisconsultu(m)'.³ This is Christopher Hildyard, steward of St. Mary's from 1669 until his death in 1694. At some date between then and Torre's own death in 1699 the latter has added the note, 'q(uae)re ubi nu(n)c ab . . . Hildiard Bibliop(ola).' An eighteenth-century hand has added in the margin 'In the Library.' This refers to York Minster Library, where Torre's book has been since 1715, and in the Library⁴ now is a cartulary of St. Mary's with this note inside the front cover: 'Decemb^r: y^e 13th. 1698. This Register of y^e Lands formerly given [b]y [pio]usly disposed people to y^e Abbey of S^t. Mary's York, having passed through severall hands, & at last coming to y^e hands of ffrancis Hildyard Book-seller is by him presented to y^e Library of y^e Cathedrall of S^t. Peters in York as y^e fittest Repository for y^e same.' Christopher Hildyard can probably be absolved from suspicion of having misappropriated the volume from his official custody to his private possession not only by the bookseller's statement that it had 'passed through severall hands' but independently by the seventeenth-century signature 'Tho: Atkinson' which appears at the foot of folio 3r. Most probably it is the mark of an owner of the volume before Hildyard. Thomas Atkinson cannot be identified with certainty: there are too many bearers of the name in seventeenth-century York.⁵

After Christopher Hildyard's death in 1694 it is not surprising that the book came into the hands of his relative Francis Hildyard the bookseller,⁶ though in fact we are told that the latter purchased it in London.⁷ Whatever the truth of this, Francis Hildyard afterwards borrowed the book back from the Minister Library and sent it to London to be used by John Stevens for his supplement to the *Monasticon Anglicanum*.⁸ It was back in the Library to be used by Drake.⁹ There it is still, and two features of it are noteworthy in the present connection. The cartulary has an index in the hand of John Ranson, keeper of the records in St. Mary's Tower from 1636,¹⁰ and it has damage traditionally ascribed to the explosion of 1644 and perfectly consistent with such a cause.¹¹

¹ An attempt is made in Appendix IV to list the stewards and other officials of the Liberty of St. Mary's, several of whom are in various ways associated with the records kept in the Tower.

² On Torre see *D.N.B.*; his MSS are in Y.M.L., Dean and Chapter muniments, L1 (6)-(10).

³ Torre, *The antiquities of York Minster*, 1690-91, L1 (7), p. viii.

⁴ MS XVI.A.1; Davis, p. 127, no. 1101.

⁵ Data on several have been collected, but none can be positively connected with the cartulary: one was a relative of Roger Dodsworth; three were freemen of York; three Atkinsons, none of them Thomas, were lawyers. Perhaps the most likely is the Thomas Atkinson who on 14 May 1633 was granted the reversion of the clerkship and keeping of the York sheriffs' courts, a reversion which was regarded as void in 1644 when Thomas Thompson was granted the office (York City archives, House Book, vol. xxxvi, 1637-50, ff. 111v-112r; also Appendix V).

⁶ Christopher's grandfather and Francis's great-grandfather were brothers: Joseph Foster, *Yorkshire pedigrees*, iii, North and East Ridings; F. Ross, 'The Hildyards of Winestead in Holderness', in W. Smith (ed.), *Old Yorkshire*, iv (1883), pp. 232-240 at 237-8.

⁷ John Stevens, *The history of the antient abbeys . . . being two additional volumes to . . . Dugdale's Monasticon Anglicanum*, i (1722), p. [i].

⁸ Stevens, *ibid.* Charters from the cartulary are printed by Stevens, vol. ii, Appx, pp. 78-94, nos. xlvi-lxxxvii.

⁹ Drake, p. 582.

¹⁰ Above, pp. 212-213; also Appendix III B.

¹¹ Dodsworth took notes from more than one St. Mary's cartulary in the Tower, but no attempt has been made to identify these with the several cartularies of the abbey now surviving: Davis, pp. 127-8, nos. 1097-1103; MSS Dods. 88, f.86v (see the *S.C.* II. ii. 958; Hunter, p. 170, 'the Great White Register of St. Mary's of York' confuses the St. Mary's cartulary with the Magnum Registrum Album of York Minster), and 156, ff. 1-64, 65-102 (two cartularies).

Another authority used by Torre for his Yorkshire ecclesiastical collections is described by him thus: 'Chartæ originales in 30 bundellis contentæ ex eisdem selectæ quæ olim in Manerio Ebor. vel Abbathia S(an)c(t)æ Mariæ ibid. fuerant repositæ penes . . . Godfrey. B/Bundell denotat N. Number d(enotat)'.¹ Godfrey is Stephen Godfrey, bailiff of St. Mary's from 1663/4 to 1703,² and Drake³ tells us that Torre did far more than merely use these charters. 'It was here ['the chamber where St. Mary's court was usually kept', in 'the custody of the steward of St. Mary's'] they were seen by the late industrious Mr. Torre, who set himself about to separate the legible ones from the other that were defaced. To collect these into different rolls, or bundles; each grant, as well as the bundle, numerically marked. And then to make a register, or catalogue, of the whole; so that the religious houses, and towns that belonged to them, being alphabetically disposed, any of the originals may be found in an instant'.⁴ Torre's catalogue, long regarded as lost, can now for the first time again be identified in the Bodleian Library,⁵ and the alphabetical index to it in York Minster Library.⁶ The catalogue is not dated, but from the date of other entries in the same volume it may be assigned to the 1680's. Torre has headed his catalogue: 'Ancient Writings belonging to Religious Houses in the Province of York, lately Bundelled up & numberd from amongst those confused heaps yt lye dispersed in the old Abbey of St. Maries Ebor.

M. Y.

i.e. S^t Maries Ebor

B for Bundell

N for number in that bundell'.⁷

The index is headed 'Records kept in S^t Maries Abbey York.'

The 'confused heaps' found by Torre are likely to have comprised the documents rescued by Thomas Thompson and subsequently brought back from the archiepiscopal registry to the abbey, plus others salvaged at the time of the explosion and stored in the abbey ever since. The description seems unsuitable for the documents taken by Dods-worth and Charles Fairfax to the latter's house at Menston, and Drake's supposition⁸ that these were 'once more restored to the custody of the steward of St. Mary's after the Restoration' may be rejected.⁹

¹ Torre, *The Antiquities of York Minster*, L1 (7), p. viii.

² Appendix IV.

³ Drake, p. 575.

⁴ This is badly misunderstood by John Wallis, *The natural history and antiquities of Northumberland* (1769), vol. i, p. xi, who says that the charters sorted by Torre 'are now in the minster-library at York'. Alas, no, though Drake had hoped that they would go there (below, p. 223). What did come to the Minster Library was the main part of Torre's own manuscripts, but not his catalogue of the present charters, let alone the charters themselves. Wallis's error is unfortunately followed by Richard Gough, *British topography* (1780), ii, 396. Perhaps it is these mistaken authorities that lead Farrer (*E. Y.C.* i, 268, no. 352), followed by H. W. C. Davis (*Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ii, 71, no. 838), to say that a B.N. charter printed by Drake (p. 607) was formerly in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of York. The same error seems to have been made as early as 1728, when the plaintiffs in a law-suit about tithes deponed that 'well knowing that by reason of the seige [*sic*] of the said City of York at the time of the said Civil wars and that the said Tower where very many of the valuable Records and ancient Evidences and Writings relating to Estates in and about the said City were also deposited was so blown up and burnt . . . that . . . the Records and writings in the said Tower . . . were burnt destroyed or lost . . . also well knowing that many other Records Ancient Books and Writings which are extant . . . are now in the Custody of the said Dean and Chapter themselves in their own Library in the said Cathedral Church their Evidence room or elsewhere . . . where [the plaintiffs] cannot have the same Writings exactly and carefully look't into' (York City archives, Clifton estate papers, M 31:471, pp. 15-16); the Dean and Chapter denied having any such documents, and if there is any truth in the allegation it appears that it must refer not to charters but to the St. Mary's cartulary and possibly Torre's manuscripts; alternatively there may have been confusion in people's minds between the Dean and Chapter muniments where they now claimed that the documents were and the diocesan registry where Thompson took the charters in 1644.

⁵ MS Top. Yorks. b.14, ff. 214v-261v.

⁶ Torre, 'Index', Dean and Chapter muniments, L 1(3), last four leaves.

⁷ The initials 'M.Y.' and 'B.N.' are written in Gothic letter.

⁸ Drake, p. 575.

⁹ Comparison of Torre's catalogue with the Menston notes in MS Dods. 95 would doubtless confirm this.

Torre makes considerable use of the St. Mary's charters, identifiable by the B.N. references appended to each, in three of the five volumes¹ of his collections for the diocese of York.² Not surprisingly, Torre found at St. Mary's no charters relating to York Minster, which was not a dissolved religious house, or to the archdeaconry of Nottingham, which came under a different receiver, and no significance can be attached to the omission from his index of the charters of York city houses which he in fact used for his collections. The absence from Torre's index and collections, however, and so presumably from St. Mary's Tower, of the documents of any independent religious house in the archdeaconry of Richmond³ has been used⁴ to confirm that the records in St. Mary's Tower were, as from their nature one would expect, brought together as a collection at a date earlier than 1552.

The number of charters in Torre's index is somewhat inflated, because a charter granting land in two places is indexed under both places and consequently is entered and has been counted twice: thus the three references to Aumale relate to only two charters. On the other hand, the index omits the houses in the city of York, and the single charters of Hull Priory and Meaux Abbey. The total of 1419 charters referred to in the index must therefore be increased by the addition of the 189 charters for York, Hull and Meaux used in Torre's collections, giving a total of 1608.

The number of charters cited in Torre's final volumes (1163) represents less than the full number, because some of the charters will have been copied by Dodsworth before the civil war, printed in the *Monasticon Anglicanum* from his transcripts, and quoted by Torre from the *Monasticon* rather than from the original. The number of charters cited in Torre's collections is further to be increased by the charters which are included in his index but fall outside the scope of his collections, viz., charters for Aumale (in France, but with connections in Yorkshire),⁵ St. Bee's and Wetherall (both in Cumberland, and dependencies of St. Mary's Abbey), Finchall (in county Durham, originally dependent on Guisborough Priory), the Knights Templars (most of whose property had passed after 1312 to the Knights Hospitallers⁶), and the Hospitallers themselves.⁷ Torre in his collections enters Lowcross Hospital not by itself but only as a dependency of Guisborough Priory. To the total of 1163 charters cited may thus be added 135 charters outside the scope of Torre's collections, giving a total of 1298 used by him other than in his calendar.⁸

In one case it is possible to make some check of Torre's work. In his account of the 'immunities' and revenues of St. Mary's Abbey⁹ Torre gives a total of 57 B.N. references; one is Henry III's charter of *inspeximus* confirming the privileges of the abbey, the others are grants of land. All these references and their abbreviated descriptions are printed by Drake,¹⁰ for the most part *verbatim*. Drake then proceeds¹¹ to go through the thirty bundles

¹ MSS L 1(6) Archdeaconry of Nottingham, 1692; (7) York Minster, 1690-91; (8) City of York, and Archdeaconry of the West Riding, 1691; (9) Archdeaconries of Cleveland and the East Riding, 1692; (10) Peculiars, Archdeaconry of Richmond, and Liberty of Hexham, undated.

² The numbers of documents listed by Torre in his index are compared with those actually used by him in his final compilation, and with those used in Burton's projected appendix (see below), in Appendix X.

³ St. Martin's, Richmond, was a dependency of St. Mary's, York, and its archives would belong to the mother house. Three Richmondshire houses – Coverham, Easby, Jervaulx – are represented by charters in the Dodsworth MSS allegedly copied from St. Mary's Tower before 1644, but see the caveat in Appendix X.

⁴ Above, p. 210.

⁵ *E.Y.C.* iii (1916), nos. 1299-1410, the Albemarle fee in Holderness, spec. nos. 1307, 1398, 1401.

⁶ David Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses: England and Wales* (1953), p. 234; Torre cites charters for two of the individual preceptories, Temple Hurst and Temple Newsam.

⁷ Torre may cite some of these too under the individual houses.

⁸ At least one charter that was certainly in the collection is ignored by Torre both in his index and his collections (Cleveland, p. 1658). It is a charter of Rosedale Priory, a grant of land at Middleham given by Peter son of William. Burton, p. 379 e, cites it as 'Cop. cart. v. 1, append. no. 1', and it is MS Top. Yorks. e.7, f. 29r, as B.24 N.1.

⁹ Torre, *York*, L 1 (8), pp. 807-825.

¹⁰ *Eboracum*, pp. 580 and 582-594. Drake misprints a number of the references: e.g., Torre's reference for a Newbiggin charter 'B.19, N.42; RM [i.e. Register of St. Mary's] 83' appears as 'B.42, N^o. 83'; the Arram charter B.10, N.20 appears as 'B.8, N^o 20'; the Hornby charter B.17, N.29 appears as 'B.19, N^o 29'; the Hipswell charter B.11, N.31 appears as 'B.11, N^o 51'; and the Ousefleet charter B.24, N.18 appears as 'B.24, N^o 28'.

¹¹ Drake, pp. 601-622.

in numerical order, printing, apparently from transcripts of his own, all the charters connected with St. Mary's Abbey. He gives a total of seventy-five, comprising all of Torre's fifty-seven except two, though it appears from elsewhere that Drake saw at least one of this pair,¹ plus twenty additional charters not given by Torre under St. Mary's. Of these twenty, two are shown by Drake to be half illegible, and ten relate not to St. Mary's itself but to houses dependent on St. Mary's – eight to St. Martin's Priory at Richmond,² two to St. Bee's Priory in Cumberland.³ Another (B.23, N.6) is a confirmation by archbishop T[hurstan] of an agreement between St. Mary's Abbey and Selby Abbey concerning archbishop Oswald's gift of the church of Snaith to Selby. This leaves seven charters which Torre has omitted to use, and further helps to explain the way in which the numbers of charters in Torre's index and final collections do not exactly correspond, and why the total number of charters used by Torre is somewhat short of the total of 1868 charters in the thirty bundles.

A comparison⁴ between Torre's list of monastic houses whose documents at least in part survived the explosion with the transcripts made by Roger Dodsworth from documents actually or formerly⁵ in St. Mary's Tower, and with the charters printed (e.g.) 'ex autographo in turri beatæ Mariæ Ebor' in the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, mainly from Dodsworth's transcripts, makes a general resemblance between the Torre and the Dodsworth-Dugdale lists immediately apparent. Of seventy-seven religious communities whose documents, in whole or in part, are thus attested as having been kept in St. Mary's Tower, forty-six had some documents surviving after the explosion for Torre to catalogue. In fact Torre was able to list charters under four heads not mentioned elsewhere – Finchall, the Knights Templars, Hull Priory, and St. Giles's Hospital at Beverley. There are thirty-one houses whose documents are not mentioned by name in Torre's lists, and, while explanations of their absence can be given in thirteen cases,⁶ there is a residue of eighteen houses⁷ out of seventy-seven, slightly under 25%, whose documents are recorded in St. Mary's Tower before the explosion or among the items salvaged by Dodsworth and Fairfax but not again afterwards among the records restored to the Abbey. While it is not possible to argue from this that 75% of the individual documents kept in the Tower before 1644 survived in the same keeping afterwards, it makes it unlikely that, as has been widely supposed, all or nearly all the records in the Tower perished in that year.

The disaster, it must be remembered, was not a fire but an explosion, and its immediate consequences would be the collapse of the Tower and the disintegration of the bindings, boxes, and bundles, accompanied by blast. These are conditions to cause chaos, not wholesale destruction. It would be useful to know for certain whether the records sorted by Torre were the same as those salvaged by Thomas Thompson, or included them, or neither; and whether, as Drake supposed, they also included the documents salvaged by Dodsworth and Fairfax and taken in the first place to the latter's home at Menston.

The charters catalogued by Torre comprised thirty bundles containing a total of 1868 documents. Part of their history after Torre worked on them can be traced, and it is to be hoped that the publication of this paper may bring to light further information as to their final fate and, perhaps, their present whereabouts.

In 1690–91 Torre wrote⁸ that the charters were in the hands of Stephen Godfrey, bailiff of St. Mary's, who continued in office until 1703. In the same year Thomas Adams became steward, and at the death of Adams, 'the last steward of this court, two gentlemen of the law in York made interest for the patent, to be executed betwixt them. But a more prevailing interest prevented it. Since which this stewardship has been vacant, the goal

¹ They are B.19, N.36 (Acklam) and B.13, N.24, attributed by Torre to Alitone, corrected by Drake, p. 584, note d, to Mitone, i.e., Myton.

² All given in Torre's *Peculiars, Richmond*, etc., L 1 (10), p. 1479, and his *Index*.

³ Both in Torre's *Index*.

⁴ Appendix X.

⁵ Formerly: MS Dods. 95.

⁶ Appendix XI B.

⁷ Appendix XI C.

⁸ Above, p. 220.

[sic] neglected, and the chamber where the court was kept, by a late accident, well nigh demolished'.¹ Drake is being infuriatingly cryptic about events of which he evidently knew a good deal, and it seems now impossible to discover the details of what he was in a position to record. Adams's death took place in 1722, but already in 1718 John Tomlinson had petitioned to succeed him as steward. Who Drake's second 'gentleman of the law' was does not emerge from the Treasury records; possibly Drake, if he is transferring events of 1718 to the time after Adams's death in 1722, is thinking of John Colton, who at the same time as Tomlinson petitioned for the stewardship made a similar complaint against the bailiff and clerk, William Whitehead, or of Francis Taylor, who in fact succeeded Whitehead in 1718. If this is so, the 'more prevailing interest' which prevented fresh appointments may have been no more than the realisation in London that the Liberty ran at a loss and was 'no profit to the Crown'.² As for the documents, 'This curious collection of antient deeds, &c.,' Drake tells us,³ 'since the disuse of St. Mary's court, and by the death of Thomas Adams, esq; the last steward, is fallen into the hands of a gentleman in York, whose name I am not allowed to mention. But yet I am not out of hopes to get them deposited in the Minster library;⁴ the present possessor having shewn himself a person of a publick spirit on all occasions. I am the more happy in meeting with this noble magazine of antiquity since none of them, as I can find, were ever before printed, either in the *Monasticon*, or in those additional volumes published under the name of captain Stevens.'⁵

Adams before his death lent some papers to Drake, but they were not these.⁶ Drake did however have access to the charters, and in his account of St. Mary's Abbey prints from the collection seventy-five charters with Torre's distinctive B.N. references.⁷

A document printed by Drake⁸ immediately after these B.N. charters gives a clue to the identity of the 'person of publick spirit on all occasions' who in 1736 had possession of the collection but would not allow his ownership to be made public knowledge. It is an indenture dated at Durham, 20th June 1210, between the abbot and monks of St. Mary's and a vicar of 'Gaynesford' named William Roundel. Roundel later became abbot of St. Mary's from 1239 until his death in 1244.⁹ Drake in his list of abbots gives the *Monasticon* as his sole authority for Roundel, but corrects, or at any rate alters, the spelling of the name from Rondele to Roundele. This preference of the spelling in the charter, and its being printed, without reference or comment, immediately after the B.N. documents, are seen to be significant when we find who possessed the manuscripts a few years later.

In 1758 John Burton in the preface to his *Monasticon Eboracense* (p. vi) says that the records from St. Mary's Tower, 'after passing through several hands, are now become the property of William Roundel, esquire, an eminent physician of this city, to whom the

¹ *Eboracum*, p. 575.

² *C.Tr.B.* VIII, 1685-9, iii, p. 1602; IX, 1689-92, ii, p. 711.

³ *Eboracum*, p. 575.

⁴ Cp. the words of Thomas Thompson, *A history of the church and priory of Swine in Holderness* (1824), p. 54, with reference to Torre's manuscripts: 'Manuscripts relating to the ecclesiastical history of Yorkshire, are most properly deposited in the library of the Cathedral at York, as the effects of the dispersion of private libraries, and all illiberal restrictions opposed to the benefit to be derived from an examination of such MSS. are thereby avoided.' Printed proposals were once issued for placing the MSS of Nathaniel Johnston too in York Minster Library (Y.A.S. Library, MS 552(b)).

⁵ John Stevens, *The history of the antient abbeyes, monasteries, hospitals, cathedral and collegiate churches, being two additional volumes to Sir William Dugdale's Monasticon Anglicanum* (1722-3). When Mr. Denholm-Young (p. 96) contradicts this, saying that in fact more than a hundred of the charters have been printed, mainly in *E.Y.C.* and the *Cartularium prioratus de Gyseburne*, ed. by William Brown, 2 vols. (S.S. lxxxvi, lxxxix, 1889, 1894), he is writing of Dodsworth's transcripts and wrongly regarding the B.N. charters as identical with the contents of MSS Dods. 7-9.

⁶ *Eboracum*, preface, folio clr.

⁷ Above, pp. 221-2; *Eboracum*, pp. 601-622; one document, referenced as 'Hæc charta innotata', apparently belongs to Bundle 24. Drake's alphabetical list of the estates of St. Mary's (pp. 582-94) is taken, as he acknowledges (p. 582), almost verbatim from Torre (*York*, pp. 807-825), complete with his B.N. references.

⁸ *Eboracum*, pp. 622-3.

⁹ J. Solloway in *V.C.H. Yorkshire*, iii, p. 111; *Eboracum*, p. 594; *Mon.Angl.* i, p. 395 = iii, p. 538.

world in general is much indebted; and I am, in particular, much obliged to him for the perusal and copying of about eighteen hundred of them.' Evidently Roundel, who besides being 'a very eminent Physician of this City' (York) was 'a Gentleman of Fortune',¹ had somehow acquired the records out of *pietas* to his (supposed) relative, the homonymous abbot of St. Mary's five centuries before.² Despite his wealth, however, he may not have needed to buy the charters, as his wife, Margaret, was the daughter of John Tomlinson of York,³ probably the same John Tomlinson who in 1718 petitioned to succeed Adams as steward of St. Mary's. It may be conjectured that Tomlinson, though he never became steward, somehow succeeded in gaining possession of the records after the death of Adams, and that from him, the Liberty being defunct, they passed to his son-in-law, William Roundel.

Roundel did more than allow Burton 'the perusal and copying' of the collection, he lent it to him. Burton made use of it, and in his *Monasticon Eboracense* twice cites charters 'penes William Roundel, M.D.', each with one of the distinctive B.N. references, and on a third occasion 'The original, penes William R. M.D.'⁴ On Roundel's death on 31 May 1762 Burton kept the collection. A catalogue of the historical manuscripts in Burton's possession drawn up by him at some date in the 1760's⁵ includes⁶ vol. 'XV. This miscellaneous volume is compiled . . . from original charters saved out of the ruins of St. Mary's abbey at York; specifying the number of bundles, what monasteries, &c. they relate to, and the number of charters contained in each bundle, amounting in the whole to 1868, in the possession of J. Burton.' This is the volume containing Torre's catalogue of the charters, now in the Bodleian Library.⁷ On folio 26v, where are two columns showing the 'no of bundels' and the 'no of charters contained in each bundel', Burton has written 'penes W^m. Roundel M.D.' and added later 'nunc penes J. Burton M.D.' Burton's collection also included⁸ 'The original charters gathered out of the ruins of St. Mary's abbey at York (a list of which is in the 15th volume in folio above-mentioned) amounting to 1868 in number, contained in 30 bundles,' and 'Six volumes in quarto, containing copies of, and extracts from, original charters, the chartularies, coucher-books, and registers of various religious houses . . . together with the names of the benefactors and witnesses to each charter, &c. never yet printed, except a very few in the *Monasticon Eboracense*; to which book most of these volumes will serve as an appendix . . . In these six volumes are copies of, or extracts from, charters, &c. in number about 7332, including those found in the ruins of St. Mary's abbey, contained in 1967 pages.'

Thus Burton possessed the 1868 charters in thirty bundles, the calendar of them drawn up by Torre, and a transcript of them made by himself included in the six volumes called 'Copies of charters'.⁹

Of this material Burton made good use in his published *Monasticon Eboracense* (1758), and would have made even better had the projected second volume of that work ever been completed and printed. The published volume contains accounts of 58 houses; volume two was to include accounts of the remaining Yorkshire houses – more than as many again – and of every parish church in the county, together with an appendix of illustrative

¹ Notice of his death, in the *York Courant*, 8 June 1762.

² A genealogical connection seems *prima facie* likely, but the published pedigrees of Roundel do not go high enough to include the abbot. Harry Speight, *Upper Nidderdale* (1906), p. 105, in an account of the later Roundel family, mentions the abbot simply as an earlier bearer of the name.

³ Joseph Foster, *Yorkshire Pedigrees, West Riding*, ii (1874); Thomas Dunham Whitaker, *The history and antiquities of the deanery of Craven*, 3rd ed. by A. W. Morant (1878), folding pedigree after p. 94; Speight, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Pp. 95, note 1 (B.14, N.22); 103, note k (B.13, N.64); 286, note e (B.18, N.12). The last is printed in the *Mon.Angl.* i, p. 496 = iv, p. 275 'Ex originali carta nuper in cartarum scrinio de Yeddyngham in turri beatæ Mariæ Eboraci.'

⁵ Not earlier than 1762, the date of Roundel's death, or later than 1769, when Burton sent the list to Drummond; the list is printed by Richard Gough, *British topography*, ii (1780), pp. 409–416.

⁶ Gough, p. 414.

⁷ MS Top. Yorks. b.14; above, p. 220.

⁸ Gough, p. 415.

⁹ It is clear from the *Mon.Ebor.* that those of the 7332 charters other than the 1868 taken from the originals are taken from cartularies to which Burton had access.

documents.¹ References to this projected appendix, in the form 'Append. no. —', are frequent in Burton's footnotes: on a random seven pages containing mainly grants of land they comprise slightly over half the total number of authorities cited.

Sometimes Burton adds to the appendix reference either the volume and page reference in the 'Copies of charters' or the 'B.N.' reference or both. For example, one note under Keldholm Priory reads 'Cop. cart. v. 1, p. 144; B.20, no. 97; append. no. 4.'² In the first volume of the Copies, on p. 144, begins a full transcription of charter 'B.20. n. 97', and next to it are the notes 'app. n^o 4' and 'under Keldholme'. Sometimes Burton's note adds to a 'cop. cart.' and/or 'B.N.' reference a second reference to a printed copy; he then adds an appendix number if he intends to print the document, perhaps because he has a fuller list of witnesses than had been printed, or omits an appendix number if his own text has no significant improvement on the earlier printing and so does not warrant a fresh printing. Examples are: 'M.a. [= *Monasticon Anglicanum*] v. 1, p. 660. Cop. Cart. v. 3. p. 206. B.10. no. 47';³ 'Stevens's contin. v. 2, append. p. 249. B.1, no. 43'.⁴

Burton cites B.N. charters by number in connection with only seven houses,⁵ but these are far from being the only ones for which he in fact uses B.N. charters. More commonly he gives a 'Cop. cart.' reference, and more commonly still merely an 'app.' reference, though in fact it is all but certain that he is referring to a B.N. charter. Whether in any particular case he gives the 'Cop. cart.' and/or 'B.N.' reference in addition to his 'appendix' reference seems to be purely fortuitous.

The numbering of the appended documents starts at '1' for each house, and it is easy to compare the number of charters of any monastery planned for Burton's appendix with the number listed in Torre's Index.⁶ Except in those instances where Burton uses a cartulary – Byland, Bridlington, Monk Bretton, Fountains, Whitby – his numbers correspond quite closely with Torre's, and it is evident that, besides these five cartularies, Burton's appendix was to contain little other than the Torre-Burton charters. For the twenty-five houses for which Torre's and Burton's figures are comparable, Torre gives 999 B.N. references in his Index and quotes 749 charters in his collections, while Burton's appendix was to contain 1011 items taken from the B.N. collection and all other sources at Burton's disposal. When one remembers the scale and breadth of Burton's other material as shown by his catalogue the great importance of the B.N. charters is abundantly clear. The five houses for which Burton used mainly the cartularies, supplemented in some cases by B.N. charters, provide a further 1585 items for the appendix; this group of monasteries accounts for 192 entries in Torre's Index (144 charters quoted in his collections), though Burton does not in fact make much use of the charters when he has the much fuller cartularies available to him. Burton's appendix thus covered 1191 entries in Torre's Index (893 charters in his collections), approximately three quarters of all the B.N. charters. Of the remaining 228 entries in Torre's Index 28 relate to houses outside Yorkshire, 111 to the two military orders outside Burton's scope, and 89 to Newburgh Priory, which is unaccountably omitted by Burton. Burton has thus made thorough use of those of the B.N. charters within his scope. As for the 7332 documents in his six volumes of 'Copies of charters', however, his appendix, together with the excluded categories of B.N. charters just mentioned, accounts for only 3453, less than a half. It

¹ Burton, pp. x–xi; this is the plan used by Stevens in his supplementary volumes to the *Mon. Angl.*, in contra-distinction to the latter, which prints the documents together with the main entry for each house. All this material, incorporating the entire contents of several of Torre's manuscripts (for the parish churches) and of several cartularies, would have taken several volumes of the size of Burton's published book.

² Burton, p. 381, note e.

³ Burton, p. 93, note d. The *Mon. Angl.* takes the charter from the cartulary of the house, Monk Bretton, then in the possession of Sir Francis Wortley (cp. Appx VIII (g)).

⁴ Burton, p. 290, note 1. Stevens gives his source as 'Penes Radulphum Thoresby'.

⁵ Monk Bretton (pp. 93, note d; 95, notes z and 1; 96, notes a, k, n, r), Drax (p. 103 k), Ellerton (pp. 260 g, o, 261 b, c), Yedingham (pp. 286 e, 287 a), Kirkstall (p. 290 1), Sinningthwaite (p. 326 o), and Keldholm (pp. 380 m, 381 e).

⁶ See Appendix X.

would be interesting to investigate what constitutes the unused 3879 'Copies'; we have not attempted this.¹

When his *Monasticon Eboracense* was published in 1758, Burton had long been in financial difficulties,² and although he lived for thirteen years more his projected second volume, which was to contain the texts of so many of the charters from St. Mary's Tower, never appeared. Since at least 1754 Burton had been in correspondence with Andrew Coltee Ducarel, librarian of Lambeth Palace, who had helped him with the publication of the first volume and presented a copy to the Society of Antiquaries.³ In January 1769, despairing of ever being able himself to produce a continuation of his *Monasticon Eboracense*, Burton enlisted Ducarel's help in searching for a way by which his extensive collections towards it might at the same time bring him some much-needed money and be of service to future historians. In February he made a half-hearted attempt to sell his manuscripts to the British Museum,⁴ and, in letters to Ducarel, to archbishop Robert Hay Drummond of York, to the marquis of Rockingham, then lord lieutenant of the West and North Ridings, and to Sir George Saville, M.P. for Yorkshire, he revived an old scheme of his own, long ago put out in the *Monasticon Eboracense* itself,⁵ of forming a society of the nobility and gentry of Yorkshire for the compilation and publication of 'a complete civil and natural history of the antient and present state' of the county.⁶ Neither project met with any success, and Burton was compelled to look elsewhere for the livelihood which his age and his poor health prevented him from earning by his profession. In the last year of his life (he died on 19 January 1771, probably at the age of sixty)⁷ he sold his entire collections to William Constable of Burton Constable in Holderness, for a sum said to be £2000⁸ and an annuity of £55⁹ for himself and his wife.¹⁰ Possibly Burton found his name a help in negotiating with the representative of the ancient lords of the manor of Burton Constable, though there is no reason to believe that the coincidence of names is more than an accident.¹¹ As Burton died so soon after selling his manuscripts it is probable that two undated occasions on which he communicated to others extracts from manuscripts at Burton Constable antedate the sale and show an

¹ Some, according to Burton's catalogue, are from a cartulary of St. Mary's Abbey, not described by Burton because of the detailed account already printed by Drake, though Burton specially states that this cartulary was not used by Drake. The (approximately) 3000 items in *Copies*, vol. 4, are all extracts from the Fountains Abbey cartulary; Burton's appendix for Fountains includes only 625 items.

² Davies, *Burton*, pp. 415–416, 420.

³ Davies, pp. 418, 421, 425–6.

⁴ Dr. C. E. Wright tells me that no record of this unsuccessful transaction can be traced among the Museum papers.

⁵ Title, and pp. xi, 425–448.

⁶ Burton's letters to Ducarel are printed by Davies, *Burton*, pp. 430–432, and to Drummond, *id.* pp. 432–4; the latter again, apparently without knowledge of Davies's publication, by Mr. Denholm-Young, pp. 98–100, from MS Top. Yorks. c.11, f. 16.

⁷ The memorial inscription in Holy Trinity church, Micklegate, York (Davies, facing p. 437) gives his age as 62, but his date of birth is given as 9 June 1710 (Charles J. Robinson, *A register of the scholars admitted into Merchant Taylors' School*, ii (1883), p. 66; 'June 1710', Davies, p. 403; these two followed by Daniel Hipswell in *Notes & Queries*, 8th ser., iii (1893), pp. 225–6, and *Essex Review*, ii (1893), p. 265). However, the age 'past 18' given on his admission to St. John's College, Cambridge, on 19 June 1727 (Robert Forsyth Scott, *Admissions to the College of St. John the Evangelist in the University of Cambridge*, iii (1903), pp. 53–54), fits better with the age on the inscription. The date of birth 1697 (and place, Ripon, instead of Colchester) given by John Nichols, *Illustrations of the literary history of the eighteenth century* (1817–31), iii. 375–399, followed by Robert Watt, *Bibliotheca Britannica* (1824), I.i. 176, and *D.N.B.*, are palpable blunders.

⁸ The only authority for this figure, which may be an exaggeration, is the reply of William Roundel, son of Dr. William Roundel's brother Danson, to an enquiry made by Thomas Yorke of Hellifield in 1801 about some mediaeval charters relating to Mowbray grants to Byland Abbey of Middlesmoor Forest in Nidderdale: 'The Appendix to which Burton refers must needs be attached to the second volume, and of course in the possession of Mr. Constable – the Doctor having sold all my Grants and the MS copy of the second volume to Mr. C. for the sum of £2,000. This second vol: was never published.' The letter is calendared in the National Register of Archives report, *Yorke Additional MSS III* (1962), no. 49, part 5.

⁹ The annuity of £55 to Burton's wife is the only payment quoted from the agreement to sell included in the sale catalogue of 1889. No figure is given by Gough or Davies.

¹⁰ Davies, p. 438, apparently following Gough, p. 409.

¹¹ Burton compiled pedigrees of the various branches of the Yorkshire Constables; a later transcript is in the Y.A.S. Library, MS 309.

older acquaintance with the Constables.¹ Burton's widow, Mary, died on 28 October the same year, and William Constable secured the manuscripts without much to pay in the way of annuities. After Burton's death William Roundel's brother and executor, Danson Roundel, applied for the return of the charters, which had only been lent to Burton; 'Constable is said to have politely returned for answer, that if it could be told which had belonged to Dr. Roundell, they should be returned, but that being impossible,' they remained at Burton Constable.²

In the library at Burton Constable Burton's manuscripts, including the 1868 charters from St. Mary's Tower, joined 'the common repository of unnumbered evidences relating to the Seigniorship' of Holderness and the rest of Yorkshire.³ Several writers made their presence there public knowledge,⁴ and the Constable family made them available to antiquaries, as Burton himself evidently had done before. In December 1747 the Leeds schoolmaster Thomas Wilson⁵ made a complete copy of the volume 'An account of all the Charters, Patents, and Escheat-Rolls; in the Archives of the Tower of London, Collected by John Burton M.D. 1746. with Compleat Indexes of Persons & Places'.⁶ The York heraldic painter Thomas Beckwith⁷ wrote 'Some Short Accounts of Familys in Yorkshire from Mr. Strangways M.S.S. Chiefly, and others from Dr. Burtons Papers', etc.⁸ As late as 1833, but perhaps working from an intermediary source the York genealogist William Paver,⁹ in compiling 'Pedigrees of Yorkshire families, extracted chiefly from the Heraldic Visitations of 1584 and 1612', named twelve authorities whom he had followed, one of them being 'Burton'.¹⁰

Burton's manuscripts were not at Burton Constable long before at least one of them – the manuscript of his projected second volume, i.e., either the six volumes of the 'Copies of charters' or a rearranged transcript of much of their contents – was used by William Hutchinson for his work *The history and antiquities of the county palatine of Durham*.¹¹ In his prefatory 'Advertisement' Hutchinson makes acknowledgement of 'his obligations to Marmaduke Tunstall, esq; of Wycliffe, for the MS. volume of Burton's Monasticon Eboracense, Heraldic Visitation Books, and other materials of consequence'. This Marmaduke Tunstall was younger half-brother of William Constable of Burton Constable, their father Cuthbert having changed his name from Tunstall on succeeding to the Burton Constable estates.¹² Tunstall's historical manuscripts came after his death, *via* a bookseller, to Burton Constable.¹³ There are not many points on which Hutchinson can have found Burton's work of direct value to him, and we have not found any occasion where he in fact uses Burton or the charters.

More substantial use of the Burton manuscripts was made by two historians working at Burton Constable, Dade and Poulson, only the latter, however, attaining publication. William Dade, besides holding three livings in the city of York, was rector of Barmston in Holderness from 1766 until his death in 1790, and in 1783 issued proposals for publishing *The History and Antiquities of Holderness* in folio at £2 2s; he died without completing the

¹ A. J. Horwood, 'The manuscripts of F. Bacon Frank, Esq., of Campsall Hall, co. York', in H.M.C. *Sixth report* (1877), pp. 461–2.

² Gough, p. 416, note f to p. 415.

³ Poulson, i, p. viii.

⁴ John Gough, *British topography* (1780), ii. 409, 416 n.; John Bigland, *The beauties of England and Wales*, vol. xvi, *Yorkshire* (1812), reissued as *A topographical and historical description of the county of York* [1819], p. 937; William Boyne, *The Yorkshire library* (1869), p. 3.

⁵ Died 1760: R. V. Taylor, *Supplement to the Biographia Leodiensis* (1867), pp. 587–9.

⁶ Y.M.L. MS Add. 168; another transcript by Wilson of the same original is at Leeds, Y.A.S. Library, MS 319. Burton's original is Bodleian Library, MS Top. Yorks. b.6.

⁷ 1731–86: W. Camidge, *Ye old streete of Pavemente, York*, p. 210; J. W. Walker (ed.), *Yorkshire pedigrees*, A–F (Harleian Soc. xciv, 1942), p. vi (wrongly giving 1630/1).

⁸ Y.M.L. MS Add. 142.

⁹ 1802–71: *D.N.B.*

¹⁰ Y.M.L. MS Add. 165. The eleven others are Brooke, Dodsworth, Dugdale, Gascoigne, Glover, Hopkinson, Johnston, Radcliffe, St. George, Thoresby, Torre.

¹¹ 3 vols, 1785–94, at vol. i, p. [ii].

¹² Marmaduke had resumed the family name on coming to live at Wycliffe, the home of the Tunstalls since a century and a half earlier: Ada Russell in V.C.H. *Yorkshire, North Riding*, i (1914), p. 139; Poulson, ii, 227–239; T. Russell Goddard, *History of the Natural History Society of Northumberland, Durham and Newcastle upon Tyne* (1929), pp. 142–6.

¹³ A. S. Ellis in *Y.A.J.* xii (1893), pp. 92–93.

work, and his unfinished manuscript was purchased for the Burton Constable library.¹ In 1823 Thomas Dunham Whitaker used Burton's manuscripts at Burton Constable in writing his account of Kirkby Wiske in Richmondshire, a possession of Fountains Abbey.²

A sad comment on the use made of the manuscripts at Burton Constable is passed by the historian Thomas Thompson in a postscript, dated October 1822, to his book *Ocellum Promontorium; or, short observations on the ancient state of Holderness*, published in 1821. While formerly William Constable and others of his family, Thompson writes, had liberally thrown the library open to 'scientific and studious persons', recently the 'felonious conduct of some persons, who, while they were allowed to examine the MSS. actually stole some of them, and mutilated others', made it necessary for the present owners, the Clifford family, to limit access to a few scholarly friends. Thompson had himself been one of those so privileged, and quickly realised that the very richness of the collection made its use a long and difficult task. There was reason to expect, he said, that the Cliffords would 'at no very distant period' arrange for the publication of material from the library's MSS to 'illustrate the history of Burton Constable, and of the Seigniorship of Holderness . . .'.³

Thompson's expectation was partially fulfilled, not by the Cliffords or Constables themselves, but, at the encouragement of Sir Clifford Constable, by George Poulson. From c.1833 to 1840⁴ Poulson worked in the library at Burton Constable (and elsewhere), making Dade's manuscripts⁵ the basis of his book, *The history and antiquities of the*

¹ Poulson, i, pp. viii, xi, 205-6, and ii, p. 516; J. W. Walker (ed.), *Yorkshire pedigrees*, A-F (Harleian Soc. xciv, 1942), pp. [v]-vi, 132; John Nichols, *Literary anecdotes of the eighteenth century* (1812-15), viii, 474-5. Three sets of the trial sheets mentioned by Nichols, one with corrections presumably by Dade, are in the B.M.; they comprise a total of 43 folio pages of text and a number of plates. Dade was in York, a curate officiating at four weddings at Acomb, in 1763-5 (Harold Richardson (ed.), *The parish register of Acomb* (Y.A.S. P.R.S. cxxix, 1966), pp. 76-77), and was incumbent of St. Olave's, 1771-90, rector of St. Mary's, Castlegate, 1773-90, and of St. Michael's, Spurriergate, 1773-6, where the new register begun by him on 12 July 1773, seven weeks before his official institution on 31 August, shows his meticulous historical outlook: 'The following comprehensive Register of Births and Baptisms was introduced by William Dade Rector of this Church, which if properly carried on will afford much clearer intelligence to the researches of Posterity than the common Method hitherto pursued.' Eight years after his death the history of Holderness was still expected to appear 'shortly': John Tickell, *The history of . . . Kingston upon Hull* (1798), p. 178, where Dade contributes a list of abbots of Meaux; a plate facing this page and dedicated to Dade reproduces a Meaux charter of 1301 referred to from this source in Poulson's *Holderness*, ii, p. 314 (it is not a B.N. charter). Dade was probably a freemason (Y.M.L., MS. XVI. D. 17, anno 1770).

² T. D. Whitaker, *An history of Richmondshire*, i (1823), p. 262: 'the following extracts from his [Dr. Burton's] collections now at Burton Constable are given as he left them, half Latin and half English, the chartulary of Fountains, which he made use of, being wholly in Latin.' Cp. also *id.* ii, 95.

³ *Ocellum Promontorium*, pp. 267-9. Thompson's notes to his later book, *A history of the church and priory of Swine in Holderness* (1824), shows that he did indeed make some limited use of the Burton Constable manuscripts: see notes on his pp. 60 ('Notes on Arms, p. 34') and 97 ('Genealogy [of the Hilton family] at Burton Constable'). At p. 94 he cites 'From "A collection of the Descents of seuerall of the Northerne Nobility, and Gentry, especially such as have been actiue in the wars against the Scots." By John Burton, M.D. S.A.S. Constable MSS. F. 114, p. 114', and at p. 119 'Burton's Collection of Descents of the Northerne Nobility, in the Constable MSS. F. 114, p. 100.' At p. 180 he cites the Constable MSS. at second hand from 'Burton's Mon.Ebor. p. 254.'

⁴ During this period Charles Frost, the historian of Hull, in compiling a pedigree of the family of Alford of Meaux, made use of 'the 8th volume of Burton's MSS. of East Riding Pedigrees, in the library of Sir Clifford Constable, Bart. at Burton Constable': *Collectanea topographica & genealogica*, iv (1837), p. 177. A few years before George Oliver, *The history and antiquities of . . . Beverley* (1829), p. ix, used transcripts taken from the Constable MSS.

⁵ Dade's manuscript 'Materials for compiling the history and antiquities of Beverley', 2 vols, was lot 42 (to Ellis, £2 10s) in the Burton Constable sale of 24 June 1889; a bundle of his 'Collections for a history of Yorkshire, containing transcripts of ancient grants and deeds, pedigrees, wills, topographical notices, epitaphs, &c.' was lot 256 (to Ellis, £4 15s) in the same sale, 25 June. Ellis was acting for Sir Thomas Brooke, and lot 42 is more fully described in the catalogue of Brooke's library: 'Materials for compiling the History & Antiquities of Beverley, collected from Torrs Manuscripts in the Cathedral at York, from Grants, Charters, Wills, Monumental Inscriptions & Parish Registers, & from the Printed Works of Leland . . . Dugdale, Campden, Dodsworth, &c., by Willm. Dade A.S.S. Rector of Barmston in the County, & of St. Mary's Castlegate within the City of York. Manuscript upon paper of the xviiith century, written upon 130 leaves in the autograph of Mr. Dade. 2 vols. 4to.' (*A catalogue of the manuscripts and printed books collected by Thomas Brooke*, 1891, ii, p. 713). Lot 256 does not appear in Brooke's catalogue, but Dade's two Beverley volumes and two further volumes of Yorkshire pedigrees collected by him and brought down to c. 1780 were bequeathed by Brooke to the Yorkshire Archaeological Society and are MSS 80-82 in the Society's library (W. T. Lancaster and E. W. Crossley, *Catalogue of manuscripts in the library of the Y.A.S.*, 2nd ed., 1931, pp. 11-12).

Seigniory of Holderness (2 vols, 1840–41).¹ Either Dade or Poulson, or quite possibly both, saw and used the thirty bundles of charters: they are cited thirty-one times in Poulson's *History* by the usual B.N. references.

Two charters are referred to twice, so the number of separate charters cited is twenty-nine. One is an isolated reference to '3 plots of ground called Westing in Appleton' given to St. Mary's Abbey by Peter de Fauconberg; the same grant is referred to by Drake, but in quite different words, 'three places of meadow in Apelton westings', so Poulson's source was a different one from Drake's.² In the case of Meaux Abbey and Bridlington Priory Poulson regularly uses the cartularies for his authorities, but for both houses one or two separate charters are also referred to. For Meaux these are two, both grants made before the land in question came to the abbey, and hence not likely to be registered in the cartulary. The charters are described one as in the possession of 'nup. W.R. M.D.', the other of 'R. M.D.', evidently Dr. Roundel. One grant is quoted as being to Bridlington Priory, but it is made 'for cloathing the nuns', and Bridlington appears to be an error for Nun Keeling, under which the same charter is referred to again. Poulson did not use the cartulary in the Cottonian Library, in his day unusable because of the fire of 1731 but since reconstituted,³ and cites fifteen B.N. charters and three others without the distinctive reference but identifiable as from the same collection; these comprise all the sixteen listed under the priory in Torre's index plus two more. All but one are also cited in the *Monasticon Eboracense*, though Burton refers to them not by the B.N. numbers but simply by his own appendix numbers. Similarly for Swine Priory, in the absence of a cartulary Poulson cites nine⁴ charters by B.N. references and three other identifiable ones without the reference, comprising all the twelve charters listed for the priory in Torre's index; all twelve are also in Burton. One charter, twice cited by Poulson, relates to land of the French abbey of Aumale; it is also referred to in Torre's index, though there is a discrepancy in the numbers. Another charter, relating to land at Marfleet, and cited as 'Penes Dr. W. R. . . . Dr. Burton's MS.S.', may belong to any of three houses, Aumale, Kirkstall, or Burstall, but is not referred to by Torre in connection with any of them.⁵

In seven cases Poulson gives a brief description of the physical condition of the charter and/or its script, e.g., 'hand very fair, seal lost', and 'hand fair, small charter injured by damp'.⁶ These descriptions are not given either in Torre's catalogue or in Burton's transcripts, and we may follow Mr. Denholm-Young⁷ in deducing that Poulson (or Dade) was working from the original documents. There are other occasions, however, on which Poulson evidently found it more convenient to use Burton's six handy quarto volumes than to refer to the thirty bundles of original charters. Several times Poulson explicitly cites Burton's 'Copies of charters' by volume and page, and his references to the two Meaux charters and the Marfleet charter as in Roundel's possession likewise suggest that he is using Burton's manuscripts, which describe the whole collection in this way. Once he cites from the 'Copies of Charters' a grant which he elsewhere cites with a B.N. reference and describes as 'seal lost, hand fair'.⁸

On at least two other occasions Poulson appears to be using the charters, or Burton's transcripts of them, without saying so. In his account of Southorp by Hornsea⁹ he writes: 'This place was also given by Odo to St. Mary's abbey, York. Ralph, son of Beatrix de Uvegat, gave an oxgang of land here to the same abbey; attested by Master Symon de Catel Barroc, parson of Hornsea, Thurstan, the clerk of the Earl of Albemarle,

¹ The title-page describes the work as 'compiled from authentic charters, records, and the unpublished manuscripts of the Rev. William Dade, remaining in the library of Burton Constable'. Poulson is explicitly or implicitly using Dade at the following places: i, pp. 170a, 260a, 266a, 280c, 295a, 413a; ii, pp. 6b, 86c, 138b, 265a, 401a, 408a.

² Drake's source was Torre. The references to all these charters are given in Appx XI.

³ MS Otho V. viii; Poulson, i, p. 380; Davis, p. 82, no. 728.

⁴ Not six, as stated by Mr. Denholm-Young, p. 97, n.11.

⁵ For the complicated relationship of the land in question with the three houses see *Mon.Angl.* i, pp. 588–9 = vii, pp. 1020–21; Burton, pp. 290, 298, 299 d; Poulson, i, pp. 23–24, ii, p. 319.

⁶ Poulson, i, p. 374 l, B.2 N^o 1; 376a, B.7 N^o 19.

⁷ Denholm-Young, p. 98.

⁸ Poulson, i, p. 375 l, ii, p. 156 g; B.20 N^o 28.

⁹ Poulson, i, p. 340.

Robert de Fitling, and others. Richard, son of Richard Spiney (de Spineto), released to this abbey three oxgangs of land, situated near the meer of Hornsea; attested by Robert de Gousill, Adam the Clerk, bailiff of Hornsea, Richard, son of Martin de Hornsea Burton. Reginald, son of William le Paumer, gave an oxgang of land in Southorp field.' For this Drake¹ has these much less detailed entries: 'Richard Fitz-Richard de Spineto released unto this abbey three oxgangs of land in Suthorpe, which stands against Hornseymeer. B.10.N^o25. – Ralph, son of Beatrix de Uvegate, granted to it one oxgang of land in Suthorp. B.20.N^o56. R.M. [= Register of St. Mary's] 355. – Reginald, son of William le Paumer de Suthorpe granted to it one oxgang of land in Suthorp-field. R.M. 354.' Poulson adds the names of the witnesses in both the charters cited by B.N. references, but not with the charter quoted only from the cartulary.

Again, in his account of Wassand² Poulson gives 'Steven, son of Walter de Hatfield, released to the abbey [of St. Mary, York] all his right of fishery, as well in the Marre [= Meer] of Wassand, as in that of Hornsea and Burton Agnes. Attested by Sir John de Oketon, steward of St. Mary's abbey, Sir John Danthorp, knight, John Monceaux, and Robert de Wassand'; Drake³ has only 'Stephen, son of Walter de Haytefeild, released to this abbey all the right and claim that he had of fishing in the meres of Wassand, Seton, Hornsey, and Agnesburton, &c. B.8.N^o38.' In both these cases Poulson can have got his additional information, the names of the witnesses, only from the original charters or Burton's transcripts; in the absence of a reference to the former, the latter is more likely.

In 1872 the then owner of the Burton manuscripts looked closely enough at 'Copies of charters', vol. 2, to correct an error of Burton's: on folio 1r, next to the entry 'Copies of 535 charters in this vol.', is the note '553 see last page/W^m Cons[table]/Nov^r. 1872'; on the last page (f.189v) Burton has written '553 cartæ'.⁴

In 1873 Robert Davies, in his 'Memoir of John Burton',⁵ says that the 1868 charters in thirty bundles, together with the forty-six volumes of Burton's manuscripts, were still at Burton Constable, though in fact he does not make it clear whether he is merely making a deduction from their presence there in the past or had definite knowledge that they really were there when he wrote.

Part of the contents of the library and charter-room at Burton Constable, described as 'collected chiefly by the late William Constable, Esq.,' was sold at Sotheby's in 1889. The printed books were sold on 27–29 June, and the manuscripts on 24–26 June. In the session of 24 June lot 100 comprised forty-two volumes of 'Manuscripts illustrating the various branches of the history of Yorkshire from . . . 1066 down to . . . 1760, collected . . . by John Burton.' The description largely follows that drawn up by Burton himself, as printed by Gough.⁶ The lot brought £215, and the purchaser was Marmaduke Constable-Maxwell, 10th baron Herries, the collection thus remaining in the Constable family and in the East Riding, at Everingham Park.

The new owner himself made use of 'Dr. Burton's collection of papers, which were at Burton Constable and which are now in my possession', quoting a pedigree from one of Burton's manuscripts in an article about a branch of the Constable family.⁷ On one occasion at least Lord Herries made the collection available to another: Canon John Solloway, in his account of Holy Trinity Priory in York, quotes a few words from the 'appendix to the *Monasticon Eboracense*, which appendix, in six quarto volumes, is

¹ *Eboracum*, p. 592.

² Poulson, i, p. 435.

³ *Eboracum*, p. 593.

⁴ MS Top. Yorks. e.8.

⁵ *Y.A.J.* ii (1873), p. 438.

⁶ At vol. vi, 'Yorkshire Pedigrees (118)' replaces a volume of 1073 pages containing copies of Torre's accounts of all parish, collegiate, conventual, and cathedral churches in Yorkshire, with Burton's additions and the text of the second volume of his *Mon.Ebor.*, etc.; at vol. viii, Pedigrees and monumental inscriptions of non-Yorkshire families replaces Pedigrees of 300 East Riding families; vol. xvi, a large folio containing Tenures of lands, is replaced by the 6 vols of Copies of charters, formerly unnumbered at [xvii]; vol. xvii, Descents of Yorkshire manors, A–Z, 22 + 1 vols, previously unnumbered at [xviii].

⁷ Lord Herries, 'The Constables of Flamborough', in *The Transactions of the East Riding Antiquarian Society*, viii (1900), p. 52.

preserved among the archives of the late Lord Herries at Everingham Park'.¹ Some years afterwards the collection returned to Burton Constable on being repurchased from the then Lord Herries by Lieutenant-Colonel Raleigh Chichester-Constable.² In 1937, the Oxford historian Mr. N. Denholm-Young was allowed to examine the Burton manuscripts and published his article bringing them once more to the attention of scholars, and immediately afterwards Colonel Chichester-Constable put them up for sale once more. They formed lot 547 in Sotheby's sale of 21 December 1937, the catalogue description being largely a repetition of the earlier one, only the volume numbers i–xviii being changed to the letters (a)–(p).³ The price was £96 and the purchaser Quaritch, acting on behalf of the Bodleian Library. A brief descriptive note was published under the heading 'Notable accessions' in the first issue of *The Bodleian Library Record* in 1938.⁴ Thus, although Drake's hope expressed 230 years ago that the charters might come to York Minster Library, where they would be in the city of their origin as a collection and together with the smaller but even more valuable group of manuscripts of James Torre who arranged and catalogued them, is not fulfilled, Torre's calendar and Burton's transcript of them have now a not unfitting home in company with the great Yorkshire collections of Roger Dodsworth and (in part) Nathaniel Johnston.

While the custody of Torre's calendar and Burton's transcript of the St. Mary's Tower charters is thus assured, the fate of the 1868 original charters themselves remains a mystery. Since Poulson apparently used them in the 1830's they have disappeared from record. They are not included in either sale catalogue of the Burton manuscripts, or elsewhere in the catalogues of the Burton Constable sales. The sale of 26 June 1889 included at lots 511–514 four groups of Yorkshire deeds, a few of them evidently monastic, but they total only 426 pieces. These were bought some by Lord Grantley and some by Sir Thomas Brooke, and calendered by A. S. Ellis in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* in 1893–5.⁵ In the prefatory note to his calendar Ellis recalls a visit to the muniment room at Burton Constable some twenty-five years before, i.e., c.1868, when he saw a large quantity of charters stored in ottomans on the floor. He identifies these charters with those saved from St. Mary's Tower and now calendered by him, but it is immediately apparent from the calendar that the charters are, with a few odd exceptions, not monastic, i.e., quite different in character from the St. Mary's Tower charters, and not a single one of the Brooke or Grantley charters can be identified as belonging to the B.N. collection. Brooke's charters were not included among the papers received by the Yorkshire Archaeological Society under his bequest,⁶ but those bought by Lord Grantley are now deposited in the Society's library.⁷ The documents from Burton Constable not sold in the late nineteenth century, i.e., the family archives as opposed to collected documents, have been deposited at the East Riding County Record Office at Beverley, as have the corres-

¹ Solloway, *The alien Benedictines of York* (1910), p. 62. Solloway (p. 69) also quotes from Everingham Park an original charter of Alexander Paynell to Holy Trinity Priory, but, as this was described as 'preserved among the muniments of William Constable Maxwell of Everingham park' already in 1847, when Burton's collection was still at Burton Constable, this must belong to the original Everingham muniments and not to Burton's collection: Thomas Stapleton, 'Historical details of . . . Holy Trinity . . . Priory', in the Archæological Institute's *Memoirs illustrative of the history . . . of York . . . 1846* (1847), pp. 102–3.

² Denholm-Young, p. 97; Sotheby's *Catalogue* (1937), p. 72.

³ With the omission of vol. ii, 'Pipe Rolls, called Rotulus Scaccarii, containing every Thing relating to Yorkshire in the Pipe Rolls . . . 363 pages, folio', and the addition in no. xvii = (p) of '2 others, one containing Funerals; the other notes relating to Yorkshire Families'.

⁴ Vol. i, no. 1 (Oct. 1938), p. 17. Cp. also Sir H. H. Edmund Craster, *History of the Bodleian Library, 1845–1945* (1952), p. 298.

⁵ *Y.A.J.* xii (1893), pp. 92–115, 230–262, 289–308, xiii (1895), pp. 44–83. Other charters from Burton Constable put up at the same sale came into the possession of J. E. F. Chambers (calendered in *Y.A.J.* xvi (1902), pp. 84–107) and J. S. Earle (calendered in *Y.A.J.* xvii (1903), pp. 96–126); the latter collection is now in the Y.A.S. Library, MD 37.

⁶ Denholm-Young, p. 100, n.7; *Y.A.J.* xx (1909), p. 110.

⁷ National Register of Archives, *Grantley MSS III* (1958), prefatory note; the accompanying calendar is revised and expanded from the relevant entries in Ellis's calendar printed in the *Y.A.J.* (above, n.5).

ponding archives from Everingham Park.¹ Neither collection includes the St. Mary's Abbey charters, and both houses are stated to contain no further mediaeval documents. Mr. Denholm-Young threw out the suggestion that the charters might conceivably have been burnt in a bookseller's shop in Bristol about 1860, but the source of this story makes it clear that what was destroyed on that occasion was a collection of charters of Byland Abbey.² The present collection included at least 74 Byland charters,³ but, regardless of whether Davies's statement of 1873⁴ be taken at its face value, there are no grounds for regarding the Bristol fire as having destroyed the entire 1868 charters. Their fate remains a mystery. It is to be hoped that after surviving so many years and so many vicissitudes they will once more be found.

The rediscovery of the collection would be a matter of considerable importance, an importance which has been obscured by the erroneous supposition that virtually all the 1868 charters are available as the (approximately) 1828 charters which comprise the first two volumes of the *Monasticon Boreale*,⁵ supplemented by the St. Mary's Tower documents transcribed in other volumes of Dodsworth's collections.⁶ Despite the similarity in numbers, these two collections of charters from St. Mary's are quite distinct. The Torre-Roundel-Burton collection represents charters which were kept in the abbey after the explosion; the Dodsworth collection comprises charters which were in the Tower before the explosion, though written up after it. Some, perhaps many, of the latter group were certainly salvaged and in Dodsworth's hands when he wrote the *Monasticon Boreale*, but others in that compilation were transcribed some from copies made by Dodsworth long before and some even from cartularies.⁷ There is some overlap of a number of charters which are found in both collections, but this represents only a small proportion of the whole. Their presence in the two collections may be due to any of three causes: (1) there was more than one copy of a charter in St. Mary's Tower (probable in a few cases); (2) some of the charters copied by Dodsworth before the explosion survived to be listed by Torre after it (generally the most likely reason); and (3) some charters in Dodsworth's hands at Chevet in October 1644 were returned to St. Mary's to be incorporated in the Torre-Burton collection (possible in a few instances, but in no case certain).

In the case of two houses the charters preserved in the various Dodsworth manuscripts have been assembled and can conveniently be compared with those in the Torre-Burton collection. For Rievaulx Abbey Dodsworth gives sixty-nine charters,⁸ Torre's Index refers to seventy (his collections use forty-six), and Burton's appendix contains seventy-three. Fourteen charters appear to be preserved in both the Dodsworth and the Torre-Burton collections. For Guisborough Priory Dodsworth gives a total of 104 charters,⁹ Torre's Index refers to 308 (his collections use 241), and Burton's appendix contains 290. Only two of these appear to be common to the Dodsworth and the Torre-Burton collec-

¹ *Brief guide to the contents of the East Riding County Record Office*, 3rd ed. (1966), pp. 15–16: DDCC, two instalments deposited by the Chichester-Constable family of Burton Constable, and DDEV, manuscripts from Everingham deposited by the Duke of Norfolk.

² Denholm-Young, p. 98, with n.13, citing V.C.H. *Yorkshire*, iii, 132. The source is John Richard Walbran, 'Observations on the history and structure of the Abbey of the Blessed Mary of Byland', in *A.A.S.R.* vii (1863–4), ii, p. 225 (Yorkshire Architectural Society, 22 June 1864).

³ Appendix X.

⁴ Above, p. 230.

⁵ MSS Dods. 7, 8.

⁶ Denholm-Young, note 10; also the note of acquisition of the Burton MSS in *The Bodleian Library Record*, i, 1938–41 (1941), no. 1 (Oct. 1938), p. 17.

⁷ E.g., MS Dods. 8, ff. 9–10v, where two memoranda and six charters are taken from MS 144, a transcript of the Bolton Priory cartulary made by Dodsworth in 1634 (*E.Y.C.* vii, p. 53, notes 1–2); MS 7, f. 31 = MS 62, f. 52, both from a Fountains cartulary: the original charter was in recent years at Studley Royal and was probably never in St. Mary's Tower (*E.Y.C.* iv, p. 20, n.1); MS 8, f. 177v = 95, f. 66, printed in *Mon.Angl.* ii, 506 = vi, 806 from the original *penes* Henry Arthington de Arthington, and probably at Arthington, to which it refers, and not in St. Mary's Tower at all (*E.Y.C.* vi, pp. 246–7, no. 148).

⁸ J. C. Atkinson (ed.), *Cartularium abbatiae de Rievall* (S.S. lxxxiii, 1889): 55 are in MS Dods. 7, the remaining 14 in MSS 2, 8, 9, 17, 94, 95, 116, 121.

⁹ W. Brown (ed.), *Cartularium prioratus de Gyseburne*, 2 vols (S.S. lxxxvi, lxxxix, 1889–94): 80 are in MS Dods. 7, 24 in MSS 8, 74, 76, 94, 95, 108, 118. *E.Y.C.* ix, p. x, n.2, says the printed cartulary contains 53 charters from MS 7 (actually 80) and one from MS 8 (correct).

tions. Comparison of the Rievaulx and Guisborough charters thus shows that the overlap between the two collections is slight, and this in turn shows not only that Burton's collection deserves as much attention¹ as has long been accorded to Dodsworth's, but also that for all his industry Dodsworth can have transcribed only a small proportion of what was preserved in St. Mary's Tower before the explosion. There is a fundamental difference in character between the two collections: while Dodsworth in the main transcribed charters individually chosen for their apparent importance or interest, the Burton collection comprises charters which survived the explosion by chance, and so is more truly representative of the contents of the Tower.

In conclusion, it may now be stated that the records eventually kept in St. Mary's Tower were collected at the time of and shortly after the dissolution of the monasteries, certainly before 1552, and probably as early as the 1530's. They comprised those documents – cartularies, original charters, and a few rentals, accounts, and court rolls – of the monastic houses of Yorkshire, with the exception of the archdeaconry of Richmond but with the addition of some houses geographically outside the scope of the collection but administratively dependent on houses within it, which were not handed over as title deeds to the tenants and purchasers of the former monastic estates. The documents were stored mostly in chests, a few in bundles, one or more for each monastery, perhaps the original containers in which the records had been kept in the monasteries and transported to York. Dodsworth refers to the documents as being in 'their several chests',² and to the individual chests of Kirkstall, Roche, Yedingham, Sinningthwaite, Holy Trinity (York), Nun Appleton, Nostell, Guisborough, Healaugh, and Byland,³ and a Byland bundle and bag.⁴ An isolated reference to a charter as from the 'Dickering bundle'⁵ suggests an alternative, and presumably minor, arrangement by deaneries, possibly within the records of the house in question.

The records were probably kept in the first place in York Castle, in the custody of the clerks of the castle and of the county court held therein, and after a few years, most probably in 1539–41, transferred to St. Mary's Tower, where at the end of the sixteenth century special Keepers began to be appointed by letters patent, as officials of the Augmentation Office of the Exchequer under the Receivers for Yorkshire. The Keeper might have a Deputy Keeper and several clerks.⁶ The duties of the Keeper and his staff, besides serving the needs of the Receivers for Yorkshire and other officials of the Augmentations, included the supplying of original documents or certified copies as required. To judge

¹ Study of the Torre-Burton charters will on occasion be of value for non-Yorkshire as well as for Yorkshire houses: e.g., B.20 N.71 is a charter, A.D. 1185–8, of Hugh, abbot of Oseney, granting to Newburgh Priory some land in Huggate, E.R., of the gift of Alice, wife of Ernulf de Mandevill (Ernulf, eldest son of Geoffrey de Mandevill, 1st earl of Essex, received valuable lands from the Empress Maud, but was banished in 1144–5 for sharing in his father's revolt and so did not succeed to the earldom: W. Dugdale, *The baronage of England*, i (1675), pp. 201–3; *D.N.B.*, art. Mandeville (Geoffrey); G. W. Watson in G. E. C[okayn], *The complete peerage*, new ed., v (1926), p. 116, writes of 'the forfeiture, or, more probably, . . . the excommunication, of . . . Ernulf'). There is nothing in the surviving Oseney cartularies (H. E. Salter, *Cartulary of Oseney Abbey*, 6 vols, Oxford Historical Soc. 1929–36; Andrew Clark, *The English register of Oseney Abbey*, 2 vols, E.E.T.S. O.S. cxxxiii, cxliv, 1907–13) to show that Oseney ever had a holding at Huggate, though it happens that this particular charter is preserved by Dodsworth, together with the confirmation to Oseney of Geoffrey de Mandevill, son of Alice and Ernulf (MSS Dods. 7, f. 299v, and 91, f. 51r; *E.Y.C.* ii, p. 519–521, nos. 1256–7; Salter, vi, pp. 129, 180–181, charters 1122–3; 'Confirmation of a grant of land at Huggate to Watton Priory', in *Y.A.J.* xviii (1905), p. 107, with n.5). The Oseney holding at Huggate is mentioned incidentally in the cartulary of St. Leonard's Hospital, York (Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. B.455, f. 179; *E.Y.C.* ii, p. 519, no. 1255).

² *Diversis cistulis*: title of MS Dods. 7, Appendix IX.

³ Kirkstall: MS Dods. 94, f. 149r–v, and Y.A.S. MS 283, ff. 115v–116r; Roche: MSS Dods. 94, f. 149; 117, f. 17r; 127, f. 157v; 125, f. 148r; 152, f. 107; Yedingham: MSS 94, f. 128r; 121, f. 62v = *E.Y.C.* i, p. 483, no. 612; *Mon.Angl.* i, 496 = iv. 275; Sinningthwaite: MS 127, f. 146v; Holy Trinity: MS 117, ff. 5r, 6r; Nun Appleton: *Mon.Angl.*, new ed., v. 652, note u, from MS 49, f. 48r–v; Nostell: MS 117, f. 7r; Guisborough: MS 118, f. 153r; Healaugh: *Mon.Angl.*, new ed., vi, 438, note c, from MS 116, ff. 64, 69; Byland: MS 157, f. 30v.

⁴ Bundle: MS 95, ff. 40r–41v, *Mon.Angl.* ii, 825 = vi, 978; bag: MS 157, f. 31r.

⁵ MS Dods. 108, f. 84r.

⁶ The existence of the clerks is deduced from the facts that many of the certified copies have similar witness lists, and that transcripts supplied at the same time are often in different hands. But see Appendix VI A.vii.

by the surviving examples, transcripts were issued more frequently than originals. The copies were sometimes certified anew by subsequent Keepers. While schedules of originals delivered into private custody might be on parchment and sealed, the surviving transcripts are all on paper and unsealed, their authenticity being attested by (usually) the Keeper and (sometimes) several witnesses, and they were recognised in the courts. Not until the 1630's is there any attempt to recall records in private custody to the official house of evidences, and this effort seems to be an isolated one and to have had little if any effect.

After the explosion which demolished the Tower in 1644 the records were scattered and many were lost. Some were placed in another repository by a local legal official, others were taken away by Roger Dodsworth and Charles Fairfax as objects of antiquarian interest. After the restoration some were restored to St. Mary's Abbey, sorted and listed by James Torre, and again preserved by a Keeper, who was also an official of the Liberty of St. Mary's. In the eighteenth century, after the demise of the Liberty, these documents came into the hands of John Burton, who transcribed them in full, and then to the record room at Burton Constable, where they were used (probably) by George Poulson in the 1830's. Since then they have disappeared. Burton's transcripts and Torre's calendar (to which there is an index in York Minster Library) are now in the Bodleian Library, where also are transcripts of some of the records in the Tower made by Dodsworth. The Torre-Burton and the Dodsworth collections each contain over 1800 charters, and there is but little overlap between them, so that together they preserve the texts of probably over 3000 of the many more charters once in the Tower. While Dodsworth's transcripts have been extensively used by scholars, Burton's, which are of equal importance, have been ignored, and merit study. A full calendar or edition of both collections is a desideratum.

ABBREVIATIONS

A.A.S.R. = *Associated Architectural Societies' Reports & Papers*; *A.P.C.* = *Acts of the Privy Council*; *B.M.* = British Museum; *Burton, Mon. Ebor.* = John Burton, *Monasticon Eboracense* (1758); *C.Cl.R.* = *Calendar of Close Rolls*; *C.Pat.R.* = *Calendar of Patent Rolls*; *C.S.P. Dom.* = *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*; *C.Tr.P.* = *Calendar of Treasury Papers*; *Clay, Suppression* = John William Clay (ed.), *Yorkshire monasteries: suppression papers* (Y.A.S. R.S. xlviii, 1912); *Cooper* = T. P. Cooper, *The history of the castle of York* (1911); *D.N.B.* = *Dictionary of National Biography*; *Davies, Burton* = Robert Davies, 'A memoir of John Burton', in *Y.A.J.* ii (1872), pp. 403-440; *Davis* = G. R. C. Davis, *Medieval cartularies of Great Britain* (1958); *Denholm-Young* = N. Denholm-Young, 'Yorkshire monastic archives', in *The Bodleian Quarterly Record*, viii (1938), pp. [95]-100; *Denholm-Young and Craster* = N. Denholm-Young and Sir H. H. E. Craster, 'Roger Dodsworth and his circle', in *Y.A.J.* xxxii (1936), pp. 5-32; *Dodds* = M. H. and R. Dodds, *The Pilgrimage of Grace*, 2 vols (1915); *Drake, Eboracum* = Francis Drake, *Eboracum: or the history and antiquities of the city of York* (1736); *Dugdale-Clay* = J. W. Clay (ed.), *Dugdale's visitation of Yorkshire, with additions*, 3 vols. (1899-1917); *Dugdale-Davies* = Robert Davies (ed.), *The visitation of the county of Yorke . . . 1665 [to] 1666*, by William Dugdale (S.S. xxxvi, 1859); *E.Y.C.* = *Early Yorkshire charters*, ed. by William Farrer and Sir Charles Travis Clay, 13 vols. (1914-65); *Foster, Visitations* = Joseph Foster (ed.), *The visitations of Yorkshire . . . 1584/5*, by Robert Glover . . . in 1612, by Richard St. George, etc. (1875); *Foster, Yorkshire pedigrees* = Joseph Foster, *Pedigrees of the county families of Yorkshire*, 3 vols. (1874); *H.M.C.* = Historical Manuscripts Commission; *H.M.C. Cecil* = H.M.C., *Calendar of the manuscripts of the Marquis of Salisbury*, vols. i-xix (to 1607), 1883-1965; *Hunter, Three catalogues* = Joseph Hunter, *Three catalogues* (1838); *Knight* = Charles Brunton Knight, *A history of the city of York* (1944); *L.P.Hen.VIII* = *Letters and papers of Henry VIII*; *Lawton* = George Lawton, *The religious houses of Yorkshire* (1853); *MS Dods.* = Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth: the three published catalogues of the collection require to be used in conjunction: (i) White Kennett in Edward Bernard (ed.), *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ* (1697), I, i, 187-234; (ii) Hunter, *Three catalogues*; (iii) *S.C.* = *A summary catalogue of western manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, II, ii, (1937), MSS Dods. 1-60 being described by Craster, 61-160 by Denholm-Young; *Mon. Angl.* = Sir William Dugdale and Roger Dodsworth, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 3 vols. (1655, 1661, 1673), and new ed. by J. Caley, H. Ellis, and B. Bandinel, 6 vols. in 9 (1846); *N. & Q.* = *Notes and Queries*; *P.R.O.* = Public Record Office; *Park* = Godfrey Richard Park, *Parliamentary representation of Yorkshire* (1886); *Poulson* = George Poulson, *The history and antiquities of the Seignior of Holderness*, 2 vols. (1840-41); *Reid* = Rachel R. Reid, *The King's Council in the North* (1921); *Return* = *Members of Parliament: return*, 2 vols. (Parliamentary Paper, 69, 1878); *Richardson* = Walter C. Richardson, *History of the Court of Augmentations, 1536-54* (Louisiana State U.P., 1961); *S.R.* = *Statutes of the realm*, 11 vols. in 12 (Record Commission, 1810-28); *S.S.* = Surtees Society; *Smith* = Henry Stooks Smith, *The parliamentary representation of Yorkshire* (1854); *V.C.H.* = Victoria County History; *Val. eccl.* = *Valor*

ecclesiasticus, 6 vols. (Record Commission, 1810–34); Widdrington = Sir Thomas Widdrington, *Analecta Eboracensia*, ed. by Caesar Caine (1897); *Y.A.J.* = *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* (formerly *Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Journal*); *Y.A.S.* = Yorkshire Archaeological Society; *Y.A.S. R.S.* = *Y.A.S. Record Series*; *Y.P.R.S.* (afterwards *Y.A.S. P.R.S.*) = Yorkshire Parish Register Society (afterwards *Y.A.S. Parish Register Section*); *Y.M.L.* = York Minster Library.

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THE RECORDS FORMERLY IN ST. MARY'S TOWER, YORK - PART I

B. A. ENGLISH AND C. B. L. BARR



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(*Note:* the identifications and dates, etc. are those supplied by the contributors and are not the responsibility of the Editor. For future Registers, it would be useful for contributors who have surveyed sites to indicate who has possession of the final plans and sections.)

Allerston, N. R.

(1) Dargate Dikes. SE.895913. Unpolished flint axe 3.5 x 1 ins. found by Mr. K. Green.

(2) Nabgate. SE.859848. A polished stone axe, probably from Langdale, 5.5 x 2.5 x 1.5 ins., and a birch leaf-shaped arrowhead 1.75 ins. long found by Mr. K. Green. *J. G. Rutter.*

Appletreewick, W. R.

Black Hill. SE.074625. Two further cup-marked rocks in the ground previously described (*Y.A.J.*, xli, 162-3). *S. W. Feather.*

Auckley, W. R.

Blaxton Quarry. SE.65950040. Quarrying for gravel at this site during the summer of 1967 yielded many sherds of Roman coarse ware pottery, probably of third century date, some of which were obvious kiln wasters. Investigation by Doncaster Museum, using a proton gradiometer, revealed two independent kilns in close proximity. Excavation of these two kilns during 1968 showed them both to have been of updraught type. In both cases, the kilns themselves had been almost totally destroyed in Roman times, but their accompanying stokeholes were largely undisturbed and had been filled with sooty sand and a large quantity of waste pottery. All the pottery found in the stokeholes was grey ware, fired occasionally to a blue-grey colour, and included lid-seated jars, cavetto-rimmed jars, deep bowls and lipless platters. The most distinctive forms were jar rims possessing a double head to the rim with an internal lid-seating and made in a variety of sizes. In the base of one stokehole, a number of oak stakes had been driven into the underlying sand, forming an oval some distance from the side of the stokehole. The situation of nineteen of these stakes was recorded and the surviving portions of eleven were recovered. A number of these, some of which show knife marks, have been preserved. The stakes may have been intended as a revetment to prevent the gravelly edges of the stokehole from collapsing.

Four further features containing Roman pottery, which may have been waste pottery disposal pits of kiln stokeholes, have also been excavated at this site, and numerous concentrations of Roman pottery, probably indicating living or working areas, have been discovered by workmen in the course of gravel extraction. It is known that at least four kilns had already been destroyed by quarrying prior to the Museum's investigation.

It thus appears that at Blaxton Quarry there was a continuation south-eastwards of the already known pottery industry of Cantley, Rossington Bridge and Branton.

The finds from the site are now in the Doncaster Museum.

M. Dolby.

Austerfield, W. R.

SK.645975. Romano-British coarse pottery and ploughed-up cobbling discovered on surface of field during field-walking by Doncaster Museum. Probably represents small settlement (of timber buildings with cobbled floors?) and although pottery not very diagnostic, may belong to third century. Finds in Doncaster Museum. *M. Dolby.*

Austwick, W. R.

(1) SD.758686. Continued survey of the settlement which spreads over an acre or more has recorded the remnants of a boundary wall and regular rectangular fields with sides averaging 40 × 30 yds. The remains may represent an early site of the village now located 1,000 yds. to the east beyond an extensive system of strip lynchets.

(2) SD.778681. Survey started on a small farm with several short fields following the contours. *W. H. Walker.*

Aysgarth, N. R.

SE.01328850. Found built into a field wall 110 yds. east-south-east of the church and now in the custody of the vicar, a sandstone free-armed cross-head with extremely worn interlace, with a projecting boss on the one face which is convex, and a flat boss on the other side. In the Anglian tradition but the close infill of ornament and lack of refinement in the carving suggest a date after the Danish invasions, which is consistent with the Scandinavian name for the settlement. *H. G. Ramm.*

Bainbridge, N. R.

Roman fort. SD.937902. In a final season of work in the *principia*, the Department of Latin, Leeds University, has secured the plans of the Flavian-Trajanic, Antonine, and Severan-Constantian buildings as fully as is possible. More details of the late fourteenth-century *fabricae* were added, and some unusual clay moulds for casting bronzes were found. The Antonine building, if it is indeed a *principia* at all, is anomalous and has a row of four small rooms as part of the original structure in what should be the cross-hall. In the forecourt, fragments of what appears to be a small room heated by a hypocaust were discovered. The back range is also unusually planned and has a single small room at the south end and a large open room occupying the rest of the width of the building. *B. R. Hartley.*

Barnby Dun with Kirk Sandall, W. R.

Barnby Dun. SE.62130911. Part of perforated stone axe-hammer found in back garden of 30 Hatfield Lane, August 1965. House new at that time and land upon which house situated previously cultivated field. Implement broken across perforation and butt-end missing. In Doncaster Museum (47.66). *M. Dolby.*

Barnsley, W. R.

Monk Bretton. SE.364076. Orichalcum dupondius of Nero (A.D. 54–68) found on the surface of the cricket field. *D. Ashurst.*

Bentley with Arksey, W. R.

Arksey. SE.58000700. Middle Bronze Age pottery accessory cup found in the back garden of 12 The Croft, at a depth of c. 2 ft. 6 ins. during drain re-laying operations, November 1968. Vessel of biconical form, total height 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ ins., max. rim diam. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ins., max. base diam. 2 ins. Decorated with twisted cord impressions. In Doncaster Museum (154.68). *M. Dolby.*

Beverley, E. R.

Near Tickton. TA.059403. Upper stone of a bee-hive quern of sandstone with pronounced lip, two handle holes and a circular hopper which leads to a small feed hole, pierced at an angle. *J. Bartlett.*

Birdsall, E. R.

Dimple Hole. SE.818618. Sherds of Romano-British grey ware and calcite gritted ware picked up on chalk scree after clearance of woodland. Roman Malton Museum. *T. G. Manby.*

Bishopdale, N. R.

- (1) Bishopdale Head. SD.939819, 941810. Iron Age fields and hut circles surveyed.
- (2) Survey of the banks and ditches at the head of Bishopdale Chase. Bank followed for 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and stone built foundations of a deer close with the keeper's house recorded. *A. Raistrick.*

Blaxton, W. R.

SE.671002. Bronze bracelet found during removal of top soil prior to gravel quarrying. Bracelet made from 2 twisted strands of wire decorated with stamped motif at intervals. Now oval and slightly twisted, but circumference of 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ins. would make it capable of being worn only by a child. A small bronze loop is situated at halfway point on the circumference (to take a chain?). Wires originally formed a continuous circle because stamped motif continues across cut, but cut after manufacture. Romano-British? On loan to Doncaster Museum. *M. Dolby.*

Blubberhouses, W. R.

SE.155542. A bronze penannular brooch, with rounded terminals with the loop for a pin which is missing, was found near the Roman road on Blubberhouses Moor in 1962 by M. Pollard. Brooch 28 mm. diameter. *Mrs. R. Hartley.*

Bradford, W. R.

- (1) Otley Road. SE.16683408. Denarius of Antoninus Pius found on Stanacre Allotments in 1966 by B. Hobson. Bradford City Museum A4–68.
- (2) Wibsey. SE.14563045. Billon tetradrachm of Claudius II, minted in Alexandria, found in a garden at 17 Watty Hall Road, c. 1930 by W. Raisbeck.

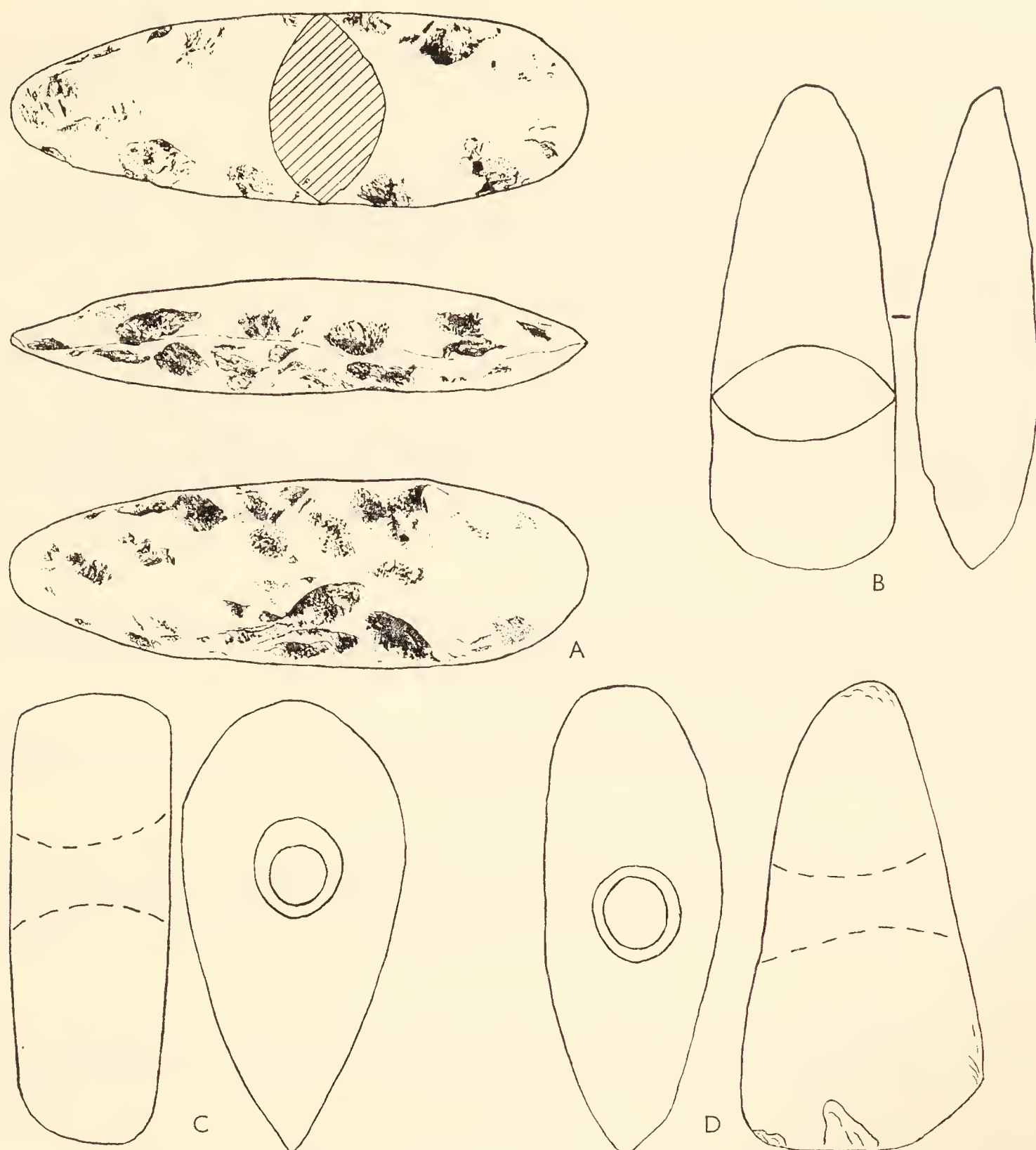


FIG. 1. Implements from: Bradford (a); Marishes (b); Fraisthorpe (c); Sinnington Manor (d). ($\frac{1}{3}$)

(3) Fagley. SE.188351. A polished stone axe was found in the garden of 41 Fenscote Crescent, and measures $195 \times 65 \times 38$ mms. (see Fig. 1a, above). It has a thin, rounded butt and fresh, acutely curved blade with no shoulders. The axe has been polished all over and polishing marks survive as lengthwise and crosswise striations. An attempt has been made to polish out the larger flake scars by the use of a small piece of stone rubbed obliquely through the scars, resulting in hollow polished scars below the general surface of the axe. The material is a hard, light grey rock with white inclusions, possibly Group VII.

S. W. Feather.

Brandsby, N. R.

SE.599119. At the entrance to the drive to Brandsby Hall tree planting revealed pottery kiln material in the form of rich green-glazed wasters. Vessels represented are mainly jugs with broad strap handles and are probably fifteenth century. The kiln appears to have been attached to a cottage in the old village prior to its removal westwards to its present site.

J. Radley.

Brompton-on-Swale, N. R.

Roman town. SE.225995. A strip of ground on the north side of the Swale has been cleared alongside the A.1 where bulldozing has revealed parts of three large ditches which appear to be aligned roughly at right angles to the Roman road coming out of Catterick and parallel to each other. Two of the ditches are of 20 ft. diameter and one 12 ft., and all three 4 ft. deep under 3 ft. of overburden. The ditches were filled with domestic refuse including samian, glass, bronze fragments, nails, coins, and a variety of coarse wares and bone. The ditches may represent an early fort or fortlet, or land division outside the town.

J. Radley.

Brotton, N. R.

Lumpsey Ironstone Mines. NZ.686187. Opened 1881, closed 1954, and dismantled 1964–8. Surveyed. *S. K. Chapman.*

Buckden, W. R.

- (1) Firth Fell. SD.937753. Iron Age fields and hut circles located.
 (2) SD.9279. Five medieval house foundations surveyed within the area of Cray and Yockenthwaite 'lodges' of Langstrothdale Forest, together with croft and fold remains. *A. Raistrick.*

Burton Fleming, E. R.

Cemetery II. TA.096692. In June–July 1968, an area of this large La Tene cemetery was excavated and the sites of sixteen flattened barrows were located. Each barrow had a central crouched burial and was surrounded by a ditch square in plan. Four other inhumations had not been covered by barrows. With these twenty inhumations were eight pots, five brooches (iron involuted and flattened bow brooches, and a bronze penannular brooch), two glass beads, and a shale bracelet.

In November–December 1968 another part (III, TA.094694) was surveyed with proton magnetometer and resistivity. At the same time, trial trenching revealed the sites of barrows considerably damaged by ploughing – in some instances the ditches had been reduced to a depth of only 6 ins. below the plough-soil. *I. M. Stead, A. L. Pacitto.*

Cantley, W. R.

- (1) SE.64010075. Six sherds of a Roman flanged bowl in grey coarse ware were found during the construction of a sewage scheme for Doncaster R.D.C. at a depth of c. 4 ft., in peat, in the old river bed of the River Torne, July 1967. The same scheme yielded a sandstone quern in 18 ins. of sand at SE.63820086. In Doncaster Museum (167.67).
 (2) Branton. SE.64150276. Romano-British coarse pottery of third-century date found during gravel quarrying. In Doncaster Museum. *M. Dolby.*

Castleford, W. R.

Welbeck Street. SE.427256. First excavation by Castleford Hist. Soc. revealed an area with abundant pottery fragments from the mid-second century onwards, and a broken stone floor at a depth of 3 ft. 2 ins. Finds include samian, coarse wares, a sherd of Castor ware, a bronze wedge and several other bronze items. *E. Houlder.*

Commondale, N. R.

NZ.638108. Selective excavation of a stone circle failed to locate burials. Finds were a few flint flakes. The upright stones had been erected in deep holes without packing, or in shallow sockets with packing stones present. An adjacent boat-shaped cairn was investigated but the only discovery was a concentration of flints. *W. Pearson.*

Conisbrough Parks, W. R.

- (1) SK.524986. Four flint flake tools in unpatinated brown flint found on surface of ploughed field, 1965. In Doncaster Museum.
 (2) SE.53430018. Flint tanged arrowhead found on surface of ploughed field. In Doncaster Museum (96.68). *M. Dolby.*

Cullingworth, W. R.

SE.067352. Halifax A.R.G. surveyed a tree-covered windmill mound enclosed by a dry-stone wall. A deep ditch bounds the south-west side, and it is thought that this is the site referred to in a 1234 deed. *R. A. Varley.*

Danby, N. R.

Danby Rigg. NZ.707068. A cross-section through a prehistoric field wall shows it to be built of large edge-set stones with smaller stones packed between them. The large stones are set almost continuously in a trench 9 ins. deep and 15 ins. wide. Pollen samples taken by Department of Geography, Durham University. *F. A. Aberg.*

Easington, N. R.

Boulby Alum Works. NZ.752197. The eighteenth–nineteenth century stone-built steeping pits of the 'New Works' have been delimited on the cliff edge at 300 ft. O.D. The remaining portion of the adjacent stone culvert which contained the wooden Liquor Trough was cleared and five of the wooden pipes which connected the pits with the culvert trough were discovered. Between the culvert and the cliff edge are three stone cisterns about 12 ft. diameter and c. 7 ft. deep, for liquor storage. *S. K. Chapman.*

Edenthorpe, W. R.

Long Sandall. SE.60550667. Polished stone axe found on surface of ploughed field, 1965. Found by farm employee; information from farm manager, further details not available. In possession of finder. *M. Dolby.*

Eston, N. R.

Eston Nab fort. NZ.568183. Excavation confirmed that the bank and wall of the rampart are of one period, with occupation remains inside the camp. Pottery, charcoal, and bone were associated with a palisade trench traced for 50 ft. on a line parallel to the rampart but 150 ft. inside the defences. The trench was filled with substantial packing stones and the pottery also suggests an Early Iron Age date for the palisade. *F. A. Aberg.*

Farndale East, N. R.

Stoney Rigg. c. NZ.650005. Two horn cores of *Bos Longifrons* recovered and retained by Professor G. W. Dimbleby. Peat samples taken from the horn horizon by P. Cundill of Durham University. *R. H. Hayes.*

Fenwick, W. R.

SE.60441639. Sherds of Roman coarse pottery found during the excavation of drains for a new bungalow, at a depth of c. 4 ft., 1965. In possession of finder. *M. Dolby.*

Folkton, E. R.

Sharpe Howes. TA.049777. Three Bronze Age barrows excavated by T. C. M. Brewster in late 1967. For summary of the results see *Scarborough Mercury*, 2 November 1967. *J. G. Rutter.*

Fraisthorpe, E. R.

Demming Farm. TA.138622. Axe-hammer found 1930 was sold with the Strickland Collection at the Boynton Hall sale in 1950. The implement measured 15 × 7.5 cm. and 5 cm. thick. It was made of granite, perhaps a local glacial erratic (see Fig. 1c, p. 239). *R. H. Hayes.*

Gargrave, W. R.

Roman villa. SD.939536. The Y.A.S.R.A.S. investigated the south-west quarter of the inner enclosure at Kirk Sink (see *Bradford Antiquary*, NS, 3, 1912, 253 ff.). The enclosure ditches, which had unrevetted clay banks on their inner sides, contained late fourth-century pottery. A sequence of three substantial stone buildings aligned north-south was found near the west end of the inner enclosure, the earliest overlying masses of burnt daub and late second-century pottery. Two successive timber-framed outbuildings lay between the west ditch and the stone buildings. Near the south ditch of the inner enclosure trial trenching revealed another stone building site with a tessellated floor. This appears to have been demolished and covered by courtyard metalling before the end of the third century. Elaborate series of ditches defining field systems to the north and east of the main site are probably part of an extensive Romano-British field system. *B. R. Hartley.*

Gayles, Kirby Hill and Washton, N. R.

Gayles Moor. NZ.115060 (centre). Four cup-marked rocks on the periphery of the main group (see *Y.A.J.*, Pt. 166 (1968), 111) have only simple markings which accords with previous observations that the more elaborate carvings occur at the centre of a group and the simpler ones on the periphery. This and the Romaldkirk Moor cup-and-ring marked stones may be related to the Stainmore Pass. The Gayles Moor site may eventually be damaged by military vehicles as it is a Battle Training area. *S. W. Feather.*

Halifax, W. R.

(1) Boothtown Hall, Boothtown. SE.088269. Survey of this L-shaped timber-framed house of the fifteenth century. The house has a central hall of two bays, and a two-bay kitchen to the north-west. The east wing has three bays, the original entrance being in the centre one. This entrance was blocked when the house was encased in stone in the seventeenth century. Excavation beneath the kitchen and hall bays revealed clay on a fifteenth century sandstone floor which sealed two earlier floors of a late thirteenth or early fourteenth century house. Beneath this sherds were recovered from a post-hole and a shallow pit.

(2) Holdsworth House. SE.082290. The fourth season of excavation has defined the limits of the Period I-II hall which are 52 × 28 ft. on a north-east-south-west alignment. A larger fortified manor house superseded this and had a stone curtain wall 4 – 8 ft. 6 ins. thick. Along the curtain wall a stone-built kitchen, two buttresses, and a rectangular gatehouse projecting 11 ft. from the wall, were excavated. The courtyard area of the medieval enclosure yielded a number of pits and a post-hole, and parallel bedding trenches for an earlier hut. These were 15 ft. 6 ins. apart and from 8–15 ins. deep, and inturned at their north end leaving an entrance gap 4 ft. wide. Along the inner edge of the north-west ditch the remains of a rough wall of edge-set stones and natural broken rock were exposed. This wall overlaid two post-holes belonging to a structure which had been erected after the backfilling of the ditches. One posthole contained a hammer-stone of spotted green-brown dolerite.
J. A. Gilks.

Harwood Dale, N. R.

Burgate. SE.970947. A medieval iron-smelting site was excavated by the Scarborough D.A.S.
J. G. Rutter.

Hatfield, W. R.

(1) SE.66101038. Middle Bronze Age looped socketed bronze spearhead found during turf-cutting. Overall length 5.6 ins. Length of blade 2.7 ins. Maximum width of blade 0.95 ins. In Doncaster Museum (406.64).

(2) Carr Side. SE.66110765. Early Bronze Age flint knife-dagger found on the surface of a field, March 1966. In the possession of the finder.
M. Dolby.

Heworth Without, N. R.

Near Appletree Farm. SE.633529. Roman road sectioned, revealing the original road, which was twice widened. Similar to the 1965 section, see Yorks. Phil. Soc. Rept. for 1967.
L. P. Wenham.

High Melton, W. R.

SE.507017. Roman pottery of third – early fourth century date found during the construction of a new hall of residence in the grounds of Doncaster College of Education, High Melton Hall, Nov. 1968. Finds in the Doncaster Museum.
M. Dolby.

Holmebridge, W. R.

Ramsden Clough. SE.120050. Neolithic axe of altered dolerite found on the east side of Riding Wood Reservoir by J. Allen in 1966. Now in Tolson Memorial Museum.
J. A. Gilks.

Honley, W. R.

Cairn complex. SE.149103. Huddersfield D.A.S. sectioned a 39 ft. diameter ring work and excavated half of its 'dished' interior, revealing a large central buried area. The bank consisted mainly of soil scraped from the interior and some gritstone. Two post-holes of later date and two stake-holes may be contemporary. The primary level yielded a few waste flints.
N. Lunn.

Huddersfield, W. R.

Annexe of Slack Roman fort. SE.085176. Excavations for M.P.B.W. in the annexe to the north of the fort, in advance of the building of the Pennine motorway, revealed at least two series of timber-framed buildings lining the south side of the Chester-York road, the latest series being Hadrianic. Nothing necessarily later than A.D. 140 was found, and it seems as if the main occupation of the annexe must have ended at the same time as the fort. Much of the area investigated was riddled with Roman pits and gullies.
B. R. Hartley.

Hunderthwaite, N. R.

Romaldkirk Moor. NY.952203 and 964211. A cup-and-ring marked rock was drawn by R. S. Harland in 1941 but it has not been located, but others were discovered and these are probably the first from this part of Teesdale.
S. W. Feather.

Hutton Lowcross, N. R.

NZ.596141. Continued excavation has revealed another well-built wall adjacent to a small structure of an inferior character. Pottery was mostly fifteenth-seventeenth century with a little earlier material.
Mrs. J. Young.

Ilkley, W. R.

(1) Green Crag Slack. SE.138455 (centre). Five cup-and-ring marked rocks have been revealed by erosion in 1968. Motifs include occuli, cup circle, cups with and without rings and channels.

(2) Weary Hill. SE.108465. Five sterlings and two fragments of Edward I and II were found together, in the same area as the 1967 hoard (see *Y.A.J.*, Pt. 166 (1968), 113). One sterling of Edward II minted at Durham. *S. W. Feather.*

Ingleby Greenhow, N. R.

Water mill. NZ.577068. A stone building housed a high-breast wheel, 16 ft. diameter, machinery for driving two sets of corn grinding stones, a sack hoist and other equipment. The mill, on a site known to have been in use since the twelfth century, will feature as a working unit at Preston Hall Museum, Tees-side. *C. A. Zealand.*

Irton, N. R.

Ox Pasture Hall. TA.010841. An unpolished flint axe, 3.25 × 2.5 ins.; a leaf-shaped arrowhead; and a plano-convex knife 2.35 ins. long were found in a ploughed field. *J. G. Rutter.*

Kettlewell, W. R.

SD.937753. Foundations of a sixteenth–seventeenth century house in Langstrothdale Forest. The site was formerly a forest lodge, located on early maps etc. Also an area of crofts, folds, and long field walls adjoining the lodge. *A. Raistrick.*

Kildale, N. R.

(1) Percy Rigg. NZ.608116. A fourth hut circle has been excavated.

(2) NZ.608096. The skull and almost complete skeleton of a *Bos primogenius* was found buried in peat during drain digging. Pollen samples taken by Department of Geography, Durham University. *R. Close.*

(3) Site of manor house. NZ.603095. The house stood on a natural mound. Excavations in 1957–60 and 1968 have revealed 20 ft. of a north–south wall with an apsidal foundation on its west side built over a very burnt area which contained three cracked and re-used millstones, each c. 4 ft. diameter. Adjacent was a stone trough 5 ft. 6 ins. × 2 ft. 2 ins. × 11 ins. deep with 3 ins. thick walls which had a groove cut in the bottom leading to a basin with no outlet. ?Part of a malting kiln. On the north side of the mound a post-revetted silted ditch with fourteenth–sixteenth century sherds was located. *R. H. Hayes.*

Kilham, E. R.

Long barrow. TA.056673. The fourth season of excavation located the west end of the site 30 ft. west of the edge of the existing mound, only the bottom of the mortuary enclosure's bedding trenches surviving. The mortuary enclosure was revealed as a narrow structure 195 ft. long with vertical timbers set in a bedding trench. Its west end was square with a central entrance gap 8 ft. wide. Within the entrance was an oval pit filled with earth, chalk, some charcoal, flint flakes, and an oyster shell. The bedding trench was partially dug into the filling of a pair of half-silted-up ditches, the west termination of these being east of the bedding trenches. Small finds were mainly Mesolithic flint waste, animal bones and a few sherds of Neolithic pottery. *T. G. Manby.*

Kilton, N. R.

Castle. NZ.703176. Inner courtyard now nearly excavated with little evidence for extensive use of this area before 1200. The main period, 1200–1360, saw the erection of the stone defences of this part and the building of successive wooden and stone halls with a courtyard on one side and private apartments at the east end. After the collapse of the main hall in the fourteenth century smaller stone domestic buildings were erected, and the site abandoned by 1500. *F. A. Aberg.*

Kirbymoorside, N. R.

Spring Wood Hill. SE.689872. Polished greenstone axe, 18 × 7 cm., now in Ryedale Folk Museum. *R. H. Hayes.*

Lastingham, N. R.

The Glass Holes. SE.745932. A glass works of the sixteenth century was excavated, revealing a small fritting oven and a large melt furnace measuring 20 × 15 ft. and 4 ft. high. To the north were three annealing furnaces each 6 × 6 ft. All stone built. The main furnace has now been removed to the Ryedale Folk Museum. *F. A. Aberg and D. W. Crossley.*

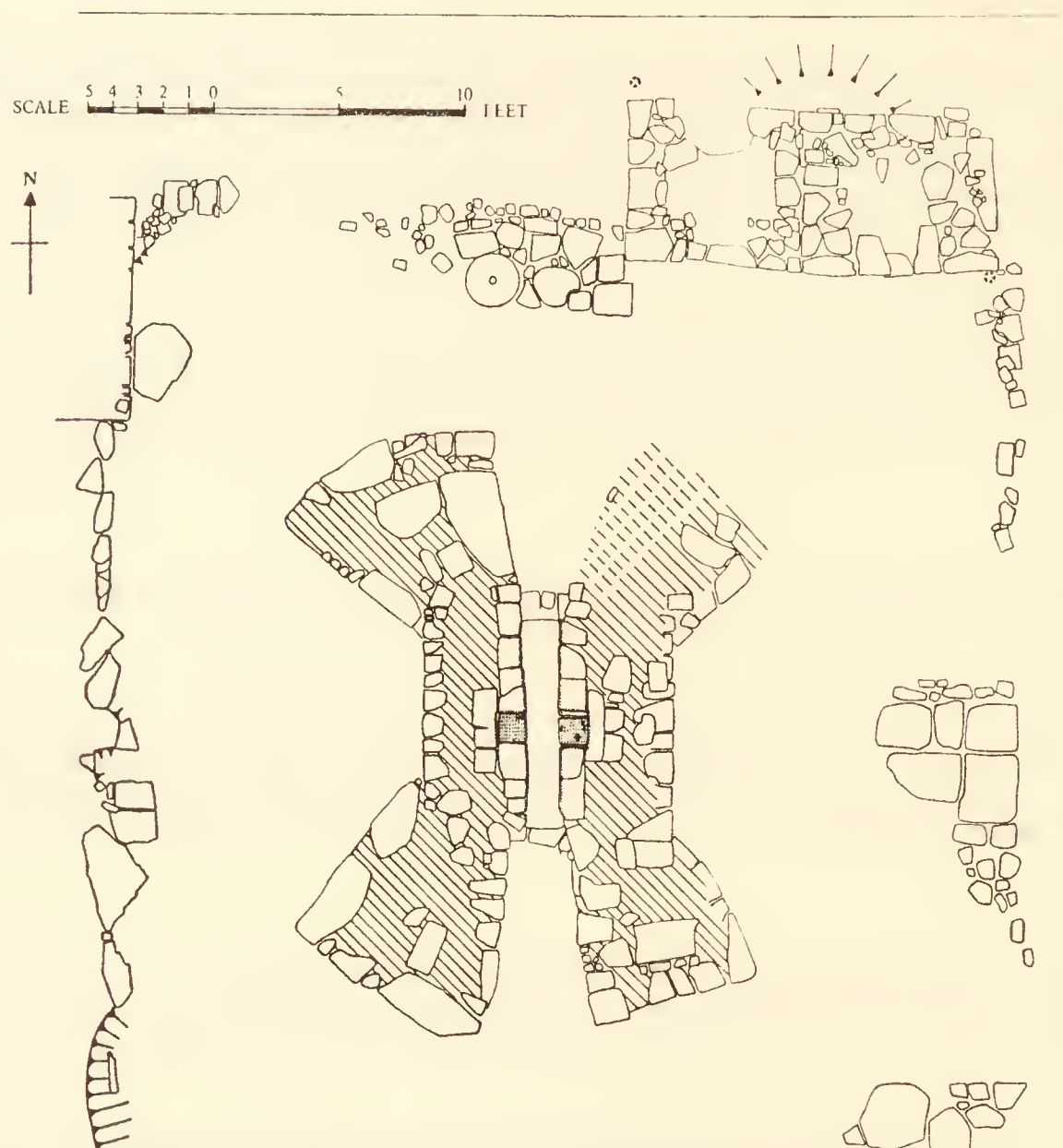


FIG. 2. The Lastingham Glass Furnace

Laughton-en-le-Morthen, W. R.

Marl Pit Hill. SK.518876. Polished stone axe.

F. L. Preston.

Liversedge, W. R.

Hightown. SE.185243. Silver groat of Edward IV, initial mark crown, London mint c. 1446-7. Found in the garden of 51 St. Barnabas Road.

S. W. Feather.

Malton, N. R.

38 Newbiggin. SE.785719. Two-bay cruck framed cottage demolished, two pairs of crucks remained, badly mutilated, 13 ft. apart, c. 18 ft. across the base. Seventeenth century stone walling, with roof raised c. 1900.

T. G. Manby.

Marishes, N. R.

Little Deerholme Grange. SE.812782. Neolithic axe, 16 × 6.5 cm., probably made of granite from a local glacial erratic. (see Fig. 1b, p. 239).

R. H. Hayes.

Meltham, W. R.

Royd Edge. SE.091097. Second season's work by Huddersfield D.A.S. on the sub-rectangular enclosure with internal ditch. An entrance 12 ft. wide between ditch ends has been exposed, the gap being wider between the rampart ends. A double gate closed the ditch gap with a central post-hole and gate-stop. Amongst broken stone thrown down in parts of the entrance was a fragment of the upper stone of a bee-hive quern. A later occupation is indicated by a short length of palisade running at an angle across the filled ditch.

J. P. Toomey.

Millington, E. R.

(a) Far Out Field. SE.84385567 and 84395570. The circular ditches of two ploughed out unrecorded barrows are visible as a crop-mark on A.P.s F22 543/RAF/397 prints 0097-8. Diameters approximately 70 ft. They are overlain by medieval ridge and furrow also showing as crop-marks. The relationship of Far Out Field at the extreme tip of the parish to the rest of the open fields of Millington from which it is separated by Millington Wold and Pasture is interesting and unusual.

(b) Greenwich. SE.85275634. The penannular ditch of an unrecorded barrow is visible as a crop-mark on A.P.s F22 543/RAF/397 prints 0098-9. Diameter approximately 90 ft. Another circular ditch, diameter 60 ft., on print 0099 at SE.85835636 is 400 ft. west of a barrow marked on the O.S.

H. G. Ramm.

North and South Anston, W. R.

Anston Stones. SK.533832. Excavation by the Worksop Society for Archaeological Research during 1967–8 of a small cave in the north side of the gorge produced sherds of Roman pottery of fourth century date, including Swanpool-type colour-coated ware and signal-station ware. The finds are in the Worksop Museum. *M. Dolby.*

Norton, E. R.

Langton Road. SE.795709. A follis of Constantine the Great (A.D. 308–324) picked up in the garden immediately north of the Vicarage. Brought to the Roman Malton Museum for identification by C. Hazeltine.

ob. Laur. bust r.
CONSTANTIVS AVG.

rev. Bust of Sol r.
SOLI INVICTO COMITI.

T. G. Manby.

Pontefract, W. R.

Cluniac Priory. SE.463226. The twelfth season of excavation located the north transept gable and confirmed a building running northwards and of the same width as the transept. A large hearth was found built across the corner of this building. Other work was done at the southern end of the Dorter range. *C. V. Bellamy.*

Otley, W. R.

(1) Archbishop of York's Manor House. SE.201457. One wing of the manor house has been excavated giving a building 130 × 28 ft. It contained a two-storeyed chapel with an apsidal phase and a later square east end. The twelfth-century undercroft measured 57 × 22 ft. internally, with a centre row of roof supports making 4½ bays and a turret staircase at the south-west corner. There is evidence for considerable rebuilding of the hall or chamber end of the wing following the Scottish raids in the early fourteenth century. Post and stake-holes underlie the building at the chapel end. *H. E. J. le Patourel.*

(2) The Chevin. SE.199442. A spindle-whorl of fine-grained sandstone, 46 × 15 mms., with hour-glass perforation was found on a quarry site in 1967 by Mrs. C. Greaves. Bradford City Museum A2–68. *S. W. Feather.*

Outwood, W. R.

Site of kiln. SE.319234. Rescue excavation yielded saggars and wasters, bits of glazed sandstone kiln shelves, but no kiln. Dark brown and black glazed cooking pots, storage jars, jugs and yellow and orange low fired plates and bowls were made there. *K. S. Bartlett.*

Pickering, N. R.

Low Kingthorpe. SE.835858. A cruck-framed barn of four bays with three pairs of re-used crucks and two pairs of upper crucks, built of limestone rubble and pantile roofed, was partly demolished in 1967. One pair of crucks and upper crucks were removed to the Ryedale Folk Museum. Excavation in front of the south wall revealed a platform or 'skaife' parallel to and 8 ft. from the wall. Trenches under the cruck bases located a stone floor 15 ins. below the present earth floor. To the north-west a 10 ft. diameter circular building, perhaps an oven or dovecote, was exposed, associated with sherds of fourteenth–fifteenth century pottery. *R. H. Hayes.*

Rievaulx, N. R.

Ashberry Windypits. SE.5785 approx. Excavation of a blocked side passage revealed Romano-British occupation debris including calcite gritted and grey ware sherds and a red roofing tile. No surface indications of a dwelling, and the only previous finds from the area are a single sherd and a second-century coin now in Scarborough Museum. Parts of the side and base of a Beaker were also found. *R. H. Hayes.*

Ripon, W. R.

A battle axe, found near Ripon, is deposited at Ripon Training College. It has a cylindrical perforation and chamfered ends but nothing is known of its finding. *Mrs. R. Hartley.*

Rosedale East, N. R.

Ironstone Mines. SE.702995, 706987. Two ranges of kilns surveyed by Tees-side Ind. Arch. Group. They date from 1865 when the railway was extended to these mines and were used for some 40 years. The mines closed in 1926 and the railway was dismantled c. 1928. *S. K. Chapman.*

Rosedale West, N. R.

Ironstone Mines. SE.721947. Kilns for calciting the ironstone, built in 1961 and used in conjunction with the railway until the mines were closed in 1885, have been surveyed by the Tees-side Ind. Arch. Group. The nearby prominent chimney for the boiler-house dates from this time. *S. K. Chapman.*

Rudston, E. R.

The Sheepwalk. TA.099658. A re-excavation of Greenwell's Barrow LXII, north of Woldgate and near the end of a cursus. The barrow had been 21–23 m. diameter, surrounded by a ditch 4 m. wide and 1.5 m. deep. The central grave, 3 m. diameter and 3.5 m. deep, had been completely cleared by Greenwell, but three secondary inhumations, without grave goods, were found elsewhere in the mound. There were sherds of Neolithic pottery on the old ground surface, and a number of small incised stones were found in the filling of the ditch. *A. L. Pacitto.*

Scarborough, N. R.

(1) Hatterboard. TA.017886. Excavations on part of the deserted village site threatened by hospital extensions. The area is to the south of the 1957–9 excavations (Scarborough D.A.S. Res. Rep. No. 2). Foundations of stone buildings with pottery dated to c. 1300 were found. Continuing.

(2) St. Mary's Street. TA.047889. Excavations by Scarborough D.A.S. at the rear of demolished property revealed building foundations of seventeenth century and late medieval date, overlying an earlier timber structure. Report forthcoming.

(3) 46 St. Sepulchre Street. TA.046888. The society excavated the ancient stone-built watercourse of Damgeth or Damyot, finding an interesting series of medieval metalwork. Report in preparation. *J. G. Rutter.*

Seaton, E. R.

Approx. TA.1446. A Mesolithic point made of a splinter of bone or antler was found in gravel working in a peat layer near Catfoss on 23 October 1968. The point has nineteen barbs, the top three of which have been slightly injured and the surface removed. *J. Bartlett.*

Sheffield, W. R.

(1) 15 St. Alban's Close. SK.301860. Axe-hammer, type II, 5.5 × 3 ins. Sheffield City Museum 1968.251.

(2) Manor. SK.375865. The manor was built mainly c. 1525, and the first season's excavation attempted to locate the two octagonal brick and stone towers of the main entrance on the west front. The towers were located on either side of a 15 ft. wide entrance. *A. Butterworth.*

Sinnington, N. R.

Manor. SE.730851. Axe-hammer presented to Ryedale Folk Museum and measuring 15.3 × 8 cm. and 5.5 cm. thick is made from a light brown pitted stone. It has a polished blade and battered hammer end (see Fig. 1d, p. 239). *R. H. Hayes.*

Skipton, W. R.

(1) Horse Close Farm. SD.997505. Excavation by the Y.A.S.P.S. and the Department of Adult Education, Leeds University, revealed two adjacent huts in the northern part of the enclosure. The large hut is 26 ft. in diameter with a door in the north side and an internal setting of post-holes to support the roof. A central hearth and oven were associated with pottery, calcined bone, and charcoal. The second hut was sub-rectangular, 13 × 8 ft., with a single central post-hole and a small hearth. *F. A. Aberg.*

(2) SD.995499. A limestone block set in the base of a gritstone field wall has a cup marking with three concentric rings. Found 1968. *Mrs. R. Hartley.*

Sprotbrough, W. R.

SE.5402. Two beehive gritstone querns (both upper stones) found in the garden of 39 Riverside Drive, 1968. One complete, but the other sectioned longitudinally. In Doncaster Museum (153.68.1 & 2). *M. Dolby.*

Stainforth, W. R.

SE.662127. Scatter of Romano-British coarse pottery on ploughed field. None of sherds diagnostic for dating purposes, but probably late second–third century. No indications that pottery represents anything other than desultory occupation scatter. Finds in Doncaster Museum. *M. Dolby.*

Stocksbridge, W. R.

Pot House Farm. SK.266980. Site of seventeenth–eighteenth century glasshouse and eighteenth–nineteenth century pottery. Rescue excavation on part of the site threatened by road widening. The area excavated was about 25 yds. from the known kilns and was on the edge of two spoil heaps. The eighteenth century boundary wall confining the glasshouse waste was located, the whole being covered by later pottery debris. Finds included quantities of large dishes and bowls of Staffordshire type slipware pottery, with yellow on brown and brown on yellow decoration. The glass was represented by wine glass fragments, finely blown dark glass (mainly blue) with opaque white decoration worked into the metal and considerable quantities of window glass. In addition, a stone carved mould in intaglio for pressing bottle seals. Work to continue in 1969. *D. Ashurst.*

Thirkleby, N. R.

Haggs Field, Sand Hill Farm. SE.482780. Excavation, on the site of earlier finds (*Y.A.J.* 167, 1967, 8), revealed a compact cobble floor 6–9 ins. below the surface. Fragments of Romano-British pottery between the stones. The excavation was on a slight rise in the ground which indicated a probable floor area of 18 × 10 ft. Other sherds and quern fragments in the vicinity. *R. H. Hayes.*

Thornton Dale, N. R.

High Fields. SE.826841–2. A large bank formerly protecting this open field from animals in the Forest of Pickering was largely intact on the 1854 6 ins. O.S. map, but is now fragmented. The bank was formerly 15–16 ft. wide and 4 ft. high. Traced as far as SE.837842, forming three sides of High Fields. *R. H. Hayes.*

Thurnscoe, W. R.

SE.448056. Moated enclosure with the clay-cut ditch crudely lined with stone in parts. The platform was littered with coarse grey and red ware sherds with a rough metallic bronze glaze. A concentration of wasters, mainly jugs, bowls, and bung-holed vessels, and burnt clay suggest a seventeenth century kiln in the vicinity. *D. Ashurst.*

Thwing, E. R.

Paddock Hill. TA.031707. A large complex circular earthwork is represented on the ground by a broad ploughed down bank measuring 290–300 ft. crest-to-crest, but best seen on recent air photos (see *Antiquity*, 166, 1968, Plate xx). The bank has an external ditch, with one and possibly two henge-like entrances. Concentric with the bank is a narrow inner ditch, and adjacent to and overlying the bank are later enclosures. Pottery of Iron Age/Romano-British date was found inside the north-west entrance. *J. Radley.*

Wadworth, W. R.

SK.58279803. Bronze looped palstave with median ridge, 'transitional type' (in Wallington tradition) found on the surface of a field at Mill Farm, after deep ploughing, May 1967. On loan to Doncaster Museum. *M. Dolby.*

Wakefield, W. R.

(1) Northgate. SE.331211. A circular stone oven associated with thirteenth-century pottery was found below early sixteenth-century stone footings which in turn were below a mid-eighteenth-century brick building which yielded glassware, pottery, and four coins.

(2) Six Chimneys, Kirkgate. SE.336205. This building existed from 1566–1938. Excavation revealed remains of the timber floor and some walling of the sixteenth-century structure. Below this were a sequence of earth floors, the earliest being thirteenth century, two of which had small clay hearths.

(3) Shopping precinct, Kirkgate. SE.335206. A trench sectioned a fourteenth-century pit 5 ft. deep and 5 ft. wide. Contents included pottery, a small leather boot, two large leather soles, and a variety of plant remains and bones.

(4) John Bunny's House, 186 Kirkgate. SE.336205. Site occupied from the twelfth to fourteenth century, then abandoned until 1553 when the house was built and survived until 1967. Several levels were noted under and around the wall footings.

(5) The Mount, Thornes. SE.318193. A threatened area was Proton Magnetometer surveyed and two places were excavated. At one place at a depth of 2 ft. a rock-cut ditch 3 ft. wide and 1 ft. 9 ins. deep and sealed by wood ash had Roman pottery in it. At the other place a Roman oven 2 ft. wide and 5 ft. long with a broken millstone set in its side. A single Roman rim sherd was found in the fill. *K. S. Bartlett.*

Walkington, E. R.

Two barrows. SE.96233571 and 96283575. Barrow I was a bell barrow with a central primary inhumation in a shallow grave with Food Vessel sherds. There was an unaccompanied satellite burial and remains of a secondary Middle Bronze Age cremation urn. The barrow was overlaid by fourth-century remains of an inland Roman signal station, which ended with the disposal of fourteen bodies, eleven of them decapitated. Barrow II had a central inhumation with a complete Food Vessel. There was no trace of a ditch or other burials. *J. Bartlett.*

Westerdale, N. R.

(1) Broad Gate Farm. NZ.673046. An eighteenth-century Duncombe Park estate map records a Cinderhill Field near Swarthy Hill. The field is now ploughed revealing a large area of iron slag, samples of which have been taken. Probably a medieval iron working site.

(2) Near Quarry Farm. NZ.679061. Foundations of a longhouse 76 × 17½ ft., internally 15 ft. wide. Cross-passage, a fallen cruck, and fallen sixteenth–seventeenth century doorhead located. Walls up to 4 ft. high, with at least two rooms each 16 ft. long. Twenty yards to south-east are the remains of a byre 30 × 17 ft. with cross-passage and a pair of upright crucks. *R. H. Hayes.*

Wharram, E. R.

Wharram Percy. SE.858646. In the nineteenth season excavation revealed many post-holes and wall-slots in Area 6, but much of the site had been destroyed by quarrying. Inside the church the lines of the north and south walls of the Saxon church were located east of the 1967 excavation. A 26 ft. length of the twelfth-century south wall was found resting on the remains of broken-up late Saxon coffin slabs.

J. G. Hurst.

Womersley, W. R.

Womersley Quarry. SE.524196. Clearance of top-soil along north edge of quarry in July 1968 yielded two beehive querns in gritstone and sherds of Romano-British pottery. Excavation on the site by Doncaster Museum revealed several features of Roman date, the major ones being a stone-built T-shaped corn-drying kiln cut into the Upper Magnesian limestone, and a 150 ft. stretch of ditch, 30 ft. of which has been excavated. The filling of the corn-drying kiln contained the rim of a mortarium of third century type and the most important finds from the ditch were four human infant burials. Work on the site is to continue and an interim report on the 1968 excavations will appear in the Pontefract Archaeological Journal, 1969. Finds in Doncaster Museum.

M. Dolby.

Worsborough, W. R.

SE.350027. Eighteenth-century cottages have been demolished, revealing a stone-built barrel-vaulted chamber beneath them measuring 15 × 10 × 6 ft., with a 3 ft. square Tudor-style window in the north wall, but the whole below ground level. Traditionally the site of an early 'lock-up', no evidence was found, and the chamber appears to have been used as the cellar for the eighteenth-century cottages.

D. Ashurst.

Wrenthorpe, W. R.

(1) Roger Lane. SE.315226. Two six-flue and one four-flue kiln were found associated with a potter's croft. The pottery, c. 1600–1750, included late Cistercian wares which were also copied in buff and mid-brown wares. Tygs, flasks, and jugs were made of Cistercian ware, and two- and three-handled pots of all three wares. Similar wares have been found in the siege and demolition rubble at Sandal Castle. Yellow and orange glazed bowls and plates were made at the site, and some slipware was found but not enough to decide whether it was made there.

(2) Lindale Hill. SE.306225. A sixteenth-century Cistercian clamp kiln was discovered when ploughing revealed a pot dump containing 90% saggars and 10% wasters. Excavation exposed the kiln and a burnt area of 12 ft. diameter with four post-holes. Plain Cistercian cups, similar to those from Silcoates, $\frac{1}{4}$ mile away, and one sub-standard decorated sherd was found. Only a bucketful of pottery was recovered with 3 cwt. of saggars which suggests a very short life for the kiln.

K. S. Bartlett.

York

(1) Baile Hill. SE.602512. Reconnaissance excavation on behalf of the Royal Arch. Inst. showed that the mound had been built over an old ground surface containing Saxo-Norman sherds. The mound, perhaps originally faced with timber, had remains of steps up its face suggesting a horizontal bridge across the ditch. There was some sort of timber revetment or fence at the foot of the mound. One quarter of the mound top was examined showing that twelfth-century deposits, including an extensive cobbled structure and possible entry, were well preserved under one metre of material of late or post-medieval date, source of which probably represents the gun battery known to have been on the mound in the Civil War.

P. V. Addyman.

(2) Monkgate, School Clinic. SE.60615243. Part of some Roman rubbish pits excavated behind the clinic, revealing mostly third-century pottery.

L. P. Wenham.

(3) Station. SE.596517. Twenty yards south-west of the buffet on Platform 15, parts of three skeletons were discovered in sewer excavations. A bone pin accompanied one skull. The bodies at c. 18 ft. down appear to be buried in marshy ground beneath a layer of peaty soil, and covered by c. 15 ft. of made ground.

J. Radley.

(4) Wigginton Road. SE.60345285. Trial trenching at Wigginton Road Sports Ground in advance of development, showed that the inhumation cemetery seen in 1833 at the junction of Wigginton Road and Haxby Road did not apparently extend to the west. Roman finds consisted of a second-century flagon rim, and a small amphora sherd. Amongst the rubble, cinder etc. which had underlain the concrete base of a war-time water tank, known to have occupied the site, as well as the expected modern rubbish, sherds of eighteenth–nineteenth century date, medieval pottery, including a sherd from a seal jug of thirteenth century date, and clay pipes were found. These will be the subject of a separate report. The site had apparently been occupied until about the sixteenth century by a pond, or marshy area, which had gradually filled, as several layers of water snail shells showed.

D. S. Stewart.

(5) York Minster. De Gray Tomb. Restoration work to the tomb revealed the stone coffin of Archbishop de Gray (ob. 1255) with lid painted with his effigy. Subsequent removal of the lid for preservation discovered the undisturbed remains of the archbishop with ring, chalice and paten, and crozier. These, together with remains of textile, have been removed for conservation.

Excavations have continued, and a large part of the plan of the church of c. 1080 has been uncovered. Evidence for the Saxon church has been slighter, but it is possible to infer a basilica underlying the present choir and crossing. Fragments of Saxon crosses of Northumbrian and Anglo-Danish date include a figured shaft comparable with the Nunburnholme shaft. More of the Roman *principia* and adjacent buildings have been uncovered, including a wall with fourth-century painted plaster. The Roman buildings were re-used, replanned, and adapted after the departure of the Romans and before the Northumbrian church was built. Since mid-Summer the work has been directed by D. Phillips.

H. G. Ramm.

NOTES ON ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS

A STONE CIRCLE ON KIRKMOOR BECK FARM, FYLINGDALES

By J. RADLEY

Kirkmoor Beck Farm belongs to Mr. and Mrs. K. Jarman of Sheffield, and at Easter, 1965, they discovered a ring of ten upright stones on part of their property. Their children excavated part of the circle and then took their finds to Sheffield City Museum, who notified R.C.H.M. The writer visited the site on behalf of R.C.H.M. as part of its recording programme.

The circle is situated on the flat spur of Kirk Moor (NZ.924030), between Ramsdale Beck and its main tributary, at 550 ft. O.D. The area is enclosed but has never been ploughed, and the ground is rough, peaty, and wet.

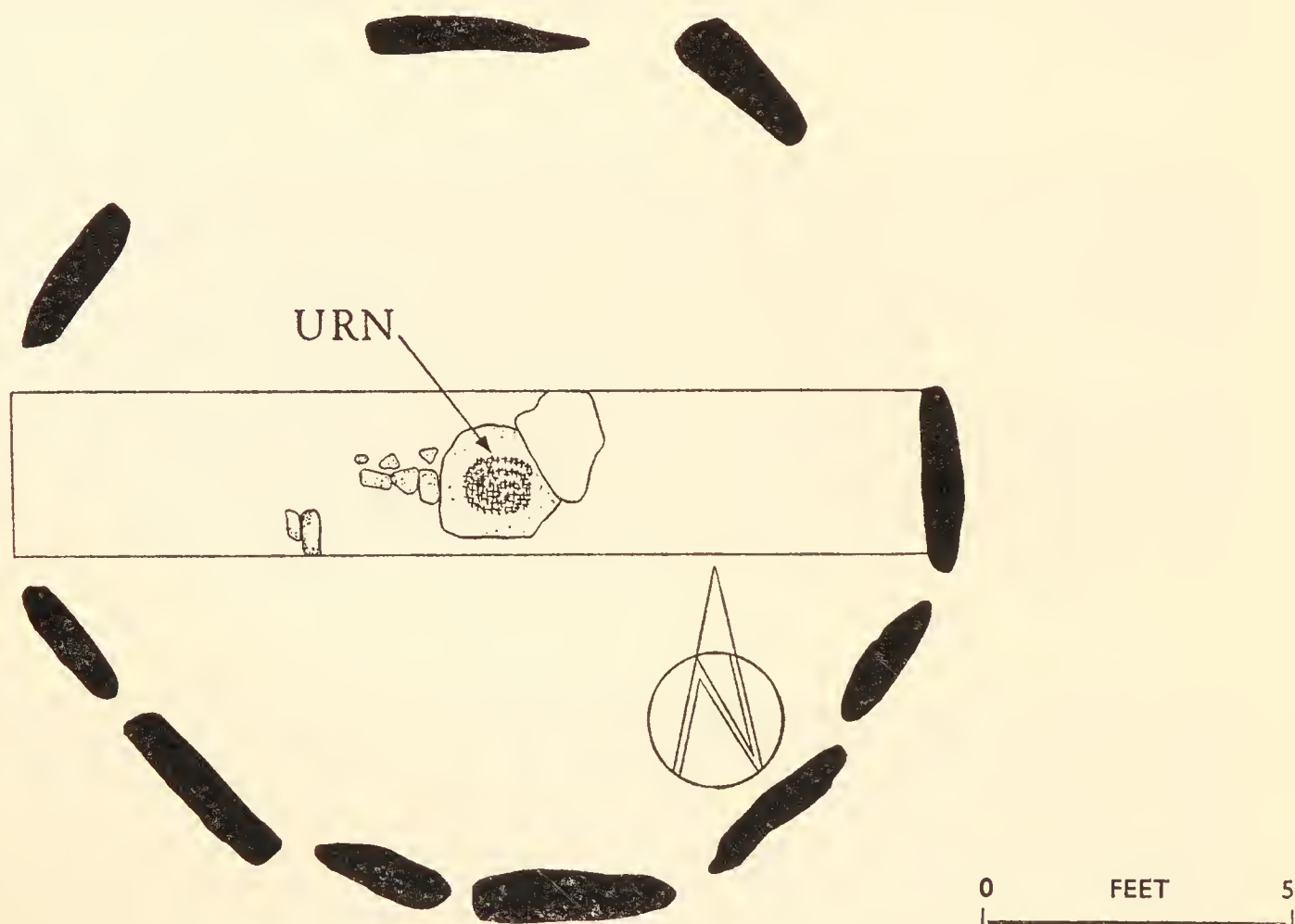


FIG. 1. The stone circle, showing the excavated area and position of urn.

The circle is 15 ft. in diameter (see Fig.) and is made of ten stones which protrude a few inches above the turf cover. Inside the circle the ground is slightly concave. A two-feet wide trench was dug across the circle and a large stone was revealed at the centre. On the stone was a fragmented urn, remains of a cremation, and one fragment of flint. There are signs of burning on the stone, and also under the stone, but no other burial has been discovered. The whole burial was so shallow that it was in the root zone of the overlying grass. The survival of many pieces of bone in such a wet location suggests that the area must have been protected by a mound until quite recent times. The large stone beneath the burial can be paralleled in many northern burial mounds.

The urn is too fragmentary to be restored. Of the hundreds of fragments, only a few retain both faces, and these are generally one centimetre thick. The urn appears to have been made of a fine clay with large grits and has a smooth brown surface, marked in

places with impressions of blades of grass. The urn may have been biconical in form with bands of horizontal grooves around the upper part, with vertical grooves below them.

The circle is on the fringe of the Fylingdales Moor barrow complex, and if the urn had a biconical form, the circle could well belong to the early Bronze Age. The main importance of the circle, however, is its size. There must have been many more small low barrows and circles of this nature in lowland areas, which have been destroyed, and there may well be many others on higher ground which are still undetected. Obviously not every person would be buried in a large barrow and the Kirk Moor circle is one of a very few small proven burial sites of the Bronze Age.

COINS FROM THE DONCASTER AREA

By M. J. DOLBY

Several Roman and medieval coins have recently been found or reported in the Doncaster area. All are in Doncaster Museum unless otherwise stated. With three exceptions, noted below, the Roman coins are all of bronze and the medieval ones of silver.

Adwick-le-Street. SE.52320998 on surface of allotment at Red House, June 1968. Silver denarius of Julius Caesar c. 48 B.C. Obv. Head of Venus r. Rev. Aeneas walking l. CAESAR. In possession of finder, Mr. J. Talbot, Skellow.

Edlington. SK.540978 in garden of 132 Tait Avenue, 1967. As of Claudius in poor condition. In possession of finder.

Conisbrough. SK.51409857 in field behind Post Office, April 1968. As of Vespasian, A.D. 71–73. Obv. Laur. head r. CAESAR VESPASIAN AVG COS III (I?). Rev. Victory advancing l. VICTORIA AVGVSTISC. In possession of Mr. Shaw, Mexborough.

Doncaster. SE.57640347 during excavation in Market Place c. 1930. Dupondius of Domitian, Rome mint, A.D. 86. Obv. Radiate bust r. with aegis. (IMP CAES DOMIT) AVG GERM COS XII (CENS PER PP). Rev. Felicitas standing l., holding caduceus and cornucopia (FELICITAS PVBLICA) SC.

Adwick-le-Street. SE.52751078 in garden of 3 Leyburn Road, 1967. Sestertius of Domitian in worn condition. In possession of finder, Mr. L. Spencer, Skellow.

Wheatley, in garden of 2 Ripon Avenue, March 1968. Sestertius of Hadrian, Rome mint, A.D. 132–4. Obv. Laur. draped bust, r. HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS. Rev. Ship moving l. with five oarsmen. FELICITATI AVG COS III PP SC.

Hatfield. SE.63900698. On surface of cart track, 1963. Dupondius of Antoninus Pius, Rome mint, A.D. 153–4. Obv. Radiate head r. ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PP TR P XVII. Rev. Libertas, draping, standing front. LIBERTAS COS III SC. In possession of finder, Mr. P. Brooks, Dunsville.

Doncaster under floor of Market Hall, June 1967. Dupondius of Faustina I. Obv. DIVA FAVSTINA. Rev. AETERNITAS SC.

Hatfield. In garden of 216 Broadway, Dunscroft about 2 ft. below surface. Sestertius of Marcus Aurelius, A.D. 164–5. Obv. Laur. head, r. (M AVREL ANTONINVS AVG) ARMENIA (CVS PM). Rev. Providentia standing l. TR POT XIX I(MP III) COS III SC. In possession of Miss L. Ems, Dunscroft.

Thorne. SE.687120 on surface of ploughed field, January 1969. Silver denarius of Julia Maesa. Rev. Pudicitia seated l. PVDICITIA. In possession of finder, Mr. G. Gilliatt, Hatfield.

Smeaton. SE.52021802 on surface of field, October 1966. Silver denarius of Caracalla, Rome mint, A.D. 198. Obv. Laur. draped bust r. IMP CAE M AVR ANT AVG P TR P. Rev. Minerva standing l. MINER VICTRIX.

Austerfield. SK.668974 in topsoil from area of discovery of hoard, 1964 and probably belonging to it. Antoniniani of Gordian III (2), Philip I (1), Valerian II (1), Gallienus (3) and Postumus (1).

Bentley with Arksey. SE.56450673 on surface of waste ground, January 1966. Antoninianus of Quintillus. Rev. Pax standing l., PAX AVGVSTI.

Brodsworth. SE.51150760 on surface of former quarry at Pickburn filled in 1960 with material from west end of Brodsworth Colliery tip (SE.520075). All but the latest coin may represent part of a hoard. Antoniniani of Gallienus (1), rev. LAETITIA AVG, Claudius II (1) rev. MARS VLTOR, Tetricus I (7) rev. PAX AVG (2), SALVS AVGG (2), SPES PVBLICA (1), PRINC IVVENT (1), LAETITIA AVGG (1), Tetricus II (1), rev. SPES AVGG and follis of Constantine I, Rome mint, A.D. 318, rev. SOLI INVICTO COMITI. All in possession of finder.

Wheatley in electricity trench at junction of Copley Road and Christ Church Road with six others, corroded to powder. Aes 3 of Constantine I, London mint. Rev. Sol, standing COMITI AVGG NN PLN and follis of Severus II as Caesar, Trier mint, A.D. 305–6. Rev. Genius l., SF in field. GENIO POPVLI ROMANI PTR. Latter in possession of finder, Mr. R. Colbourne, Doncaster.

Doncaster. SE.586022 on surface of allotment off Chequer Avenue, October 1966. Sestertius, too worn for identification.

Brodsworth. SE.506077 on surface of ploughed field. Antoninianus of late third century, too worn for identification.

Edlington. In garden of 1 Broomhouse Lane, 1967. Short cross penny of Henry III, London mint; moneyer, Abel. In possession of finder, Mr. T. Millns, Edlington.

Balby. In garden of 41 Greenfield Lane. Half-groat of Henry V, London mint 1413–22. In possession of finder, Mr. D. Deakin, Balby.

Brodsworth. SE.5505 in garden of 84 Copley Crescent, Scawsby, 1967. Groat of Henry VIII, York mint, 1544–7.

Tickhill. SK.59659319, west of Meadow Farm, Sunderland Street, March 1967. Sixpence of Elizabeth I, 1595. In possession of finder, Mr. B. Jones, Edlington.

ROMAN REMAINS FROM ADWICK-LE-STREET, W. R.

By M. J. DOLBY

Human burials of presumed Roman date and other Roman features found during cutting of service trenches for new houses on south side of Lutterworth Drive, off the Great North Road, to the rear of Tally Ho public house, in August 1968 (SE.53100870). At least four inhumations and one possible cremation were discovered by workmen as follows:—

Burial I. Apparently an extended inhumation orientated roughly north–south in a rather large grave, within which were, in position, the square iron nails of a coffin. The skeleton was exhumed by the local police and forwarded to Sheffield University Dept. of Forensic Medicine. No grave goods, but one body sherd of Romano-British coarse ware was found in the filling of the grave. Remains now in Doncaster Museum.

Burial II. An inhumation, orientation and method of burial unknown, was disturbed. Any bones visible were apparently removed by local children and no material was recovered from the site.

Burial III. The upper part of an inhumation was found during the construction of a manhole for a sewer. Apparently there were numerous sherds of Romano-British pottery in the grave, associated with the burial, but this pottery was retained by a workman and has not been traced. The bones were thrown back into a trench during back-filling operations and no material from this burial was recovered.

Burial IV. The skull of an inhumation was encountered during the cutting of a sewer trench and the remainder of this burial was excavated by the Staff of the Doncaster Museum. The inhumation was encountered at a depth of c. 2 ft. 6 ins. lying on its left side in a flexed position. The grave was a roughly-dug rectangle into which the body had been thrown from the east side so that it lay only in the west half, with its head to the

south and the knees hard against the side of the grave. Both feet had been amputated above the ankle prior to burial, and the left hand had been similarly treated. There were no grave-goods, but the rim of an Romano-British coarse ware bowl, a body sherd of calcite-gritted ware and a samian rim of 18/31 type in poor fabric occurred in the top of the grave filling, suggesting an Antonine or later date. The skull was thrown back into the trench by the workmen, but the rest of the skeleton is now in the Doncaster Museum. *Cremation?* In the sewer trench between Burials II and III, two pots were picked through by workmen, and pieces of burnt bone were found nearby. No material was recovered from this feature.

Pit. A pit of Roman date was found between House blocks 1 and 2; approximately 2 ft. 6 ins. deep and 3 ft. across. The filling consisted of dark clayey earth containing a good deal of charcoal and some burnt daub. A large, flat, unworked slab of magnesium limestone covered some of the east side of the pit. A quantity of pottery was recovered from the pit, of late third – early fourth century date, including parts of two flanged bowls, a platter, and a Dales Ware rim. A burnt area (hearth?) adjoined this pit.

Ditch. A linear feature, c. 4 ft. deep and 6 ft. across, fairly wide and flat-bottomed, sectioned by excavation for manhole and later cut by service trench. A small V-shaped feature was noticed on the south side which might have represented remains of post-holes or a palisade trench. The filling was a uniform one of silty brown earth containing pieces of limestone. Pieces of bone were the only finds made in the extremely limited investigation allowed. An electricity service trench at the east end of house block 4 appeared to cut either similar, or the continuation eastwards of the same feature, suggesting that the ditch might run in a roughly east–west direction.

Coin. An AE Antoninianus was found by electricity board workmen trenching between the front of house block 4 and Lutterworth Drive, on 13 August 1968. It is in poor condition but appears to be a PAX AVG type of Victorinus.

STUDIES IN COMMEMORATION OF WILLIAM GREENWELL, 1820-1918.

To mark the fiftieth anniversary of the death of the Rev. Dr. William Greenwell the Pre-history Research Section of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society sponsored these short essays studying some aspects of Greenwell's archaeological work. Greenwell was the doyen of late nineteenth-century antiquarians, a man of wide interests, great literary output and of international repute. William Greenwell was born at Greenwell Ford, Lanchester, Co. Durham in 1820, he was elected a minor canon of Durham in 1854 and appointed Librarian to the Dean and Chapter of Durham in 1862. Apart from transcribing and publishing medieval manuscripts Greenwell was a noted archaeological collector and amassed, by gift and purchase, collections of prehistoric stone and flint implements and bronze implements. In 1864 he started an annual series of barrow excavations in Yorkshire, Cumberland, Westmorland, Northumberland and Wiltshire. The results of the opening of 234 barrows were presented in his book *British Barrows*, published in 1877, later excavations were published in *Archaeologia* vols. lii & lx. This work was conducted by the prevailing standards of the nineteenth century and presented in accordance with current taste. By the standards of any age Greenwell was a remarkable man, the assembly of his great collections, his excavation, and writings, even when assisted by his ecclesiastical connections, represent an accomplishment worthy of several lifetimes.

Most of Greenwell's collections passed to the British Museum, only his collection of Anglo-Saxon sculpture remained in Northern England at Durham Cathedral. The greater part of the excavated barrow material came from sites in Yorkshire as well as a considerable portion of his stone and bronze implements collections. The preservation of this great body of material at a distance from Yorkshire and northern England, coupled with the stark style of writing in Greenwell's reports, has resulted in these important collections being imperfectly appreciated in archaeological studies. The present studies, examining only four aspects of Greenwell's collection and work, serve to illustrate the significant contribution to prehistoric archaeology produced by studying these early finds in the light of current thinking. The publication to modern standards of nineteenth-century collections is one of the most pressing needs of archaeology in Yorkshire coupled with the re-excavations and appraisal of many of the barrows that were, in fact, only partially excavated by William Greenwell and his contemporaries.

The study of the excavator and the collector as well as the basic evidence produced by them is perhaps a sign of the maturity of Archaeology as a scientific discipline. It serves also to emphasise the need to understand the background to the development of archaeological methods and the processes of interpretation. It is unlikely that such a body of cultural material will ever be assembled again from Yorkshire sites as is represented by the Greenwell collections. This material must therefore be assimilated into all considerations of the prehistoric period in our area and methods devised to present and understand the great life-work of William Greenwell.

RUDSTON BARROW LII; BEAKER-CREMATION ASSOCIATIONS

By T. G. MANBY

Of the many round barrows excavated by William Greenwell his Barrow LII, on Rudston Wold, yielded many notable associations – in particular Beakers accompanying cremation burials. Barrow LII is a member of a barrow group strung out along the level summit of Rudston Wold, immediately west of Bridlington. The mound can be precisely

identified by its relationship to Greenwell's Barrow LXVI [1]; the pair of long mounds recently recognised as the southern terminal of a cursus [2]. Barrow LII (National Grid ref. TA.098 658) was re-excavated in the autumn of 1968 by A. Pacitto for the Ministry of Public Building & Works and the existence of the massive central grave confirmed [3]. The central grave, according to Greenwell, was 9 ft. in diameter and the bottom 10½ ft. below the pre-barrow surface. On the floor of the grave Greenwell found a pair of stone cists in a line north-north-west to south-south-east. The northern cist contained an inhumation with a Beaker; the southern cist contained a heap of cremated human bones with a Beaker standing in the south-western corner. A third burial, on the eastern side of the grave, consisted of a heap of cremated bones with a Beaker standing 1 ft. away. A

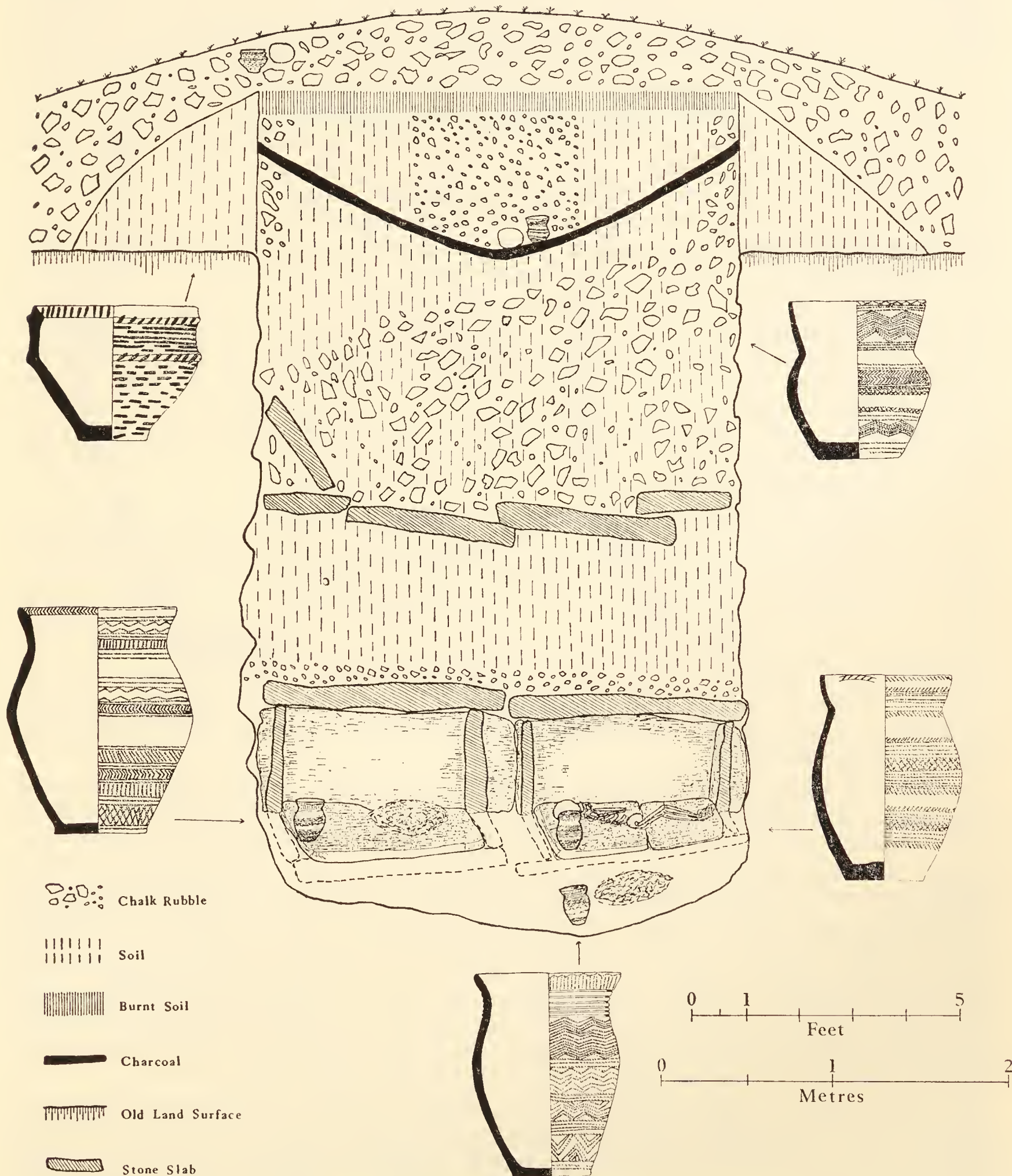


FIG. 1. Reconstructed section of Rudston Barrow LII.

further inhumation burial with a Beaker was found in the upper part of this grave and a burial with a Food Vessel was in the covering chalk mound. The section of this grave has been reconstructed diagrammatically based on Greenwell's excavation account (Fig. 1) to illustrate the relationship of burials. A discussion of the full implications of this site must await the detailed report on the re-excavation, but in the present instance it is intended to consider the Beaker-Cremation aspect represented here.

Beaker-cist burials are very scarce in eastern Yorkshire; the surface-built cist beneath the Kelleythorpe barrow [4] is the only other in the Wold area, where suitable stone slabs would have to be imported. A cist found at Egton Bridge is the only instance from north-east Yorkshire Moors [5]. The cist burial is the northerly of the two broadly regional burial traditions recognised for the British Beaker cultures [6]. The southerly tradition of a single grave beneath a round barrow is the usual association for Beakers in east Yorkshire and Rudston Barrow LII represents elements of both traditions. Graves of an individual size predominate in Yorkshire but graves of similar massive proportions to Rudston LII are also found containing multiple burials [7]. The Beaker-Cremation association occurs at only one other site in eastern Yorkshire; a large grave beneath Broxa Barrow 4, near Scarborough, had a Beaker standing beside a heap of cremated bones accompanied by a conical jet button. Three satellite cremation burials accompanied by Beaker sherds were found on the old land surface around the grave [8]. In Sussex a Beaker was found inverted over a cremation in the filling of a flint mine shaft at Church Hill, Findon [9]. The Beaker-cremation-cist association is repeated at Dilston Park, Northumberland, with three beakers in one cist and two in a second cist two yards away [10]. A cremation with a Beaker occupied one compartment of a double cist at Hirst, Northumberland, with an inhumation in the second compartment [11]. In Scotland beakers with cremation burials in cists have been found at Findlater Castle and Buckie in Banffshire [12]; Idvies in Angus, Hoprig in Berwickshire and Kilmarie on Skye [13]. The Hoprig cist was in a grave; a cremation with a beaker was found in a grave at Monquitter in Aberdeenshire [14]. In Wales Beakers accompany cremation burials in cists at Mynydd y Bryn, Cwn Car Farm, Bwlch-y-gwynyd, and Groeswen and covered only by a stone slab at Mynydd Maensmawr [15].

From this review of Beaker-cremation associations it is obvious that cremation is largely associated with the practice of cist burials; however, only in Wales is cremation the dominant rite associated with cist interment [16]. At Rudston the cremation cist was similar in size to the inhumation cist and this feature is repeated at other sites where details are known. Further links with the inhumation tradition are to be seen in the use of the Beaker as an accessory vessel placed beside the heap of cremated bones. The only Beakers used as ossuaries are the Findon and Mynydd y Bryn vessels inverted over the cremation, and the Findlater Beaker filled with bones and ashes. It is, however, possible that the bones said to have been found in the Beaker from Norham, Northumberland [17] could have been cremated.

Beakers associated with cremation burials are assignable to at least three of the recognised British Beaker Groups, the majority are of short-necked profile. At Rudston the vessel accompanying the cremation outside the cists (Fig. 2.2) with its wide rim, grooved decoration on the neck and protruding foot and tall proportions has many parallels amongst vessels accompanying inhumation in eastern Yorkshire [18] and in Northumberland [19], and three vessels have grooved necks amongst the Beakers accompanying the Dilston Park cremations [20]. In Wales the Groeswen cremation beaker is also tall, with wide rim and grooved on the neck but cord decorated. The Beaker with the cist cremation is notable for its broad proportions of the body and narrow rim with a decorated bevel (Fig. 2.1); in profile it is paralleled at Dilston Park [21]. The third Beaker from Rudston LII in the inhumation cist (Fig. 1) is a tall vessel with a decorated flat topped rim and its decoration arranged in three zones.

The origin of the various Beakers associated with instances of the cremation rite are mainly in the Netherlands; the tall beakers with grooved necks like Rudston, Dilston Park, Groeswen, and ovoid body and recurved rims (Fig. 2.2) belong to the Clarke's North British/North Rhine Beaker Group [22], in origin of mixed Bell Beaker and Corded Ware

tradition, derived from the Frisian Coast and North Rhine Delta about 1700 B.C. [23]. To this group would also belong the Findon Beaker with barded wire decoration, a protruding foot and a collar in the neck. This is paralleled by a Beaker accompanying an inhumation found by Greenwell at Folkton Wold which resembles it very closely apart from the method and motives employed in decoration [24], and further paralleled in the northern Netherlands [25]. This Beaker Group merged with the slightly later incoming Primary British/Dutch Beaker Group to produce the North British Beaker tradition around 1600 B.C. [26]. To this latter tradition would belong the Broxa, Buckie, Hoprig and Kilmarie cremation Beakers. The remainder of the cremation Beakers belong to other Groups; the Monquitter Beaker with its cord decoration and cordoned rim is assignable to Clarke's All-Over Cord Beaker Group arriving around 2000 B.C. from the Rhine Delta [27] but lasting late [28]. The Welsh cremations at Cwn Car Farm, Groeswen and Mynydd Maensmawr have a long-necked profile and belong to Clarke's Southern British Beaker Tradition and late in date [29].

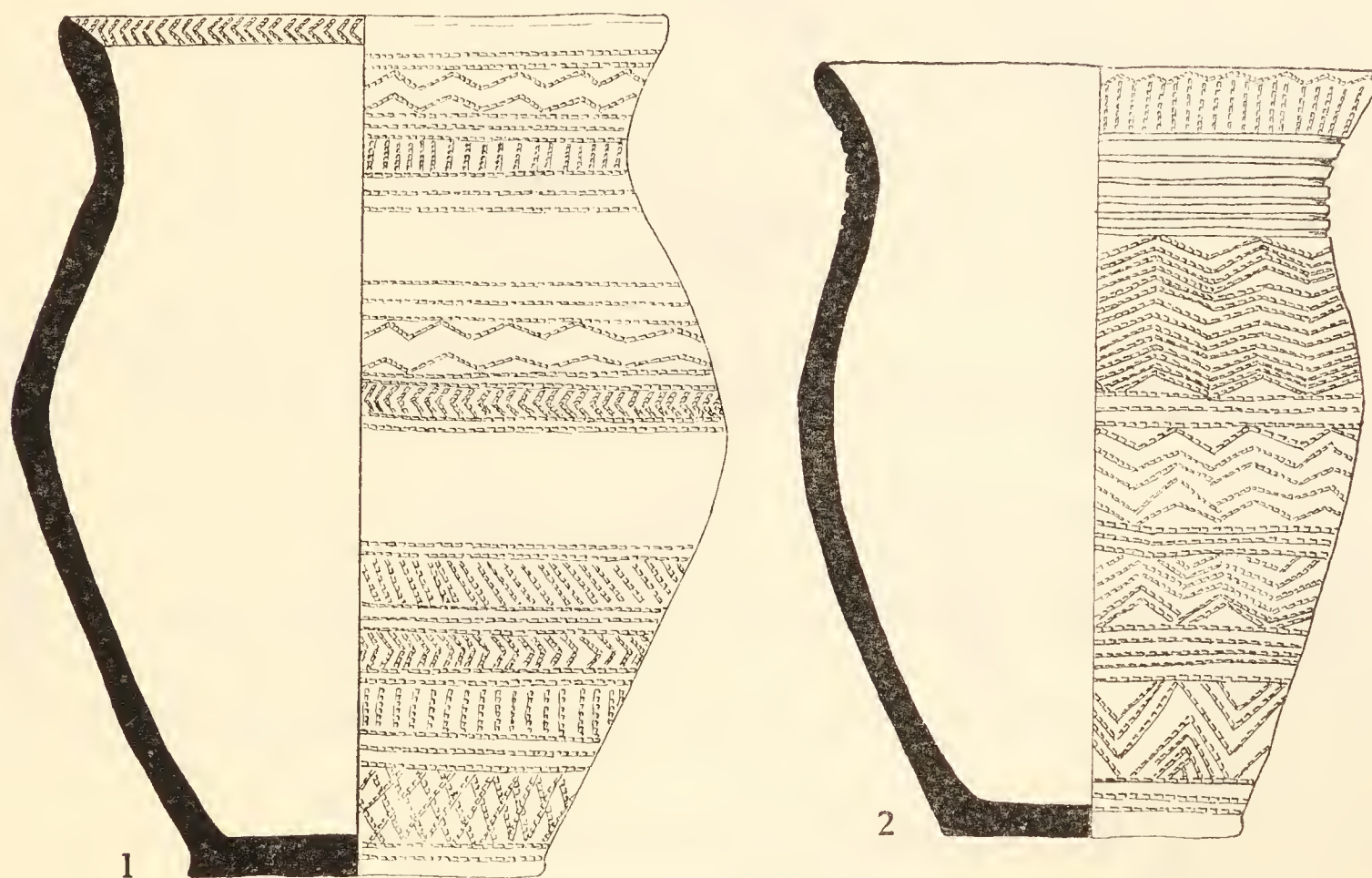


FIG. 2. Beakers accompanying Cremation burials, Rudston LII. ($\frac{1}{3}$).

The cremation Beaker burials of Rudston LII and the other sites stand out in marked contrast to the normal inhumation rite of the Beaker tradition in the British Isles. The sharing of the same grave by the inhumation and cremation rites at Rudston and Hirst, with the use of cists of inhumation size and the general use of Beakers as accessory vessels rather than as ossuaries are links with the main stream of Beaker customs.

For the origin of the cremation rite in Beaker context it may be possible to consider it as a borrowing from the indigenous Neolithic Cultures. Individual cremation burial was one of the features of the Late Neolithic Dorchester Complex and in earlier Neolithic Cultures in Britain [30]. Alternatively, Beaker cremation burials occur sparsely with Bell Beaker Burials throughout Central Germany and Bohemia. From Germany Bell Beaker people spread down the Rhine into the Netherlands where cremation burials are regarded as part of the evidence for a secondary stream of Bell Beaker migrants who were responsible for the introduction of metal working [31]. Representative of this Bell Beaker group in the Netherlands is the cremation burial of an adult and infant from a barrow on Ginkelse Heide accompanied by a Bell Beaker, a copper knife dagger, a stone bracer and six flint arrowheads [32]. Cremation burial was also practised in the succeeding Veluvian Beaker Group of the Netherlands, its occurrence in this context at Meerlo, Limburg with a Beaker and a pair of stone arrow-smoothers has confirmed the earlier find at Oss [33]. Further confirmation is provided by the pair of Veluvian Bell Beakers accompanying

a cremation burial at Hoog Buurlo near Apeldoorn [34]. The Veluvian Bell Beakers have been shown to be a parallel series to Beakers of Netherlands origin in the British Isles evolving after the crossing of the North Sea at Stages 21b/c/211b in the Dutch Beaker series [35]. In this context the Rudston Barrow LII cremation burials and others in the British Isles with Beakers of Dutch origin are following the continental Bell Beaker cremation custom rather than borrowing from a British Neolithic practice. The cremation burial rite being a minority practice but still an integral part of the intrusive Beaker culture complex and employing grave and/or cist burial according to regional practice.

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FIVE SHERDS FROM FORD, NORTHUMBERLAND, AND THEIR RELATIVE DATE

By I. H. LONGWORTH

Of the many aspects of Canon Greenwell's varied life which might be recalled half a century after his death, none deserves greater mention than that of Greenwell the collector. That his tastes were catholic can be readily appreciated from the collection which reached the British Museum through the generosity of J. Pierpont Morgan in 1909. But it is more particularly Greenwell the local antiquary, the man to whom objects were brought and finds reported, that might be stressed here, for in this way much was preserved that might otherwise have been lost. The five sherds which form the subject of this note belong to this category. None were excavated by Greenwell himself, but all owe their preservation to him.

Vessels 1 – 4 (Fig. 1).

It is unfortunate that the circumstances of discovery are not well documented. Greenwell records the sherds under the heading 'Fragments of urns, found near Ford'. 'I got these (he states) after the death of Captain Carpenter, Ford Cottage, but I know nothing

more of them than that they were found in the immediate neighbourhood'. This entry bears a further annotation: 'These are most probably fragments of urns, found near Crookham, on the summit of a knoll. One of the urns found there had a necklace of jet, of varied patterns, with it.' [1].



FIG. 1. Pottery from Ford. ($\frac{1}{4}$).

The Crookham site is ill-recorded but in a paper describing the opening of barrows in North Northumberland [2], Greenwell refers again to the jet necklace as having been strung round the neck of an urn and that neither the urn nor the necklace had been preserved. In a footnote he adds:

'This discovery was made upon a swelling piece of ground near Crookham Dene, where several circular hollows, each covered with a flat stone and filled with burnt

bones, were found. In one instance, the hollow was lined with small stones, within which was the urn and necklace. There was no appearance of any tumulus having ever covered these burials, and, in fact, the rounded hill itself formed a natural tumulus.'

This evidence is clearly insufficient to establish whether the sherds were in any sense associated but they may at least have come from one site. All that can be ventured is that the similarity of the rim forms of vessels 1 and 2 and the overall similarity of vessels 3 and 4 would suggest that these pairs could well have been found together, and the similarity of the fabrics of all four would certainly not preclude the vessels being contemporary.

Two of the vessels, 2 and 3, have been cited on a number of occasions since they were introduced to the archaeological literature by Prof. Piggott in his pioneer study of British Neolithic pottery in 1932 [3]. In that paper he designated the sherds as Peterborough Ware, and it is under the same heading some twenty-two years later that they appear in his book [4]. In this work Piggott developed the idea that a northern variety within the Peterborough Culture might some day emerge when a more detailed study had been made of pottery from sites like Hedderwick in East Lothian and Glenluce in Wigtownshire. To this northern variety he felt might well be attributed the vessels from Ford, along with a sherd from Scremerston Hill in the same county [5]. More recently, the vessels appear again in a list of Peterborough Ware compiled by Prof. Atkinson in 1962 [6]. Recent work has tended, however, to emphasise the distinction between the Late Neolithic Scottish wares and the Peterborough tradition, and with the possible exception of the sherds from Cairnholy [7] it is to be doubted whether recognisable Peterborough Ware has been found on any Scottish site.

The fabric of vessels 1 – 4 from Ford, which would be highly atypical for any Peterborough Ware further south, can be closely matched at Hedderwick [8], at Brackmont Mill [9] and amongst the varied fabrics brought together by Miss McInnes under the heading of Class III ware at Glenluce [10]. It is precisely at these sites, and at Dalkeith [11], that the T-rim with convex top is found, which, in more slender form, has a long ancestry amongst earlier Neolithic pottery styles. The highly distinctive rim decoration of vessels 3 and 4 comprising concentric twisted cord semi-circles beneath circumferential twisted cord lines is precisely matched at Glenluce [12], and it is amongst the pottery from this site again that the slightly curved, long diagonal twisted cord lines used to decorate the top of vessel 2 are found [13].

The massive everted rim with flattened top and external bevel, represented at Ford by vessel 3 is found at Hedderwick on necked bowl forms [14], and again on an open bowl form at Brackmont Mill [15]. The rim of vessel 3 is, of course, very close to that of some Food Vessels of Yorkshire Vase type and it is amongst these that the best parallels can be found for the use of incised herringbone on the external rim bevel [16]. It is on Food Vessels again that the use of long lines of twisted cord as body decoration are found [17].

As Piggott suggested, specific comparisons are to be made not with the classic Peterborough Ware of the south, but with Late Neolithic pottery from sites in southern Scotland. Perhaps more significant for dating purposes are the resemblances to Food Vessels. Indeed the similarity of vessels 3 and 4 to the Yorkshire Vase series might well suggest a date close to the seventeenth century B.C. This would certainly be in keeping with the evidence from Brackmont Mill where a sherd decorated with finger pinched rustication of the type associated with advanced forms of domestic Beaker occurred in a sealed pit with pottery directly akin to the Ford sherds [18].

Vessel 5

The fifth sherd, and perhaps the most curious, has better documentation. Greenwell records this as §81 'portion of a very peculiar urn, found in the wood near the Red Scar Bridge, par. Ford, North'. A flat stone was over the spot, which was about 1½ ft. below the level of the ground. There was no appearance, when I visited the place, of any burnt bones, nor could any more of the urn, if it ever was a whole one, be recovered. About a yard from this place were found some fragments §82 of another urn, and amongst the soil thrown out, a piece of a third §83. April 21 1865" [19]. Vessel number 5 is the one

referred to by Greenwell as §81, the remaining sherds either do not survive or can no longer be identified.

Coming from a vessel whose body diameter is at least 13 ins., the sherd is made from a fabric which, while resembling that of the previous sherds, approaches still closer to that characteristic of the full Early Bronze Age. The grooved decoration with alternate filled triangular zones relates the sherd clearly enough to Rinyo-Clacton Ware, but two factors make the piece highly atypical: the fabric, and the addition to the decorative scheme of rows of deeply impressed round pits. These pits would be entirely at home in the Peterborough tradition but that no early date need necessarily be implied by this trait in the north-east is illustrated by similar rows of pits used to decorate an Enlarged Food Vessel from Kirk Whelpington in the same county [20]. A date no earlier than the sixteenth century B.C. would seem appropriate.

CATALOGUE¹

1. Rim sherd from vessel of coarse brown paste, tempered with large grits.
Decoration: On the rim, incised herringbone.
British Museum Reg. No. 79, 12-9, 1746.
2. Two rim sherds from vessel of coarse paste, tempered with large grits, patchy brown both faces. Surface smoothed.
Decoration: On the rim, curvilinear twisted cord diagonal lines. On the body, diagonal strokes made with a blunt instrument.
British Museum Reg. No. 79, 12-9, 1743.
3. Rim sherd from vessel of coarse paste, tempered with large grits, patchy grey to brown externally, brown internally. Surface smoothed.
Decoration: On the rim, concentric semi-circles of twisted cord beneath two circumferential twisted cord lines. On the external rim bevel, incised herringbone. On the body, diagonal twisted cord lines, beneath two twisted cord lines emphasizing the shoulder.
British Museum Reg. No. 79, 12-9, 1744.
4. Rim sherd from vessel of coarse paste, tempered with large grits, patchy brown externally, brown internally. Surface smoothed.
Decoration: On the rim, concentric semi-circles of twisted cord beneath two circumferential cord lines. On the external rim bevel, incised herringbone. On the body, diagonal twisted cord lines.
British Museum Reg. No. 79, 12-9, 1745.
5. Wall sherd from vessel of compact but coarse paste, tempered with grits, brown both faces. Surface smoothed.
Decoration: Triangular areas are outlined by grooved lines, the areas thus formed being alternately left blank and filled with short vertical jabbed impressions with a row of pits made with a pointed implement superimposed. In only one instance does a pit perforate the wall of the vessel.
British Museum Reg. No. 79, 12-9, 1747.

In addition to these, and apparently acquired by Greenwell at the same time as vessels 1-4, is a body sherd of similar paste with a wall thickness of up to 1.1 ins. decorated with irregular incised stroke ornament. It is just conceivable that this could be from vessel 2.

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16. e.g. Abercromby, *Bronze Age Pottery* (1912), i, Figs. 54, 59, 143 and 163.
17. e.g. Mortimer, *Forty Years Researches* (1905), Figs. 201, 499 and 563.
18. Longworth, *P.S.A.S.* (1966-7) xcix, 68, Fig. 4, no. 3.
19. *M.S. Catalogue*, 52.
20. Abercromby, *Bronze Age Pottery* (1912), ii, Fig. 494.

¹ I am indebted to Mr. P. C. Compton for the drawings of these vessels.

EARLY BRONZE AGE TIMBER GRAVES AND COFFIN BURIALS ON THE YORKSHIRE WOLDS

By F. PETERSEN

A number of barrows on the Yorkshire Wolds contained inhumation burials associated with traces of wooden structures: grave linings, funerary platforms or coffin-like features. Thirty-one such sites have been identified, all dug in the last century, twenty-five by William Greenwell (1877 [2] and 1890 [3]) and six by J. R. Mortimer (1905) [4]. Short accounts of these graves follow; for descriptive purposes they have been divided into rough typological categories, though, as will be emphasised later, such divisions appear to have little cultural or chronological significance.¹

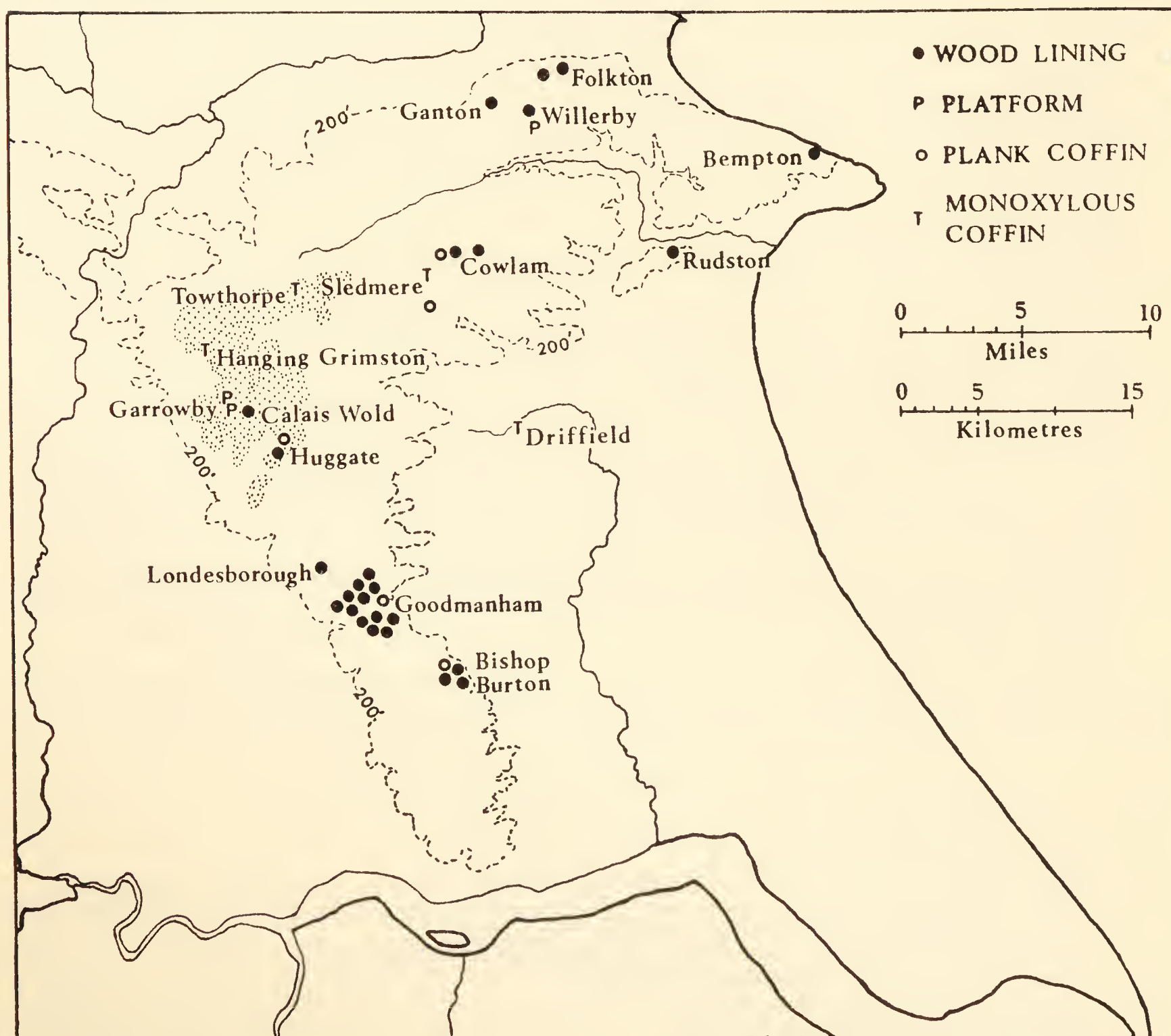


FIG. 1. Timber graves and coffin burials from the Yorkshire Wolds. (Land over 600 ft. O.D. stippled).

¹ For reasons of space a number of sites are excluded from consideration here. These comprise the well-known monoxylous coffin burials at Towthorpe 73, Hanging Grimston 90, and Driffield 279a, plus two large groups of rather problematical sites excavated by Mortimer on the central Wolds. One of the latter is a large series of graves with thin 'layers' or 'films' of dark matter on their floors, possibly the remains of some form of lining though, in most cases, Mortimer himself did not think so. The other group of graves was characterised by 'boat-shaped' masses of earth or clay in the fills, features usually interpreted by Mortimer as resulting from the collapse of wooden lids covering the grave at surface level. What dating evidence exists suggests both groups can be assigned to late Beaker/Food Vessel times. A fourth monoxylous coffin was excavated in 1968 at Willie Howe, Sledmere, by T. C. M. Brewster.

It should be emphasised that the published accounts of these graves are never very detailed, the wooden features often being described simply as 'wood' or by less terse but no more informative formulae of the 'dark matter, apparently the remains of wood' variety. In the following pages liberal use has been made of quotations from the original descriptions, both in order to avoid a false appearance of precision where the data are scanty or ambiguous, and to obviate the necessity of continually stressing the brief and dubious nature of the evidence on which any conclusions must rest.

Inhumations in Wood-Lined Hollows

At twelve sites, all excavated by Greenwell, inhumations had been 'laid on wood' on the old surface or in shallow hollows or depressions.

Five barrows, numbers XC, XCIV, XCVII, CII and CIII in the Goodmanham group, covered male skeletons accompanied by Food Vessels in shallow central depressions. All of these graves are described as 'wood-lined', in the case of XCIV and CII without further comment, in that of XCVII with the added detail that the body was 'not covered by wood'. At Goodmanham XC the skeleton rested on the 'remains of wood which apparently in the shape of planks had also been laid over' it. Wooden planking also appears to have been used at the fifth barrow (number CIII) where the skeleton was 'covered with wood . . . thin slabs . . . (having) been placed, without being joined together, underneath and above the body'.

Greenwell's accounts of the remaining seven sites in this series are equally cursory.

6. Cowlam LVI. Two crouched male skeletons on the floor of a shallow central hollow associated with a decayed Food Vessel. One of the skeletons rested on a 'large quantity of dark-coloured matter like decayed wood and it is probable that . . . the body had been placed on wooden planks'.

7. Folkton CCXLII. Crouched adult with a Food Vessel and flints 'laid on wood' on the old surface at the barrow's centre.

8. Folkton CCXLIII. Crouched adult in a shallow central hollow 'lined with wood'. With the skeleton was a Food Vessel, a plano-convex knife and two scrapers.

9. Goodmanham LXXXIX. Crouched unaccompanied adult on old surface south-east of centre: under the 'head and back and extending beyond them were the remains of wood' forming a 'deposit' 4 ft. long. There were no traces of wood covering the body or under its legs or thighs.

10. Rudston LXVII. Unaccompanied crouched child located north-east of centre in a 'slight hollow . . . lined with wood'. 'Close to the child', in the same hollow, were the disturbed and fragmentary bones of a young adult ('apparently female').

Barrows XCII and CXIII, both in the Goodmanham group, contained two and three 'wood-lined' graves respectively.

11. Goodmanham XCII. Crouched male skeleton with a flint scraper in a shallow central hollow located in the mound directly above a similar hollow dug into the old surface and containing a child skeleton and a plano-convex knife. Both hollows are described as 'wood-lined'.

12. Goodmanham CXIII. Crouched male skeleton on the floor of a central grave, 8 ft. \times 5 ft. and $3\frac{3}{4}$ ft. deep, 'with appearances as if the south end . . . had been laid with wood'. Two other crouched unaccompanied male skeletons partially overlay the top of the grave fill, both also 'laid on wood'.¹

¹ A shallow grave at Riggs 36 might also merit inclusion here as it contained a skeleton (with Food Vessel) resting on what is described as 'a bed of some vegetable substance, traces of which remained'. At three other sites, Willerby XXXIII and Garrowby Wold 62 and 104, possible wooden platforms, apparently similar to those listed above, were incorporated into grave fills. All three of these platforms were directly or indirectly associated with fragmentary or disturbed human bones, and what evidence exists suggests they were built in connection with the secondary disturbance of the graves in which they occur.

Grave Pits with Wooden Linings

At thirteen sites, crouched inhumations were deposited in well-defined grave pits partially or wholly lined with wood, occasionally (at least) in the form of planking, though the nineteenth-century accounts are seldom explicit on this point.

In some cases the lining seems to have been confined to the grave floor, covering either its whole extent (Goodmanham CXVIII and CXXI and Cowlam LVIII) or only that part immediately under the burial (Goodmanham CXIII and Londesborough CXXIII).

1. Cowlam LVIII. Crouched adult with a pair of bronze basket ear-rings and two jet lumps on the floor of a large oval grave, 6 ft. \times 4½ ft. and 3 ft. deep. 'Under the body and covering' the grave floor 'was a great quantity of decayed wood the grave having evidently been floored with that material'.
2. Goodmanham CXIII. See previous section for details.
3. Goodmanham CXVIII. Crouched adult with a Food Vessel and yellow ochre at one end of the floor of a central grave, 7 ft. \times 2½ ft. and 2¼ ft. deep. The grave 'had been lined on the bottom with wood'.
4. Goodmanham CXXI. Crouched female skeleton with a jet disc-bead necklace and yellow ochre on the floor of a central grave, 6 ft. \times 3 ft. and 3 ft. deep. The grave floor 'appeared to have been lined with wood' which survived in the form of a 'dark-coloured layer'.
5. Londesborough CXXIII. Unaccompanied crouched male skeleton on the floor of a large trenchlike grave, 12½ ft. \times 4¾ ft. and 3¼ ft. deep, at the barrow's centre. 'Under the body were the remains of wood with which that part of the grave had apparently been lined'.

The graves at Bishop Burton CCLVII and CCLVIII and Willerby CCXXXVI are described as 'lined throughout' with wood, a formula of uncertain signification perhaps most plausibly interpreted as implying the extension of the lining to the sides and ends as well as the floor. 'Branches' occurred in the two Bishop Burton graves, in one case on the floor under the lining proper, in the other on top of the skeleton. The lining at the former site is said to have been in the form of 'planks', that at the latter being described as 'solid' (continuous sheeting?).

6. Bishop Burton CCLVII. Decayed adult with a Food Vessel and a plano-convex knife on the floor of a grave, 6 ft. \times 2 ft. and 2 ft. deep, located near the barrow's centre. The grave 'had been lined throughout with solid wood' and the body 'covered with branches'.
7. Bishop Burton CCLVIII. Crouched adult skeleton with a Food Vessel and an ox tooth on the floor of a central grave, 4½ ft. long, 2 ft. wide at the top sloping to 1 ft. 2 ins. wide at the bottom and 2½ ft. deep. The west end of the grave was a 'little lower than the east' and 'at each end' was a small circular hole dug into the chalk floor. The grave was 'lined throughout with wood, apparently planks', those at the slightly deeper west end being 'laid upon branches'. The skeleton was 'covered with wood but of a smaller size than that underneath the body'.
8. Willerby CCXXXVI. Unaccompanied crouched male skeleton on the floor of a central grave, 6 ft. \times 3 ft. and 1½ ft. deep. The grave was 'lined throughout with wood but the body had not been covered with it'.

Greenwell's descriptions of the graves at Bempton CCLIII and Ganton XXV are rather more detailed than usual, though obscurities remain. The lining of the Bempton grave was evidently provided with a lid, as may also have been the case at a third site, Calais Wold 14.

9. Bempton CCLIII. Crouched child with a Food Vessel on the floor of a central grave, 4 ft. 10 ins. \times 2 ft. and 2¾ ft. deep. The north side of the grave angled inwards about halfway along its length to produce a 'somewhat pointed' west end with a small circular pit dug into its floor. The 'bottom and sides' were 'lined . . . to a height of 18 inches' with wood, a covering of some sort apparently having been provided at this level as below it the grave was 'hollow'.

10. Calais Wold 14. Decayed skeleton with a Food Vessel and flint scrapers on the floor of a central grave, $6\frac{1}{2}$ ft. \times 5 ft. and 2 ft. deep. The 'bottom and sides' of the grave were 'lined with oak'¹ . . . and most probably the top as well' ('large pieces of decayed wood', interpreted by Mortimer as the traces of a lid, occurred in the upper part of the grave fill).

11. Ganton XXV. Decayed adult with a Food Vessel on the floor of a central grave, 4 ft. \times $3\frac{3}{4}$ ft. and $2\frac{1}{4}$ ft. deep. The impressions of a plank lining were retained on the clayey sides of the grave, and at each end was a row of stakeholes which had originally held small stakes left with their butt-ends projecting 4 ins. above the level of the grave floor. The latter was covered by a layer of 'dark matter' (analysed as vegetable in origin) running under the burial and thought by Greenwell to represent the collapsed residue of a wooden funerary platform originally carried on the stake rows.

One of the last two graves in this series, Huggate and Warter Wold 252, had been robbed, and traces of its wooden lining survived only at one end; the other, Bishop Burton CCLXV is rather obscurely described but should fit somewhere in the present group.

12. Bishop Burton CCLXV. Crouched adult with a plano-convex knife on the floor of a central grave, 7 ft. \times 5 ft. and $2\frac{1}{4}$ ft. deep. Traces of wood were apparently noticed only at the 'north end' which was 'lined at the sides with wood . . . placed about 8 ins. from the edge'.

13. Huggate and Warter Wold 252. Mortimer found a 'quantity of decayed wood' at the east end of a large, robbed central grave, 8 ft. \times 5 ft. and 4 ft. deep, 'beneath the undisturbed portion' of the fill, running 'along the floor . . . and extending about 10 ins. up the end . . . probably, the remains of a lining of wood'.²

Wooden Coffins and Enclosures

At one or two sites on the Wolds composite wooden coffins may have existed, though in no case is such a possibility more than hinted at in the original publications. Perhaps the most convincing example occurred at barrow 155 in Mortimer's Garton Slack group. Here an unaccompanied crouched adult skeleton on the floor of an eccentric grave, 8 ft. \times 4 ft. and 4 ft. deep, was surrounded by a 'vertical line of black matter', 12 ins. high, 'apparently the remains of wood . . . placed round the body in the form of a cist'. However, Mortimer says nothing about a lid or bottom and it may be that the remains at this site originally constituted some type of open box or enclosure rather than a true closed coffin. A possibly comparable structure, also on the floor of a large (central) grave, existed at Garton Slack 74 where a 'thin seam of dark matter' was noticed 'on each side' of a crouched adult skeleton with a Food Vessel and a flake knife, though the description here, as elsewhere, is consistent with a whole range of other possibilities.

At five sites on the Wolds (Huggate and Warter Wold 264, Goodmanham CXIX, Cowlam LIX, Bishop Burton CCLV and Mortimer's 'detached' Barrow 274) inhumation burials seem to have been placed in open boxes or coffins or surrounded by small unroofed and unfloored wooden enclosures.

The anomalous burial at Bishop Burton CCLV rested on top of a small chalk mound at the barrow's centre, evidently in an open wooden box or trough. (It is not clear from the published description whether the skeleton was completely enclosed by wood, or the sides only.)

1. Bishop Burton CCLV. Crouched adult with a Food Vessel and a plano-convex knife on the top of a 'small mound of chalk, $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high' at the barrow's centre. 'The body had been placed on wood which also enclosed it on the sides but did not cover it'.

¹ Calais Wold 14 is the only site mentioned in this paper where the type of wood was identified.

² A grave containing a male skeleton associated with traces of wood at Riggs 42a might also belong to the series, though the description is too vague to be certain about this. Two additional possibilities (at Garrrowby Wold 42 and Calais Wold 100 respectively) are even more dubious. At a fourth site (Aldro C78) a large circular pit had apparently been provided with a wood lining of some sort but (evidently) contained no burial.

The last four burials in this series were all on the floors of large grave pits, the wooden remains being confined to the immediate vicinity of the skeleton.

The 'wooden casing' at Cowlam LIX sounds like a coffin of some sort though it is not made clear whether the base of this structure was open or closed. The accounts of the graves at Huggate and Warter Wold 264 and Goodmanham CXIX are more explicit on this point: wood surrounded the burial but did not cover it or extend beneath it.

2. Cowlam LIX. Unaccompanied 're-laid' male skeleton on the floor 'close to the south-east side' of a grave, $7\frac{3}{4}$ ft. \times 7 ft. and $3\frac{3}{4}$ ft. deep, located somewhat west of centre. 'The body seemed to have been surrounded by wood on all sides but not apparently covered over by it': the grave fill 'outside the wooden casing' was sharply differentiated from that inside it and over the body.

3. Goodmanham CXIX. Crouched adolescent with a Food Vessel on the floor of a central grave, $6\frac{3}{4}$ ft. \times $3\frac{1}{4}$ ft. and 4 ft. deep. The 'remains of wood were found alongside the body and round the head and feet' but not above or below.

4. Huggate and Warter Wold 264. 'A confused heap of the bones of a powerfully-built man of middle-age' on the floor of a central grave, 10 ft. 5 ins. \times 7 ft. and 5 ft. 5 ins. deep. The burial deposit was surrounded by 'traces . . . of a small wooden enclosure' in which Mortimer thought the body had been interred 'cross-legged in a sitting position', the subsequent decay and collapse of the enclosure accounting for the disordered state of the bones. The grave fill contained two additional burials plus beaker sherds and numerous detached and broken human bones.¹

The fifth grave, at barrow 274, conceivably belongs with the present group, though the condition of the surviving remains rules out even the most tentative attempt at reconstruction.

5. Barrow 274 (near Sledmere). Crouched adult with a Food Vessel on the floor of a central grave, 7 ft. \times $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft. and 4 ft. deep. 'The dark residue of decayed wood was observed in contact with most of the bones of the skeleton'.²

Discussion

What evidence exists suggests that the burial practices under discussion occurred within fairly narrow chronological limits and were much more common in some Wolds communities than others.

Twenty-one of the thirty-four graves either contained Food Vessels or objects such as plano-convex knives and jet necklaces which elsewhere typically occur in Food Vessel contexts. Basket ear-rings comparable to the pair discovered at barrow LVIII were found in the Early Bronze Age hoard at Migdale, Sutherland [1], implying a date for the grave perfectly consistent with that generally accepted for Food Vessels on the Wolds. Nothing was found to suggest that the more elaborate graves were either earlier or later than the simpler ones, nor is there anything incompatible with an attribution of the entire series to the Food Vessel phase.

Distributionally (Fig. 1) the barrows containing these graves are found throughout the Wolds from Bempton (just off the Wolds) and Folkton in the extreme north, to Bishop Burton in the south, but show a strong tendency to cluster in certain areas, notable concentrations existing at Goodmanham (eleven), Bishop Burton (four), and Cowlam (three). There is also a fairly marked tendency for graves of closely similar types to occur in the same clusters, good examples being the wood-lined grave pits at Bishop Burton CCLVII and CCLVIII and the large series of 'platform' burials in the Goodmanham group.

¹ The presence of this material might imply secondary disturbance of some sort, which could also account for the confused state of the skeleton on the floor.

² At two additional sites (Aldro C59 and Painsthorpe Wold 4) multiple burials were contained in (or surrounded by) apparently free-standing wooden boxes or enclosures of some sort. Space **does** not allow a fuller consideration of these here.

Possibly of some significance is the strong imbalance in the sex ratio of the burials from these graves. In the sixteen cases where sexing the skeletons was attempted, fifteen are described as male and only one as definitely female. At two other sites the skeletons were identified as 'probably' female, in both cases, one suspects, on other than strictly anatomical grounds. One of these was the disturbed adult skeleton at Rudston LXVII where Greenwell interpreted the burial deposit as a whole as the remains of a mother and her child. At the other site, Cowlam LVIII, the identification of the burial as 'probably female' was explicitly based on its association with bronze ear-rings, equipment considered by Greenwell to be obviously female in character.

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SOME DECORATED SOCKETED AXES IN CANON GREENWELL'S COLLECTION

By C. B. BURGESS

Canon Greenwell's large collection of Bronze Age metalwork, now in the British Museum, includes three socketed axes from Yorkshire decorated with rib, pellet and roundel ornament (Figs. 1a, b, c). These belong to a type which is widely distributed in the British Isles (Fig. 2), but which has never been described in detail. Their form and decoration have to be considered separately, as the two do not always go together. Axes of this form are sometimes plain, or have simple rib ornament, while rib, pellet and roundel decoration occurs on many types of socketed axes, in the British Isles and on the Continent.

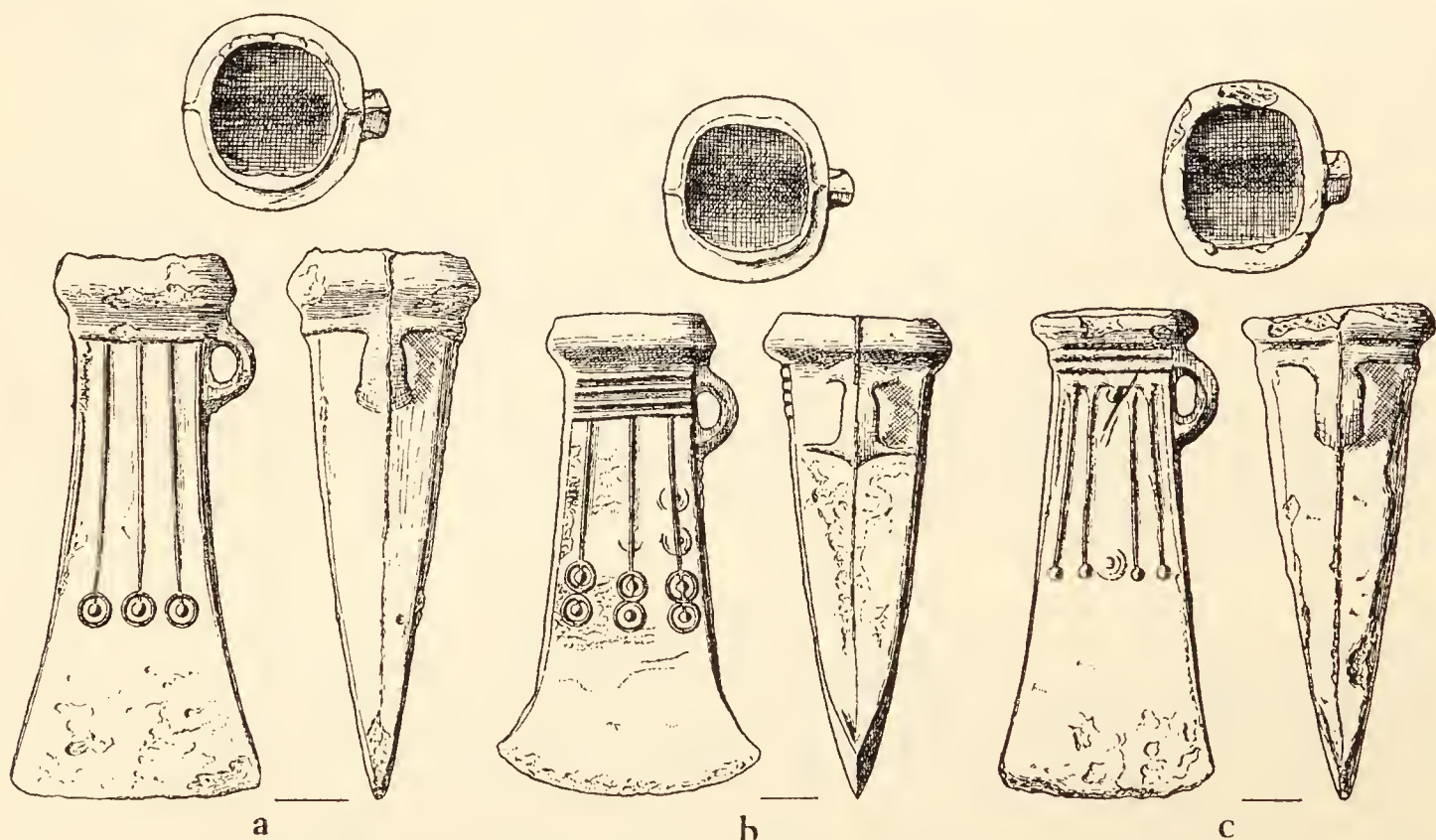


FIG. 1. Decorated socketed axes from the North Riding of Yorkshire: a. Seamer Carr; b. Cayton Carr; c. Broughton, near Malton. ($\frac{1}{3}$).

Form

The distinctive form represented by these Yorkshire axes is by far the largest and heaviest in the Irish/British socketed axe series [1]. Even the few comparatively small examples have a massive appearance. The body of the axe is roughly rectangular in section, broad above the blade and narrowing towards the top. The sides tend to be

fairly straight, diverging to an unexpanded, or moderately expanded, blade which is often straight-edged. The collar is heavy and pronounced, generally biconical in profile. Loops tend to be quite small but broad, and often have a distinctive 'spurred' base which is peculiar to this socketed axe form (Fig. 1b). The socket is sometimes square, but is more often sub-rectangular and disposed in a distinctive 'back-to-front' plan, with the long axis at right angles to the cutting edge, instead of parallel to it in normal socketed axe fashion. This results from the axe being relatively narrow of face and broad at the sides. We can call this form of socketed axe after the hoard from Sompting, Sussex [2], in which plain, simple ribbed and decorated versions are all well represented.

Decoration

The rib, pellet and roundel ornament occurs in a wide variety of permutations. The simplest patterns consist of vertical ribs, each terminating in a single pellet or roundel, but variations on these basic arrangements are common, such as multiple terminal pellets or roundels, the replacement of each single rib with a group of two, three or even more, the mixing of pellets and roundels, and the joining up of the vertical ribs with short diagonals. A second main group consists of complex patterns, with various arrangements of diagonal ribs and roundels, or, more rarely, pellets. The map (Fig. 2) plots the distribution of nearly 150 decorated socketed axes of rectangular section from the British Isles which are of Sompting or related form. These exhibit no less than sixty different decorative schemes, although these are all variants on perhaps half a dozen basic patterns. Undoubtedly the number of variations would increase even more if one included other types of socketed axe which bear this ornament.

The three decorated socketed axes from Yorkshire are typical of the Sompting form:—

Axe 1 (Fig. 1a): British Museum WG 1994, from Seamer Carr, North Riding of Yorkshire. Below a typical heavy collar there is a single, horizontal moulding from which depend three long, vertical ribs, each terminating in a single roundel. The edges of the faces are also slightly raised. The blade is unexpanded, and the straight cutting edge rather battered. Vestiges of the casting seams remain on the sides. The surfaces are rather worn and uneven, various shades of light and dark brown in colour. The blade on one face (that illustrated) is considerably pitted, with a few bright green spots showing, but the other is much smoother, and a more uniform buff-brown. Its length is 5 ins. (128 mm.), and it measures 2.3 ins. (58 mm.) across the cutting edge.

Axe 2 (Fig. 1b): British Museum WG 1997, from Cayton Carr, near Scarborough, North Riding of Yorkshire [3]. Below the heavy collar there are four horizontal mouldings, which do not extend on to the sides. From the lowest moulding depend three vertical ribs, each ending in two roundels placed one above the other. Two of the ribs on one face overlie 'ghost' roundels, much fainter than the rest of the ornament. The loop is 'spurred'. Vestiges of the casting seams remain. Patches of a worn, dark brown patina survive, but much of the axe is a mottle of various shades of dirty green, with a few gold patches where the surface has been rubbed. Length 4.4 ins. (113 mm.), width across the cutting edge 2.4 ins. (61 mm.).

Axe 3 (Fig. 1c): British Museum WG 1998, from Broughton, near Malton, North Riding of Yorkshire. The once-heavy collar has been considerably worn down. Below it are three horizontal mouldings, only the uppermost extending on to the sides. From the lowest depend four vertical ribs, arranged in two pairs, with a broad central gap between them. Each rib ends in a single pellet, but there is also a single pellet at the top of the central space just below the lowest moulding, and, at its bottom, a single roundel much fainter than the rest of the decoration. The edges of the faces are slightly raised. The straight-edge blade is unexpanded and rather battered. Remains of the casting seams are quite pronounced. Generally there is a good, but worn, very dark brown patina, but one face (not illustrated) is much more worn than the other. Patches of dull, dirty green show in some places. Length 4.5 ins. (115 mm.), width across the cutting edge 2 ins. (50 mm.).

The ghost roundels on Axe 2, and possibly that on Axe 3, suggest the use of a mould or pattern where a scheme of decoration has been altered, added to or replaced by

another. This might reflect either a change of plan on the part of the smith, or a failure to remove all traces of an earlier pattern.

AFFINITIES AND BACKGROUND

Decoration

This type of decoration occurs on other, generally local, socketed axe forms in the British Isles and on the Continent. In Britain, apart from the Sompting form, it is commonly found on a group of faceted axes with shortened, often concave, facets. Examples in the Sompting hoard itself [4] suggest at least partial contemporaneity with the Sompting form. When such decoration occurs in Ireland, it is generally in conjunction with the 'baggy' form of socketed axe [5] which was so overwhelmingly dominant in Eogan's Dowris phase of the Irish Late Bronze Age [6]. It also occurs in northern [7] and central Germany [8] on socketed axes of MV, almost invariably of local forms. In Brittany it occurs on some forms of the 'Armorican' ('Breton') socketed axes [9] which overlap with the Carp's tongue complex, but which seem in the main to belong to a phase contemporary with Hallstatt C and D [10].

Form

The Sompting form proper seems distinct from the 'south-eastern' form of socketed axe [11] which was characteristic of the Carp's tongue complex in England and in Europe [12]. There are many differences in shape as well as average size, notably between the roughly parallel sides of the 'south-eastern' implements and the diverging sides of the Sompting group. On the other hand, in view of the overwhelming south-eastern bias of the distribution of Sompting axes (Fig. 2), it would seem strange if the 'south-eastern' form had not played some part in their development. In fact some of the decorated axes plotted on the map (Fig. 2) are basically large, decorated 'south-eastern' axes, notably a few of those in the Carp's tongue hoards, such as that from Reach Fen, Cambs. [13].

However, such Sompting characteristics as the mouth plan, the heavy collar of bi-conical profile, the straight sides diverging towards the blade, and the tendency towards straight-edged, unexpanded blades, all point to a non-'south-eastern' contribution. The only other type of socketed axe which combines all these features, although in a much more extreme way, would seem to be the Armorican form. Particularly important is the pronounced 'back-to-front' mouth plan of this group, a rare arrangement which we have seen is frequently found on Sompting axes. The present writer has drawn attention to this possible connection with Armorican axes elsewhere [14], particularly in the case of markedly straight Sompting axes. The distribution patterns of Sompting and Armorican axes in Britain [15] are not entirely concordant, but overlap sufficiently to allow such a possibility. The origins of the Sompting form are clearly complex and a fuller survey will no doubt reveal variations within it, perhaps on a regional basis. One can clearly distinguish, for example, between the three Yorkshire implements described in this note and the very extreme form of some of the axes in the Sompting hoard itself, or, again, those 'south-eastern'-inspired, parallel-sided examples with expanded blades, such as the Reach Fen axe and, more typically massive, that in the Feltwell Fen, Norfolk, hoard [16].

Chronology

The chronology of this decoration in Brittany rests upon the date of the Armorican axes, which seems to be the end of the Late Bronze Age, possibly starting in the seventh century on carp's tongue evidence, but belonging mainly to the sixth, and perhaps even fifth centuries [17]. The rare dated north German decorated axes are MV, which must overlap in part with Ha. C [18], and a seventh century date seems likely. In Ireland, Eogan has suggested that the baggy axes with this ornament belong to the latter part of the Dowris phase, in the period of Ha. C arrivals [19]. In Britain there are examples in carp's tongue hoards, but these tend to show strong 'south-eastern' influence. Here, as in France, carp's tongue chronology is very uncertain, and anywhere between the eighth and sixth centuries is possible. However, the present writer has suggested elsewhere that the great mass of British carp's tongue hoards may have been deposited during the period of Ha. C influence [20]. It may well be significant that the socketed axes in the three

Anglo-Welsh hoards which combine indigenous and Hallstatt material, from Sompting, Cardiff and Llynfawr [21], are almost all of the Sompting form, mostly decorated.

Scarcely any of these Sompting axes reached the Continent. Two axes in the MV hoard from Bergen, Rügen [22], one decorated, the other ribbed, could be such exports, the latter closely resembling in form our axe (no. a) from Seamer Carr. There are rare examples in France, notably one with five ribs and pellets in the carp's tongue Challans hoard, Vendée, a find remarkable for its content of British material [23].

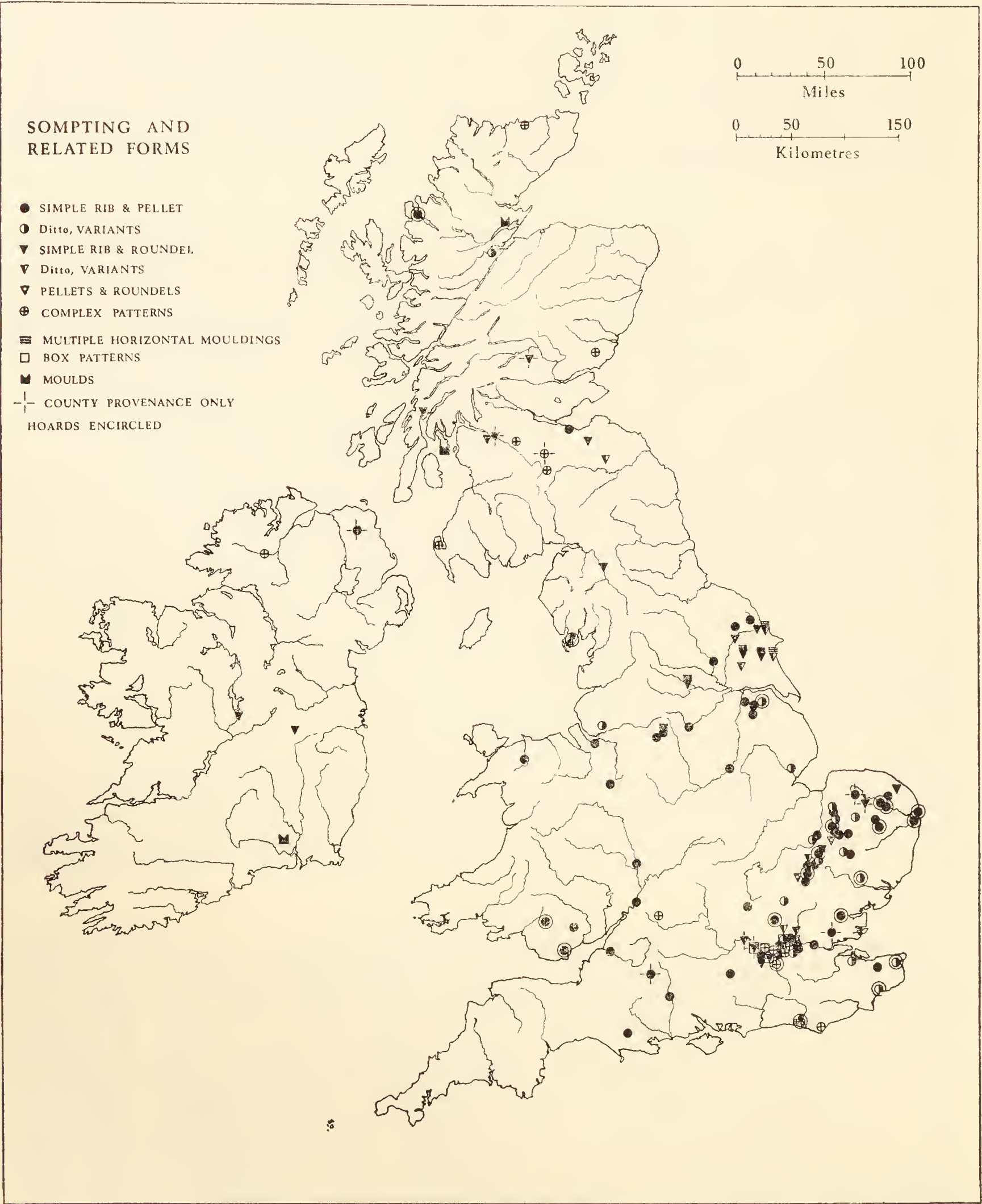


FIG. 2. Distribution of Decorated Socketed Axes.

The likely date for the Sompting form, and rib and pellet/roundel decoration, would thus seem to be the seventh–sixth centuries. It would clearly be advantageous if their date could be determined certainly and precisely enough to permit their being used as a clue to the chronological sub-division of the vast mass of British Late Bronze Age material which at present can be dated no more closely than to the eighth–sixth centuries.

Distribution

The map (Fig. 2) shows that the vast bulk of decorated axes of the Sompting group has come from the south-east, particularly the London area, and Cambridgeshire and Norfolk. There is a familiar linear concentration orientated north-eastwards along the Chiltern and East Anglian chalk. Outside the south-east there is a concentration in north Lincolnshire and east Yorkshire, but much of northern and western Britain is devoid of finds. There are scatterings in the Scottish lowlands and around the Welsh massif. The paucity of Irish finds might seem surprising until one reflects on the general scarcity of British Bronze Age axe forms in Ireland, and the use of rib and pellet/roundel ornament on ‘baggy’ axes there.

Even on a generalised map of this sort, regional ornament types emerge. Multiple horizontal mouldings are confined to Yorkshire, apart from a specimen from Brough by Castleton, Derbys. [24], only just across the present Yorkshire boundary. Similarly, axes with a raised box-shaped pattern above the normal decoration are confined to the London area. There are more generalised regional trends, such as the prevalence of complex decoration in the north-west and Scotland, and also in the London area, the total dominance of simple rib and pellet ornament in Wales and the west, and the scarcity of complex patterns in the great eastern concentration, where simple and variant rib and pellet decoration predominates. Clearly a more detailed study of these axes would bring to light many such sub-groups based both on form and ornament, but that is beyond the scope of these present notes.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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3. Greenwell, *British Barrows* (1877), 48, Fig. 43.
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8. Sprockhoff, E., *Jungbronzezeitliche Hortfunde der Südzone des Nordischen Kreises (Periode V)* (1956), 95–6.
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11. Butler, *Palaeohistoria*, viii (1960), 113, 122; and *Palaeohistoria*, ix (1963), 82–4.
12. Burgess (1968), *op. cit.* (1), 39.
13. *Inv. Arch.*, GB. 17, 3rd set (1956), no. 7.
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16. *Inv. Arch.*, GB. 35, 6th set (1958), no. 2; note that this hoard also includes a more typical Sompting axe, no. 4, with grooved faces.
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BRONZE AGE POTTERY FROM PULE HILL, MARSDEN, W.R. YORKSHIRE AND FOOTED VESSELS OF THE EARLY BRONZE AGE FROM ENGLAND

By T. G. MANBY

Pule Hill, $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles south-west of the town of Marsden, is a commanding hill overlooking the bleak peat-covered moors of the Southern Pennines. From the west and south Pule Hill appears as a steep-sided conical hill that slopes more gently away to the north-east, and the top is capped by the Pule Hill Grit, a rock belonging to the Millstone Grit Series. The summit (Nat. Grid ref. SE.032/104) attains an altitude of 1,400 ft. O.D., and is some 200 ft. above the level of the surrounding moorland. The bleak and exposed summit of Pule Hill was occupied during the Mesolithic Period and the erosion of the blanket peat still reveals microliths and flint flakes contained in the mineral soil underlaying the peat cover. Flint collectors were attracted to this site in the late nineteenth century and two Marsden men, Firth Fell and George Marsden, started to dig on Pule Hill in 1896 following the finding of an arrowhead by James Carter. These excavations produced two inhumation burials and five pottery vessels but the reports are somewhat fragmentary. Brierley, basing his comments on newspaper accounts, records an 'urn' was found on 25 August beneath a flagstone, and the fragments were taken home by Firth Fell. Marsden, on 31 August, found a similar 'urn' complete, but it was broken at home by Mrs. Marsden. Both vessels contained human bones. Two very decayed skeletons were also found [1]. In a report to the Society of Antiquaries Lt.-Col. Henry Fishwick supplies some further details; the skeletons were lying on their sides, aligned east-west and their knees were drawn up. They were 12-18 ins. below the surface and near them the two 'urns' were found. The vessels were $4\frac{3}{4}$ ins. high, 5 ins. across the top, 6 ins. greatest diameter and 3 ins. across the base, one had lugs and both contained animal matter and a few calcined human bones. Two further 'urns' were found later at the same place; one was $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. high and 7 ins. diameter with feet and contained only sand. Fragments of a fourth 'urn' are mentioned as being found at the same spot [2].

In 1899 a committee of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society re-excavated the site and completely stripped the burial area down to solid rock [3]. Three rock-cut cavities were found that had contained the burials. No plan of these was published and only the photograph and dimensions of one pit were reported. This was an oval pit $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. deep, 3 ft. long and 2 ft. wide. Cremated bones and charcoal were found in each pit and the original excavators reported that the vessels had been laid on their sides and the cremated bones extended into them. Also one vessel contained a tanged-and-barbed flint arrowhead. Brierley records that the first 'urn' found was in the possession of the Fell family in 1910 and four vessels were in the possession of George Marsden and he illustrates these [4]. Wrigley records fewer details of this find but illustrates the four vessels belonging to Marsden [5]. These vessels are a footed bowl, two Food Vessels and a Pygmy Cup, they were donated to the Tolson Memorial Museum, Huddersfield, by the Marsden family [6] along with three boxes of cremated bones found with them. The first vessel to be found and retained by the Fell family cannot now be traced.

From these accounts it appears that on the summit of Pule Hill a Bronze Age burial group of two crouched inhumations, at least two cremations with pottery vessels and two further pots were found in 1896 and some, if not all of these finds were in the three pits re-excavated in 1899. The dimensions and descriptions supplied by Fishwick indicate both the cremation burials were accompanied by Food Vessels.

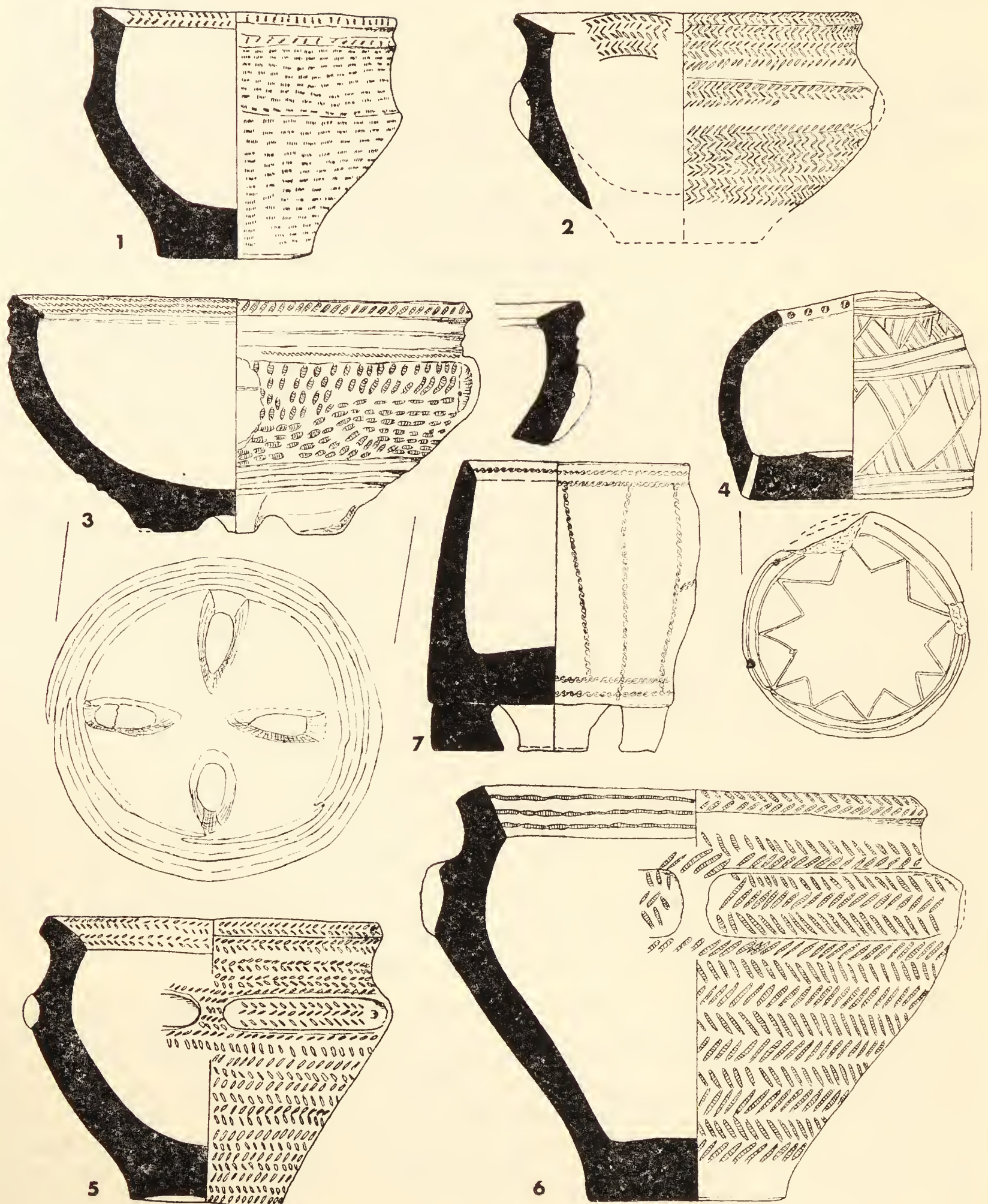


FIG. 1. Bronze Age Pottery from Pule Hill, Marsden 1-4; Ferry Fryston 5; Halifax 6; Pickering 7. ($\frac{1}{3}$, except 7, $\frac{2}{3}$).

POTTERY PRESERVED AT THE TOLSON MEMORIAL MUSEUM (FIG. 1).

1. Food Vessel, base missing, over $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. high, 5.2 to 5.5 ins. diameter rim. Smooth grey-buff to brown fabric, incised herring-bone decoration all over the exterior and on the rim bevel. A pair of opposed lugs, perforated, only one remains. This vessel belongs to Abercromby's type 1a and to type 1a(ii) of the present writer's modification of Abercromby's scheme [7]. Tolson Memorial Museum No. A.15.58. The dimensions and condition of this vessel indicate it was the 'urn' found by Marsden on 31 August 1896.

2. Food Vessel, complete, $3\frac{3}{4}$ ins. high, $4\frac{5}{8}$ ins. diameter rim and $2\frac{3}{8}$ ins. diameter base. Gritty buff fabric with reddish tones. Decorated all over the exterior with cord maggot impressions arranged in horizontal lines on the neck and body; vertical lines on the exterior of the rim and on the ridge below; arranged in a herring-bone pattern on the rim bevel. Type 2(iv). Museum No. A.14.58.
3. Footed Bowl, 3.6 ins. high and $6\frac{7}{8}$ ins. diameter rim. Hard buff fabric with reddish and grey tones. Three shallow grooves below the rim and three more above the feet, in between is a zone of decoration made by cord maggot impressions arranged in vertical and horizontal rows. Cord maggot decoration on the exterior of the rim arranged diagonally. Cord line impressions on the rim bevel and a single line on the shoulder. The base is rounded with four applied, oval, feet; on the body were two oval, perforated lugs, $4\frac{3}{4}$ ins. apart, only one remains. Museum No. A.13.58.
4. Pygmy Cup, 3.2 ins. high, 2.2 ins. diameter rim, $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. diameter base, the exterior has scaled off in places. Hard reddish to grey fabric. A pair of perforations through the base angle, $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins. apart and a circular ridge on the interior of the base. Decorated on the base and exterior with incised lines forming a star pattern and hatched triangles. The interior of the rim has impressions made with a notched stick or bone. Museum No. A.16.58.

Discussion

The Pule Hill burials appear to have been a flat cemetery although it is possible that any small covering mound of stones or earth could have been eroded away as the ground falls away very steeply on two sides. The geographical situation of these burials is an interesting one, at this point the main watershed ridge is only 2 miles wide and 1,500 ft. high and this is the narrowest point of the whole Pennine Range. To the south the high moorlands of Black Hill, Blakelow and Edale Moor, and the deep complicated valley system of the Derbyshire Derwent, separates Pule Hill from the Food Vessel concentration in the Peak District. Further discussion will show the affinates of the Pule Hill vessels lie to the east rather than southwards. In the early Bronze Age the moors around Marsden, and the gritstone hills of the Southern Pennines generally, were covered by a blanket of peat that had started to form at the opening of climatic Zone VIIa or the Atlantic Period on flat hill tops over 1,200 ft. O.D. This peat growth continued in the succeeding Zone VIIb, which embraces the Bronze Age but was locally of no great thickness [8]. This peat growth would have rendered the higher moors of the Southern Pennines unsuitable for contemporary agricultural settlement. The sparse distribution of such recognisable flint types as tanged-and-barbed arrowheads and the occasional plano-convex flint knives suggest the moors over 1,200 ft. were used as a hunting ground.

Two other Food Vessels have been found in the Southern Pennines of Yorkshire, both from findspots near the River Calder-Aire. A complete vessel of Type 1a(ii) was found near Halifax last century but no further details are known (Fig. 1.6); the second vessel of the same type was found in a barrow at Ferry Fryston (Fig. 1.5) accompanying an inhumation and a cremation that Greenwell considered to be contemporary burials (Appendix I). Both vessels have the usual number of four lugs and are decorated with a herring-bone pattern all over the exterior. On the Halifax vessel this was executed with cord maggot; the Ferry Fryston has incised decoration and as this extends on to the rim bevel, this pot has the closer affinates with Pule Hill No. 1. Numerous parallels can be cited from amongst the Food Vessels of East Yorkshire [9] where vessels of Type 1a are numerous. The second Food Vessel from Pule Hill belongs to Type 2(iv), this is typologically the last stage of development of this type, where the ridge separating the pair of grooves had moved upwards until it appears to be the lower edge of a deep rim. Type 2(iv) vessels have not been found in the Peak District or Lincolnshire, on the Yorkshire Wolds they have been found at Aldro [10], Blanch Barrow 238 [11] and Rudston Wold Barrow LXII [12]. They have also been found on the Cleveland Coast at Lythe [13] and at Brotton where vessels of Type 2(iv) and 3(v) accompanied the same cremation burial [14].

The Pule Hill footed bowl belongs to a small group of vessels whose distribution is concentrated in East Yorkshire with outliers in Northumberland, Lincolnshire, Berkshire and Dorset (Fig. 2). These footed vessels, sometimes referred to as polypod bowls, can be divided by shape into two classes:—

Class 1. Simple round-bodied bowls;

Class 2. Bowls of Food Vessel profile with grooves and bevelled rim.

These two classes can be sub-divided:— A. vessels with four, individual, feet; and B. with the four feet united to form a composite cross-shaped foot. These footed bowls are

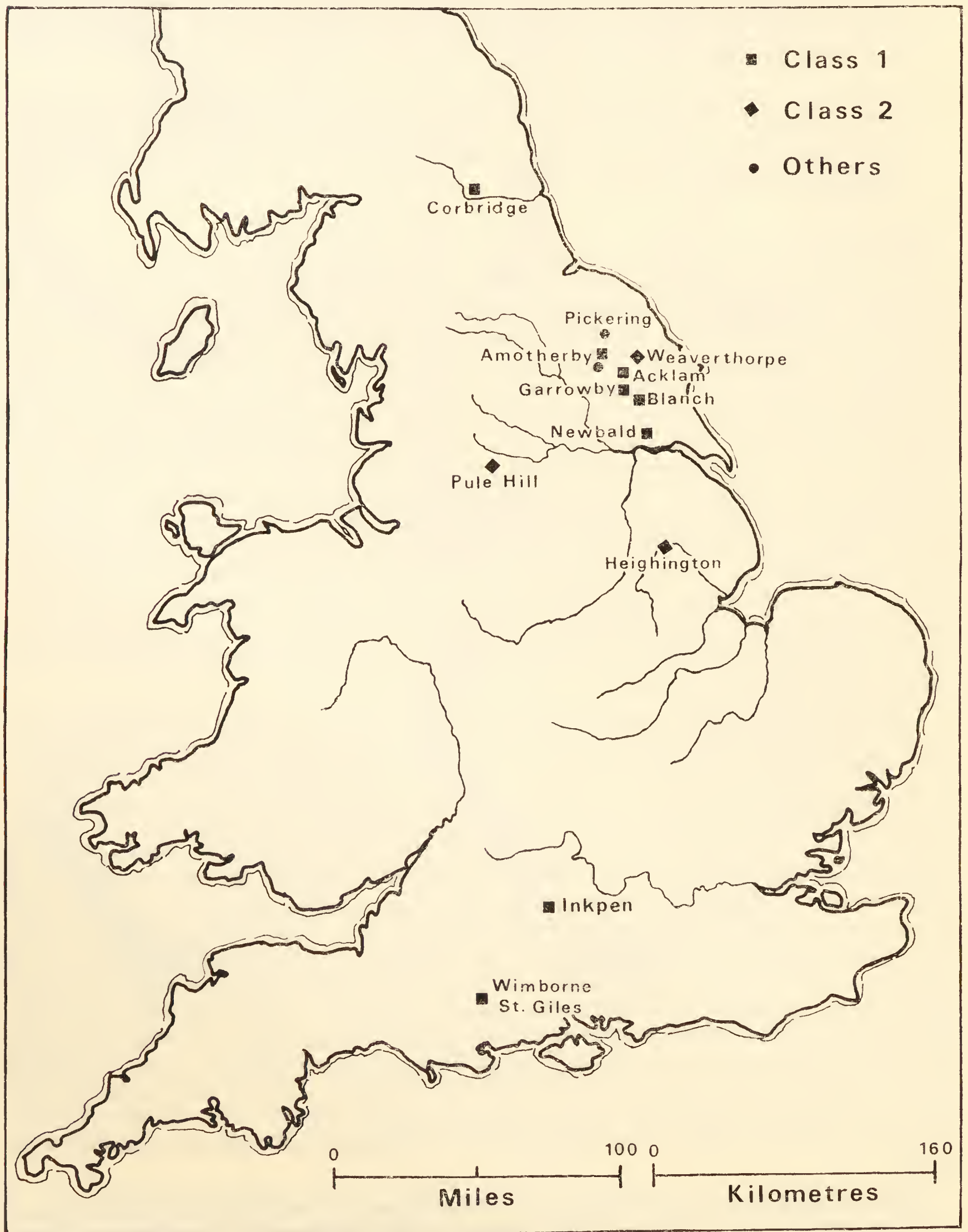


FIG. 2. Bronze Age Pottery from Pule Hill. Distribution of Footed Bowls.
Class 2 bowls from Essendine and Market Overton, Rutland, omitted.

described in Appendix II and their classification may be summarised as follows (the number in brackets after each location refers to the Appendix):—

Class 1A. Amotherby (7), Acklam (2) (Fig. 3.1), Garrowby (4), Inkpen (13) and Wimborne St. Giles (14).

Class 1B. Blanch (3) (Fig. 3.3), Corbridge (1) (Fig. 3.6), and North Newbald (5) (Fig. 3.5).

Class 2A. Pule Hill (10) (Fig. 1.3), Weaverthorpe (6) (Fig. 3.2) and Essendine (12).

Class 2B. Heighington (11) (Fig. 3.4).

In each class there is no reason to regard the B-form as anything other than a typological development of the A-form. Links between the sub-classes are to be seen in the D-sectioned handles of the Blanch and Wimborne St. Giles vessels and the perforated lugs of the Pule Hill and North Newbald vessels. Further connections are the perforations through the feet of the bowls from Acklam, Corbridge, Essendine, Heighington and North Newbald; and the rim bevels of these and the Corbridge, Blanch, Amotherby and Pule vessels. Cord impressed decoration predominates, only the Inkpen, Heighington and Wimborne St. Giles bowls are without it, the former has incised lines and the latter two have grooves.

The circumstances of discovery of the Amotherby, Corbridge, Essendine and Heighington vessels are unknown; the North Newbald and Inkpen bowls were found during sandpit excavations and no burials were noticed although inhumation burials may have dissolved in such soil conditions; the same may be said for the Pule Hill footed bowl. The Inkpen bowl was found with a Bell-beaker standing inside it. The Acklam, Blanch, Garrowby, Weaverthorpe and Wimborne bowls accompanied crouched inhumation burials under round barrows. A plano-convex flint knife accompanied the Acklam burial and the Wimborne burial was further accompanied by a bronze dagger and a shale bead; unfortunately both are now lost. This was a secondary burial in a bell barrow indicating the footed bowl was either contemporary with the Wessex culture or later. The Garrowby footed bowl was contemporary with two other inhumations accompanied by Food Vessels. The shape of the Class 2 bowls shows beyond doubt they are an integral part of the Food Vessel cultural complex; the D-sectioned handles, perforated lugs and feet, internal rim bevels and cord decoration of most of the Class 1 footed bowls show these too are part of the same complex. The footed vessels are part of a small number of exotic forms of Food Vessel that are largely confined in distribution to Yorkshire and Lincolnshire and include vessels with handles, lids and bosses [15].

The Inkpen bowl, with its beaker association, must stand apart from the other footed vessels with obvious Food Vessel cultural connections. For the origin of the English footed bowls Leeds looked to the continental footed vessels found in Bell Beaker and Corded Ware associations in Germany [16]. All the German footed bowls have four or more individual feet, the composite foot of the English sub-class B is unknown, the majority are undecorated and have plain rims, lugs with horizontal or vertical perforations occur on some vessels [17]. In addition to the pottery footed bowls examples carved in lime wood were found in a Corded Ware grave at Stadten, Thuringia, accompanied by a flint axe and its wooded haft [18]. Footed bowls are also a feature of the related Single Grave Culture of Denmark [19] and a footed bowl from Dostrop, with six perforated lugs and herring-bone decoration on the body, is the only continental example resembling our Class 2. The distribution of footed bowls is continued westwards into the Netherlands in a Bell Beaker context [20]. However, bowls with feet were in use in Germany and Holland long before the advent of the Bell Beaker. Simple rounded bowls with four to twelve feet occur in the Tiefstichkeramik of the Middle Neolithic Funnel Beaker Culture of these countries [21]. This type of bowl is also represented amongst the earlier Danubian and Rossen assemblages of Southern and Central Germany [22].

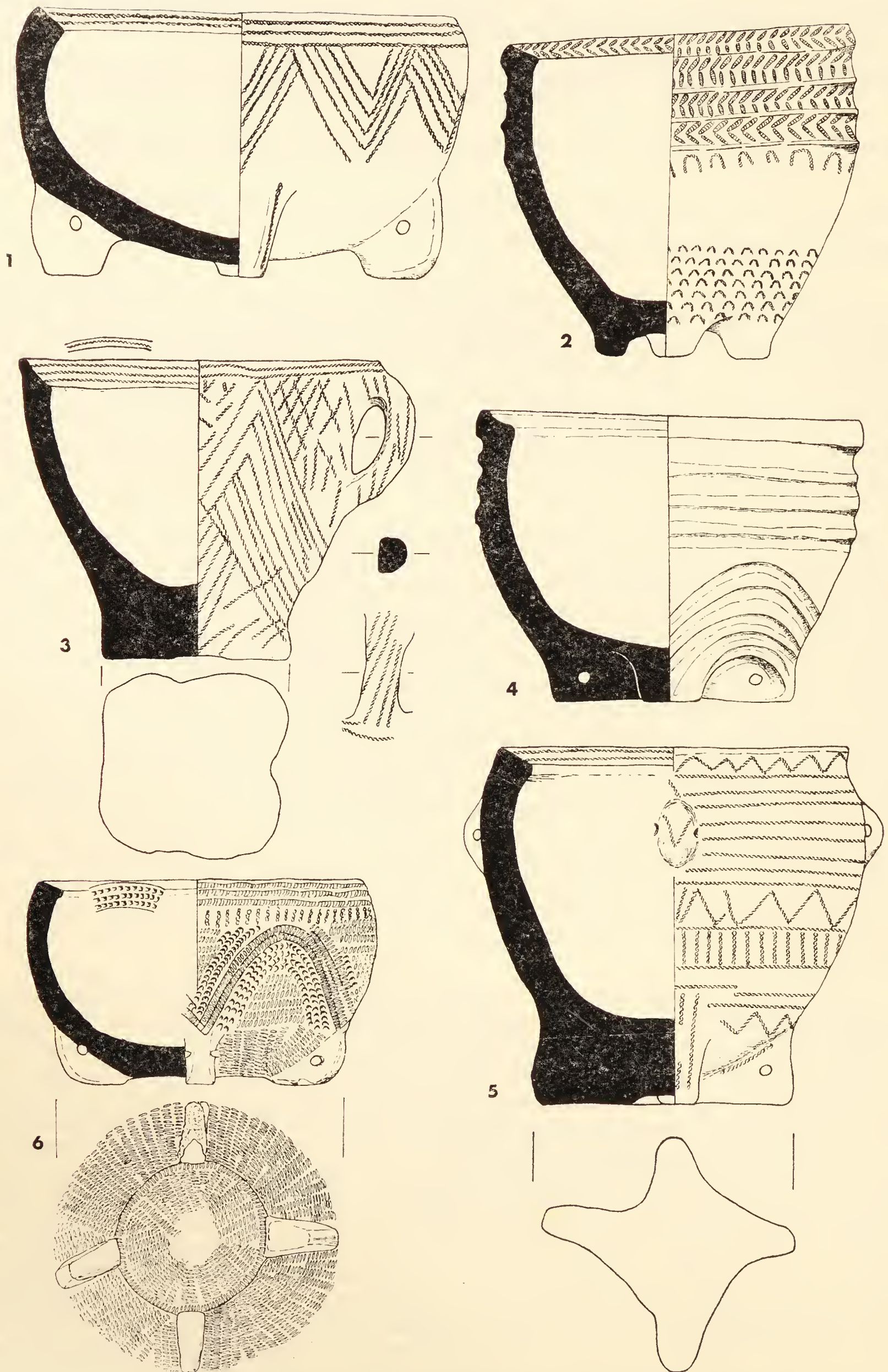


FIG. 3. Acklam 1; Weaverthorpe 2; Blanch 3; Heighington 4; Newbald 5; Corbridge 6. ($\frac{1}{3}$).

The Inkpen bowl was found with a Beaker of Clarke's 'Wessex/Middle Rhine Beaker Group' and it can be regarded as a westerly extension of the continental footed bowls in Bell Beaker associations [23]. The distinction between this and other English footed bowls can also be seen in the fabric, shape and decoration of the Inkpen bowl. In view of the dating evidence for Food Vessels, placing them in the Early Bronze Age, *c.* 1400 B.C. (see page 279 below), the Inkpen bowl must have been three or four centuries earlier than the other English footed bowls as the Wessex/Middle Rhine Beaker Group arrive in the British Isles around 1800–1750 B.C. This would suggest the main series of English footed bowls could not have been directly inspired by the Bell Beaker bowls. Unless it could be shown that the form continued to be made in non-ceramic material in the intervening centuries, a separate source must be sought for the main series of footed vessels. The radial arrangement of decoration on the base of the Corbridge bowl (Fig. 3.6) is very suggestive of basketry and indicates a possible alternative material. A possible line of development is suggested by the perforation of the feet, these may have originated as lugs on the body of globular vessels, like vessels from Acklam [24], and the lugs were moved down the body in Class 1 and linked together on the base in Class 2. On some of the Corded Ware bowls from Saxony the lugs evolved downwards in this manner to ultimately link a pair of feet together [25].

Only one other footed vessel is known to the writer and this belongs to neither of the above classes. This is a small cylindrical vessel with four small feet, found somewhere near Pickering (Appendix II, No. 9) (Fig. 1.7). Without feet the size of this vessel would permit it to be assigned to the pygmy cup class; decoration consists of a casual pattern of cord impressions.

The Pule Hill pygmy cup is larger than usual for vessels of this class, it belongs to the contracted-mouth type of accessory vessel recently distinguished by Longworth [26]. This group of cups is concentrated in north-east Yorkshire and the Central Pennines with outliers coming from East Anglia, Scotland and Ireland. A contracted-mouth cup found at Betchton, Cheshire, has an incised star on the base similar to the Pule Hill cup [27]. The raised ring inside the bottom of the Pule Hill cup can be paralleled on two cups of the contracted-mouth class from Slingsby in the North Riding [28]. The hatched triangle motif is widespread on cups of this particular class and it occurs on many collared urns. The scheme of decoration on the Pule Hill cup has its closest parallel on a cup from Throwley, Staffordshire, which has the profile of a miniature type 3(iii) Food Vessel [29].

The Pule Hill pottery assemblage would belong, in terms of conventional classification, to the Early and Middle Bronze Ages. The Food Vessel series, on available evidence, belongs to the Early to early Middle Bronze Age [30]. The only radiocarbon dating available for Food Vessels was obtained for Types 1a(ii) and 2(ii) in a cairn on Harland Edge, North Derbyshire [31]. The date of (BM-178) 1490 ± 150 B.C. suggests Food Vessels of the Pule Hill, Ferry Fryston and Halifax types were contemporary with the Wessex II Bronze Age of Southern England (1550/1500–1400 B.C.). The contracted-mouth type of pygmy cup, like Pule Hill No. 4, has been assigned by Longworth to a date either side of 1400 B.C. A cup of this class type accompanied an urned cremation with an ogival bronze dagger of ApSimon's Class II at Loose Howe and another cup was associated with 'Pennine' Urns at Warley, Halifax, belonging to Longworth's Secondary Urn series [32].

Dating and typological considerations suggest the Pule Hill pottery assemblage may not have been buried at the same time, the earliest would have been the Type 1a(ii) Food Vessel (No. 1) and the Type 2(iv) vessel (No. 2) is typologically later. The last to be buried could have been the pygmy cup (No. 4); the whole assemblage ranging in date from *c.* 1500 to 1400/1300 B.C. As Food Vessels, Collared Urns and Pygmy Cups are no longer seen to be representative of successive phases, but broadly contemporary in date, these pottery types may be indicators of parallel communities with differing cultural traditions. Apart from the possibility of a chronological difference between the Pule Hill vessels there is also the divergency in their connections and likely origins of their makers. The Food Vessels from Pule Hill, with those from Halifax and Ferry Fryston, have close

connections with those of the Yorkshire Wolds where over 200 vessels have been found accompanying burials under round barrows, usually inhumation, only some 10% of vessels were with cremation deposits. On the Wolds Food Vessels are the most common type of Bronze Age Pottery, they are four times more numerous than the Urns and Pygmy Cups. The contracted-mouth variety of pygmy cup has not been found on the Yorkshire Wolds and it is to the moors of north-east Yorkshire we must look for parallels for the Pule Hill cup and others in the Pennines. In north-east Yorkshire the ratio of Food Vessels to Urns and Pygmy Cups is the reverse of the position on the Wolds and Urns are known in considerable numbers with predominant cremation associations. The Pennine area, with the Lake District to the north-west and the Peak District to the south, share a number of features in the Early-Middle Bronze Age that have recently been discussed by Bu'lock and isolated at a distinct Northwestern Culture [33]. These features include the burial circle or ring cairn, the 'Pennine' Urn [34] and certain types of Pygmy Cup especially the contracted-mouth variety. These features are shared with north-east Yorkshire and distinguish these areas from the Wold Province.

In this light we may look upon the Pule Hill assemblage as representative of the dual colonisation of the Pennines, the Food Vessels and the Footed Bowl representing a spread of people from the Yorkshire Wolds about 1500 B.C. However, the Pygmy Cup could belong to a later movement, about 1400 B.C., of the 'Pennine' Urn-Pygmy Cup using people burying their dead in an existing burial place. The relationship of these two communities, in matters of culture and economy, is still problematical.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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15. Mortimer, *op. cit.* Figs. 26, 105, 132, 183, 353, 448, 725, & 895; Greenwell, *op. cit.* (1877), 132; Two handled vessels from Caythorpe, Lincs. in the Grantham Museum; vessel from Great Chesterford, Camb. in the Saffron Walden Museum.
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24. Mortimer, *op. cit.* 87, Fig. 201.
25. Loewe, *op. cit.* Taf. 52.6, 86.7, and with a single perforated foot – Taf. 64.7.
26. Longworth, *British Museum Quarterly* xxxi, (1967), 111–22.
27. Varley & Jackson, *Prehistoric Cheshire* (1940), No. 13, Pl. iii.
28. Greenwell, *op. cit.* 353; British Museum 79.12–9.1280.
29. Bateman, *Ten Years Diggings . . .* (1861), 130; Sheffield Museum J93.878.
30. Manby, *op. cit.* 5–6; Simpson in *Studies in Ancient Europe* (1968), 202.
31. Riley, *Derbys. Arch. Soc. J.* lxxxvi, (1966), 29–53.
32. Longworth, *op. cit.* 114.
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APPENDIX I FOOD VESSELS

1. Ferry Fryston (Fig. 1.5).
British Museum 79.12–9.1346.
Published: Greenwell, *British Barrows* (1877) p. 373. Abercromby, *Bronze Age Pottery . . .* (1912) p. 104.
Site: Round barrow, accompanying a crouched inhumation and a cremation just above the natural surface.
Description: 4½ ins. high, 5 ins. diameter rim, 2¾ ins. diameter base. Hard grey-brown fabric. Incised herring-bone decoration. Four perforated lugs, two now remaining.
2. Halifax area (Fig. 1.6).
Tolson Memorial Museum, Huddersfield.
Published: Ling Roth, *The Yorkshire Coiners and Old and Prehistoric Halifax* (1906), Fig. 197.
Site: No details.
Description: 6½ ins. high, 6.4 ins. diameter rim, 3 ins. diameter base. Hard grey buff fabric with dark grey interior. Cord maggot impressions forming a herring-bone pattern on the exterior, horizontal lines on the rim bevel. Four unperforated lugs.

APPENDIX II FOOTED BOWLS

1. Corbridge, Northumberland. (Fig. 3.6).
Museum of Antiquities, Newcastle upon Tyne 1813.14.
Publication: Abercromby, *Bronze Age Pottery . . .* (1912), i. Fig. 223. Brewis & Buckley, *Arch. Ael.* 4th Ser. v, (1938), Pl. x.
Site: No information.
Description: Class 1B, 3½ ins. high, 5½ ins. diameter rim. Dark brown fabric, grey interior; decorated with cord maggot impressions arranged in horizontal rows and arcs, radial arrangement on the base. Internally bevelled rim. Four perforated feet, one damaged.
2. Blanch, Barrow 265, E.R. Yorkshire (Fig. 3.3).
Hull Museums. 545:42.
Publication: Mortimer, *Forty Years Researches . . .* (1900), p. 330, Fig. 990. Abercromby, *op. cit.* i, Fig. 224.
Site: A round barrow, vessel at the feet of a flexed skeleton, Burial 1, laid on a wooden floor in a central grave.
Description: Class 2B, 5 ins. high, 6 ins. diameter rim. Soft light brown fabric with reddish tones, black core. Cord line decoration all over the exterior in a casual pattern of hatched triangles and zig-zags. Horizontal cord impressed lines below the rim, inside and out. D-sectioned handle and internal rim bevel.
3. Acklam Wold, Barrow 208, E.R. Yorkshire. (Fig. 3.1).
Hull Museums. 421:42.
Publication: Mortimer, *op. cit.* p. 89, Fig. 205. Abercromby, *op. cit.* Fig. 222.
Site: Round barrow, bowl deposited behind the skull of a contracted inhumation burial in a central grave, accompanied by a plano-convex flint knife.
Description: Class 1A, 2.4 ins. high, 6¾ ins. dia. rim. Hard reddish-buff fabric. Horizontal cord line impressions inside and outside the rim, a zone vertically arranged herring-bone pattern below. Internal rim bevel and four feet each perforated.
4. Garrowby Wold, Barrow 101, E.R. Yorkshire.
Publication: Mortimer, *op. cit.*, p. 137.
Site: Round barrow, bowl in front of the face of a crouched inhumation also accompanied by a double-edged flint knife. This burial was in grave 'C', one of three contemporary chalk cut graves, the others had inhumation burials accompanied by Food Vessels of Types 1a(iv) and 3(v).
Description: 'Irreparably crushed food-vase, apparently of elegant form, which like the vase from Acklam Wold, had been provided with feet'.
5. North Newbald, E.R. Yorkshire. (Fig. 3.5).
Hull Museum. 515/42.
Publication: Sheppard, *N.W. Naturalist*, xiv, (1940), pp. 255–61, Fig. 1.
Site: Found in a sandpit with a Type 1a(ii) Food Vessel.

Description: Class 1B, $5\frac{3}{4}$ ins. high, $5\frac{3}{4}$ ins. diameter rim. Fairly hard brownish buff fabric with dark grey core. Decorated with cord line impressions; zig-zag lines below the rim, across the middle and above the base; a zone of horizontal lines above the middle zig-zag and a ladder pattern below it. Internal rim bevel decorated with horizontal cord line, four perforated lugs on the body and two of the lobes of the foot have partial perforations.

6. Weaverthorpe, E.R. Yorkshire. (Fig. 3.2).

British Museum 79.12-9.440.

Publication: Greenwell, *op. cit.*, p. 88, Fig. 74.

Site: Round barrow, bowl found at the kness of a crouched inhumation, 15 feet south of the barrow centre.

Description: Class 2A, $5\frac{1}{4}$ ins. high, $5\frac{3}{4}$ ins. diameter rim. Reddish brown surface, black core, surface scaled off in places. Cord impressed decoration, arranged in a herring-bone pattern on the rim, bevel and grooves; rows of cord impressed horse shoes on the body with a plain zone across the middle.

7. Amotherby, N.R. Yorkshire.

British Museum 79.12-9.1912.

Publication: Abercromby, *op. cit.* i, Fig. 223 bis. Manby, *Y.A.J.*, xxxix, (1958), p. 398, Fig. C.

Site: 'Found in a barrow'.

Description: Class 1A, $2\frac{5}{8}$ ins. high, $4\frac{3}{4}$ ins. diameter rim. Buff fabric with black core. Decorated with horizontal zones of cord line and cord maggot impressions on the body. Internal rim bevel and four feet, three now damaged.

8. Amotherby, N.R. Yorkshire.

Publication: Greenwell, *op. cit.*, p. 88 footnote. Mortimer, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

Description: Bowl with four feet reported in the possession of George Pycroft of Malton in the late nineteenth century, accidentally destroyed.

9. Pickering, N.R. Yorkshire. (Fig. 1.7).

Sheffield City Museum J93.892.

Publication: Bateman, *Ten Years Diggings . . .* (1861), p. 238. Abercromby, *op. cit.*, ii, Fig. 329.

Site: A barrow near Pickering, found November 1854.

10. Marsden, Pule Hill, W.R. Yorks. (Fig. 1.3).

(Present paper, page 275).

11. Heighington, Lincs. (Fig. 3.4).

Lincoln Museum 88.50(1).

Publication: *Arch. J.*, xxvi, (18), p. 288. Greenwell, *op. cit.*, Figs. 75-6. Phillips, *Arch. J.*, xc, (1933), p. 126, Pl. vii.

Site:

Description: Class 2B, 4.8 ins. high, $6\frac{1}{4}$ ins. diameter rim. Smooth gritty buff fabric, surface pitted in places. Decorated with four shallow grooves around the body and groups of arcs running from one foot to the next. Thick rim with internal bevel. Perforations through each lobe of the foot.

12. Essendine, Rutland.

Burghley House, Stamford.

Publication:

Site: Found 1868 during the making of the railway.

Description: Class 2A, $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins. high, 6 ins. diameter. Three grooves around the body below a shallow neck, three zones of vertical cord maggot impressions on the body. Internally bevelled rim with three cord impressed lines. (Information from F. T. Baker, Lincoln, and A. G. Whitby, Burghley House).

13. Inkpen, Berks.

Newbury Museum. OA.272.

Publication: Peake, *Ant. J.*, xvi, (1936), pp. 97-8.

Site: Found in a sand pit, a Bell Beaker standing inside this bowl.

Description: Class 1A, $5\frac{1}{4}$ ins. high, 9 ins. diameter rim. Hard reddish fabric with a burnished surface. A zone of five incised lines below the rim. Flat topped rim, four cylindrical feet, outbent and thickened at the bottom, one now missing.

14. Wimborne St. Giles, Barrow G.4., Dorset.

Devizes Museum. 1634.

Publication: Annabel & Simpson, *Catalogue of . . . Devizes Museum*, (1964), p. 60, Fig. 463.

Site: With a secondary inhumation in a Bell Barrow, accompanied by a bronze dagger and a shale bead.

Description: Class 1A, 3.6 ins. high, 4.8 ins. diameter rim. Hard reddish fabric. Decorated with a horizontal groove around the body. Flat-topped rim and D-sectioned handle.

15. Market Overton, Rutland.

Public Library and Museum, Stamford.

Publication:

Site: Found on 11th July 1922, no further details.

Description: Class 2A, $4\frac{1}{4}$ ins. high, $4\frac{1}{4}$ ins. diameter rim. Brown to dark grey fabric. Shallow groove below the rim with four vertical lugs, perforated. Horizontal cord impressed lines between the lugs and forming pendant herringbone patterns below on the body. Internally bevelled rim with horizontal cord line impressions. Four feet. (Information from L. Tebbutt, Stamford).

THE EXCAVATION OF A GROUP OF ROUND BARROWS ON AMPLEFORTH MOOR, YORKSHIRE

By G. J. WAINWRIGHT AND I. H. LONGWORTH

Introduction

Prior to April 1966 a group of nine round barrows existed on a plateau of Middle Calcareous Grits which was covered with heathland and the occasional tree and known as Ampleforth Moor. This stretch of moorland lies three miles south-west of Helmsley in the North Riding of Yorkshire and one mile to the north of Ampleforth village. The barrows were sited between the 750 ft. and 800 ft. contour to the east of the Double Dykes where they cut across Ampleforth Moor from north to south and lead into the valley running south to Ampleforth; and to the north and west of the enclosure known as Studfold Ring – from which earthwork the barrow group takes its name.¹ From the extreme north-west to the south-east members of the group is 1,350 ft. and from the north-east to the south-west members – 900 ft. Six of the barrows were clustered to the north of the Ring – the other three being to the north-west of it (Fig. 1).

In April 1966 the owner of the moorland commenced the breaking up of the ground for agricultural purposes and it was necessary to excavate the nine barrows of the group in advance of their destruction. This excavation was directed by Dr. Wainwright on behalf of the Ministry of Public Building and Works in August of that year and each barrow was totally excavated.² The areas between the barrows had been ploughed before the excavation commenced and a number of flints were recovered from the freshly turned soil. An account of the more important artefacts in this collection has been included in this report.

Description of the Barrows

General. Each barrow was of simple bowl type surrounded by a shallow ditch 2 ft. 6 ins. – 4 ft. deep which normally possessed a flat base. The mounds were quite small – ranging from 24 ft. to 32 ft. in diameter and are unlikely to have originally been more than 5 ft. high. The material composing the mounds was in each case a brown clayey soil containing some small stones which rested in certain instances on a well preserved old land surface which was represented by a stiff, yellow, stoneless clay. In three instances (Barrows 3, 5 and 7) the top of this old land surface produced small quantities of flints, pottery, a faience bead and a scrap of bronze. It seems clear that this material pre-dates the barrow mounds and almost certainly is not connected with any funerary rites.

No burials or associated grave-goods were found under any of the barrows as each had been robbed in the past, either by means of a central pit or, as in the case of Barrow 4, by means of a large trench which had been dug diametrically across the barrow. In Barrows 1–5 and 9 the robber pit had penetrated the sub-soil to a depth of at least 12 ins. and any shallow grave-pit would have been destroyed. However, any pit deeper than this would have been preserved and the fact that in the case of Barrow 7 the robbing pit stopped on the surface of the natural but that no grave-pit was found, suggests that in some cases at least any burial or offering had been placed on the surface of the soil beneath the barrow. In two instances (Barrows 6 and 8) a shallow pit with vertical sides was found at the bottom of the robbing pit. These pits could have held burials but their contents had been removed.

¹ Centred at SE.(92) 580800; 6 ins. sheet no. CV.N.W.

² During the excavation particular assistance was received from Mrs. S. J. Wainwright and Mr. J. P. Y. Clarke. The illustrations which accompany this paper are the work of Mrs. C. Boddington. Thanks are also due to the owner of the land, Mr. R. W. Pearson, for his permission to excavate, and to Mr. A. L. Pacitto for his notification of the impending destruction and subsequent assistance.

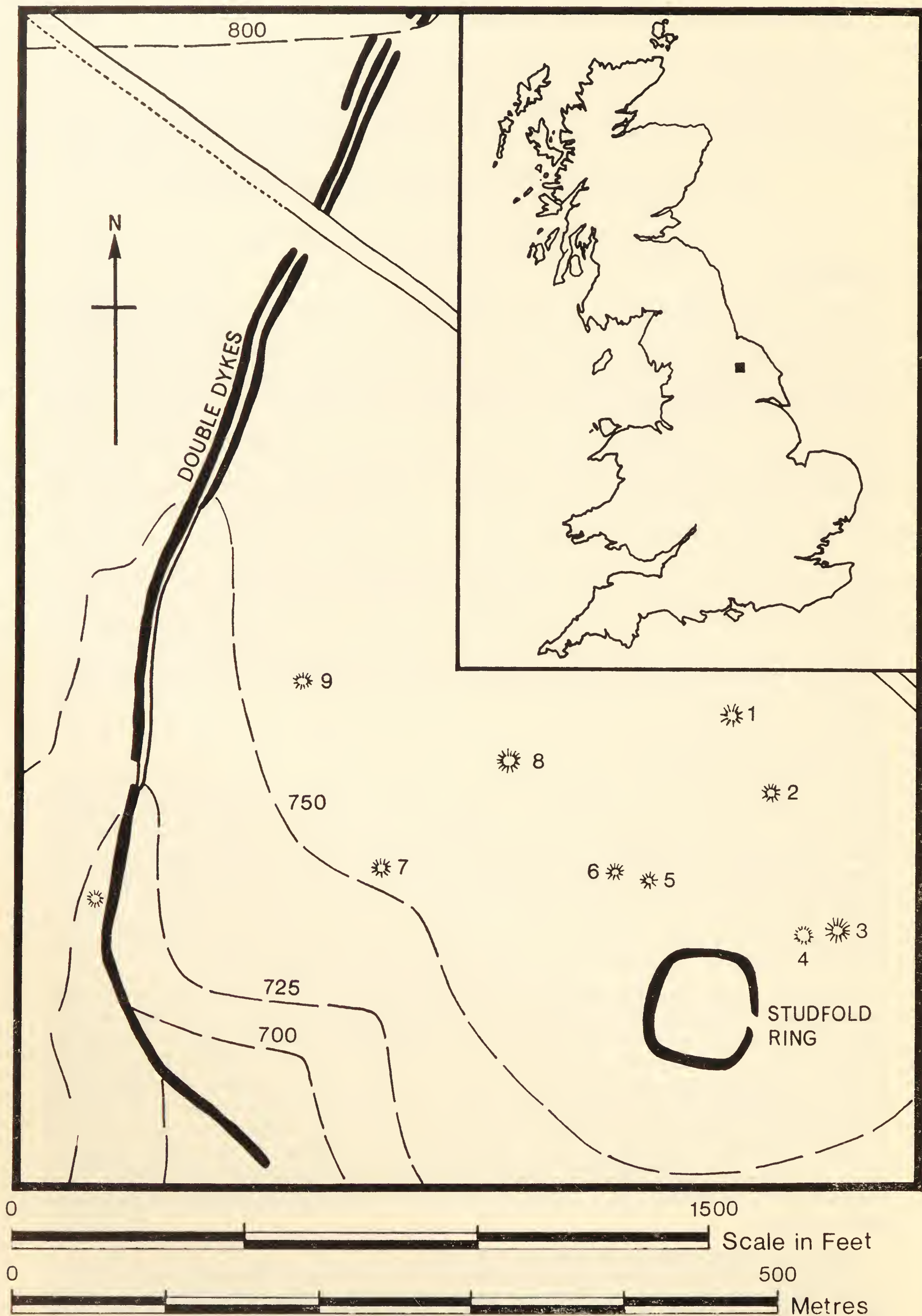


FIG. 1. Location map for Barrows on Ampleforth Moor, Yorkshire.

Barrow 1. Thirty feet in diameter and surrounded by a broad, shallow ditch 10 ft. – 12 ft. wide and 2 ft. 6 ins. deep with a flat base. The mound was preserved to a height of 2 ft. 6 ins. and before robbing may have been 5 ft. high. The mound of stones and clayey soil, with little sign of an old land surface beneath, was cut through by a large robbing pit 14 ft. \times 22 ft. in diameter. This pit penetrated the natural to a depth of about 12 ins. and would have destroyed any shallow grave pit that might have been there.

Barrow 2. Thirty-one feet in diameter and surrounded by a ditch 5 ft. 6 ins. wide and 2 ft. deep with a flat bottom. The mound survived to a height of 15 ins. and before robbing was probably 4 ft. high. The mound, composed of clay and small stones was cut through by a robbing pit 17 ft. 6 ins. in diameter which penetrated the subsoil to a depth of 18 ins.

Barrow 3 (Fig. 2). Thirty-two feet in diameter and surrounded by a ditch 11 ft. – 12 ft. wide and 4 ft. deep. The maximum height of the barrow was only 2 ft. 6 ins. but originally it may have been 5 ft. high. The mound was composed of clayey soil and small stones (layer (5)) resting on top of a thick old land surface (layer (6)) of stiff, yellow stoneless clay. The robbing pit was 15 ft. in diameter and cut through the barrow mound and into the sub-soil below, thus effectively destroying any central grave-pit. Some sherds of pottery were recorded from the top of the old land surface below the barrow mound.

Barrow 4. Twenty-four feet in diameter and surrounded by a ditch 6 ft. – 9 ft. wide and 2 ft. 6 ins. – 3 ft. deep with a narrow flat bottom. This was probably the worst preserved barrow, standing to a height of only 18 ins. and mutilated by a robbing trench which cut across the whole barrow from north to south. Only a little of the original mound remained and it was composed of the normal clayey soil and small stones with no sign of an old land surface beneath it. The robbing trench penetrated the sub-soil and would have destroyed any shallow grave-pit.

Barrow 5 (Fig. 2). Twenty-eight feet in diameter and surrounded by a shallow ditch 2 ft. 6 ins. – 3 ft. wide and 18 ins. deep with shelving sides and a fairly flat base. The mound was composed of clayey soil with occasional small stones (layer (3)) overlain by débris from the robbing (layer (2)) and resting on an old land surface of stiff yellow clay (layer (6)). The centre of the mound had been removed by a robbing pit 6 ft. in diameter, which had penetrated the sub-soil and would have destroyed any shallow grave-pit. Some sherds of pottery, a few flints and a fragment of bronze were recorded from the top of the old land surface below the barrow mound.

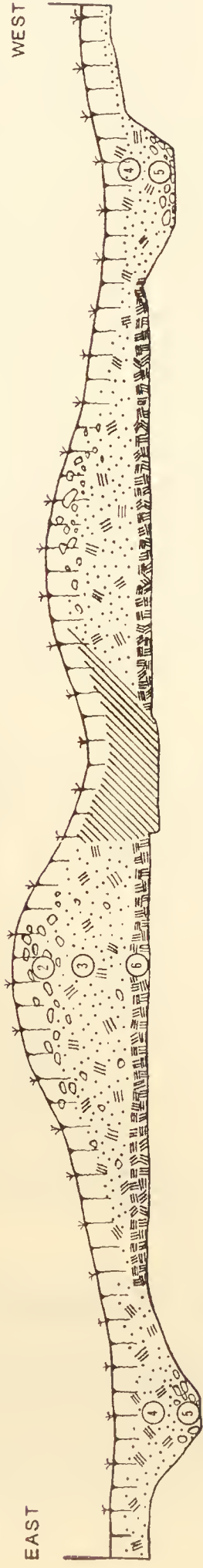
Barrow 6. Twenty-five feet in diameter and surrounded by a ditch 9 ft. wide and 2 ft. 3 ins. deep with a flat bottom. The mound of clay and stones survived to a height of 2 ft. 5 ins. and before robbing was probably 3 ft. 6 ins. high. The robbing pit penetrated to the sub-soil where it appears to have cleared out an original hollow 5 ft. 6 ins. \times 4 ft. in diameter and 12 ins. deep with steep sides. This hollow may have been a grave-pit.

Barrow 7. Thirty-two feet wide and surrounded by a ditch of variable depth and width – in its east sector it is 5 ft. 6 ins. wide and 2 ft. 6 ins. deep with a flat bottom, in its west sector it is 4 ft. wide and 1 ft. 10 ins. deep with a bowl shaped section. The mound of clayey soil and small stones (layer (5)) rested on top of an old land surface of yellow clay (layer (6)). The robbing pit removed the centre of the mound but did not penetrate the sub-soil. This suggests that there never was a grave-pit but that any burial or offering was placed directly on top of the old land surface. Some sherds of pottery, flints and fragments of faience were recorded from the top of the old land surface below the barrow mound.

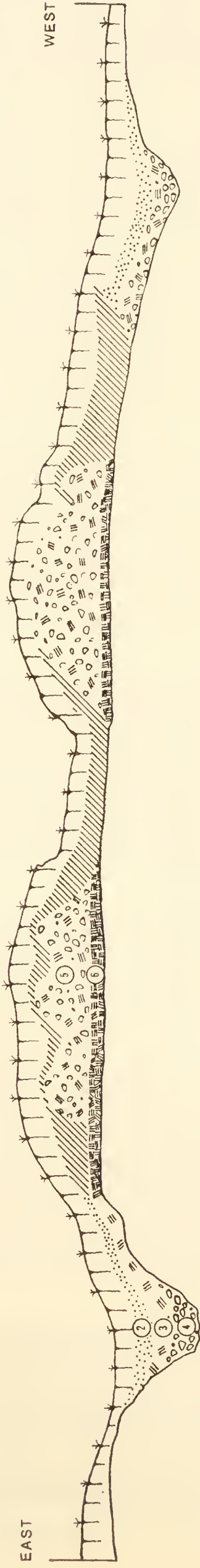
Barrow 8. Twenty-nine feet in diameter and surrounded by a ditch 5 ft. – 6 ft. wide and 2 ft. deep with a narrow, flat base. The mound material was preserved to a height of 2 ft. and before robbing it was probably some 4 ft. high. The mound was composed of clayey soil and small stones and cut through by a robbing pit 11 ft. in diameter. The robbing pit may have cleared out a grave, for an oval (5 ft. \times 4 ft.) hollow with vertical sides some 16 ins. deep was found at the centre of the mound and seemed too neatly cut to be the work of the robbers.

AMPLEFORTH MOOR, YORKSHIRE SECTIONS OF BARROWS 3, 5 AND 7

BARROW 5



BARROW 7



BARROW 3



FIG. 2. Sections of Ampleforth Barrows.

Barrow 9. Twenty-six feet in diameter and surrounded by a broad, shallow ditch 6 ft. – 7 ft. wide and 2 ft. 6 ins. deep with a flat base. The mound material of clayey soil and small stones was preserved to a height of 2 ft. 3 ins. and before robbing the mound was probably 5 ft. – 6 ft. high. A very thin old land surface of yellow clay was recorded beneath the barrow. Cutting through the mound material and into the sub-soil beneath it was an oval robbing pit 13 ft. × 10 ft. As usual the débris had been thrown out of the pit on to the surrounding mound.

Faience

A few specks of faience were recorded from the top of the old land surface under Barrow 7. They were extremely fragile and soon crumbled on exposure to the atmosphere, but the fragments appear to have come from a single globular bead.

Bronze

From the top of the old land surface under Barrow 5 came a thin sliver of bronze 1.2 cms. long and between 2 and 3 cms. wide. The fragment is not sufficiently large as to enable any further comment to be made.

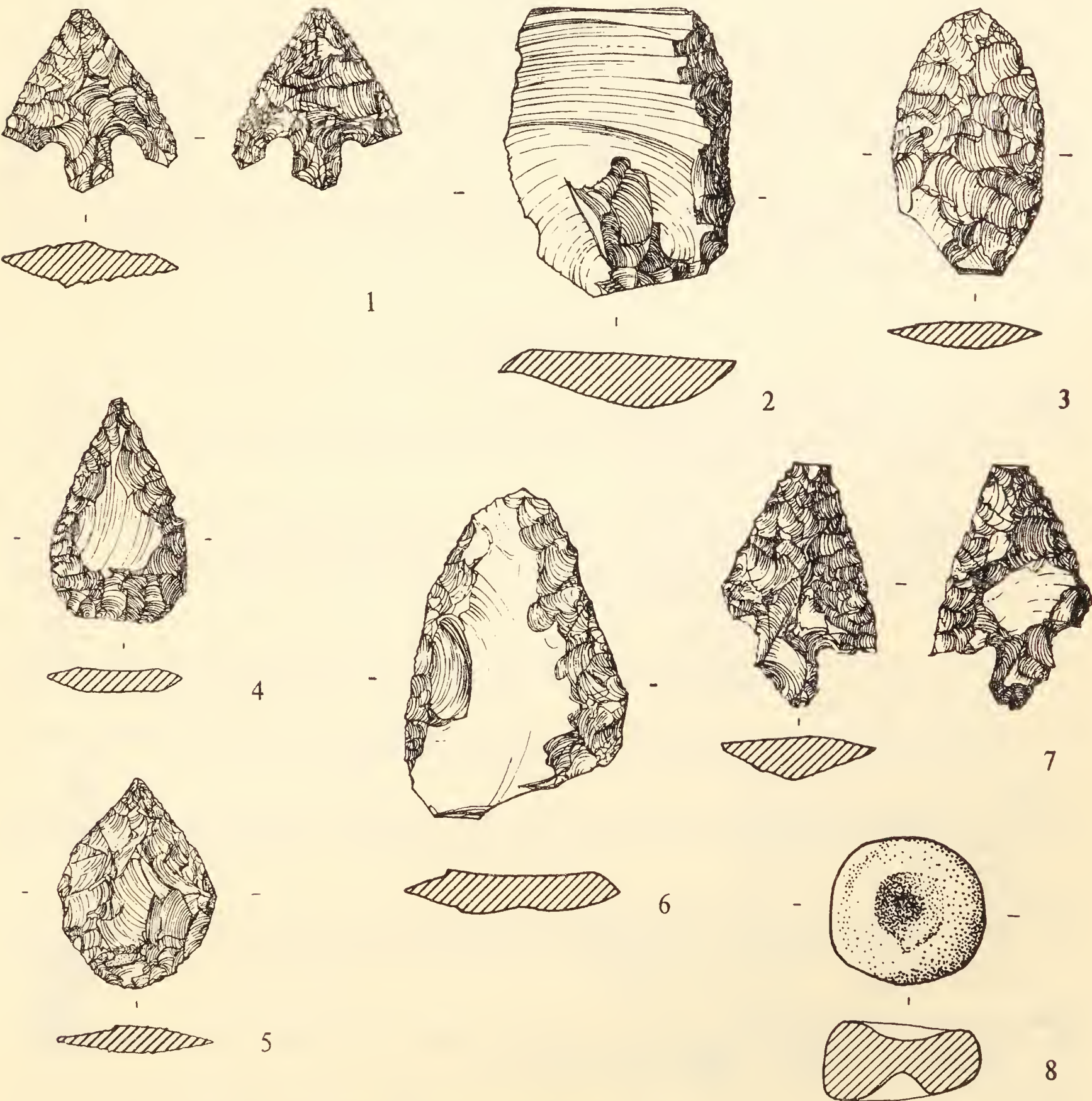


FIG. 3. 1-2, Barrow 7; 3-8, Ploughsoil. To scale except No. 8 at 1/2.

The Flint Industry

Barrow 5. Out of five struck flints found beneath Barrow 5, three are waste flakes and spalls, one a flake with edge retouch and one a side-scraper on a primary flake with inverse retouch on the bulbar face.

Barrow 7. Fifty-seven artefacts were recorded from the top of the old land surface below Barrow 7. Of these, fifty-four are waste flakes and one a worked-out core. The implements are one blade with edge retouch and one small barbed-and-tanged arrowhead with broken barb (Fig. 3.1–2).

The Ploughsoil. In the freshly turned ploughsoil around the barrows were found some 700 flakes and spalls and a small number of implements. Of these five are culturally diagnostic and range from the Early or Middle Neolithic through to the Bronze Age. On the evidence of these artefacts alone it would seem that the moor was sporadically occupied throughout this period.

Early–Middle Neolithic:— three leaf-shaped arrowheads, two of which are lightly patinated whilst the third, which is approaching a triangular form, is unpatinated (Fig. 3.3–5).

Late Neolithic:— One petit-tranchet-derivative arrowhead which is only lightly patinated. It belongs to Class C1 of Professor Clark's classificatory scheme¹ (Fig. 3.6).

Bronze Age:— One small barbed-and-tanged arrowhead which has lost its barbs – lightly patinated (Fig. 3.7).

Stone

One unfinished spindle-whorl of fine-grained sandstone was recorded from the ploughsoil. It cannot be attributed to any particular cultural phase and is included here for the sake of completeness (Fig. 3.8).

THE POTTERY

By I. H. LONGWORTH

BARROW 3

Number of sherds recovered from the old ground surface: 2.

P1. Small undecorated rim sherd (Fig. 4,1) of light brown porous paste with dark grey core. Possibly plain Beaker.

BARROW 5

Number of sherds recovered from the old ground surface: 42. All the sherds are of Neolithic or Bronze Age character, showing varying states of weathering. The majority show the effects of leaching, leaving porous and vesicular fabrics. No sherd measures more than two inches square and the majority are small undecorated wall sherds showing considerable variation in paste.

Neolithic

P2. Seven undecorated sherds including three fragments from a bowl of Grimston Ware (Fig. 5,1). The paste is relatively hard though porous and dark grey throughout. Both surfaces of the rim and neck have been smoothed.

P3 a & b. Seven small undecorated fragments of a similar porous paste, from different vessels, including four small fragments of rim (Fig. 4, 2–4). The paste is dark brown.

? Beaker

P4. Small fragment of neck from thin-walled vessel of hard, slightly porous paste (Fig. 4, 5). Reddish brown externally, greyish brown internally, with light grey core. Undecorated. Possibly plain Beaker.

? Collared Vessel

P5. Three undecorated sherds including fragment of base angle (Fig. 4, 6), of a coarse, slightly porous paste, light brown externally, greyish brown internally, with dark grey core. Possibly from a Collared Vessel.

Other undecorated coarse ware

P6. Fragment from the shoulder of a vessel of hard, slightly porous paste, brown externally, light reddish brown internally. Undecorated (Fig. 4, 7.)

¹ Clark, J. G. D., 1934. Derivative forms of the *petit-tranchet* in Britain – *Arch.J.*, 91, 32–58.

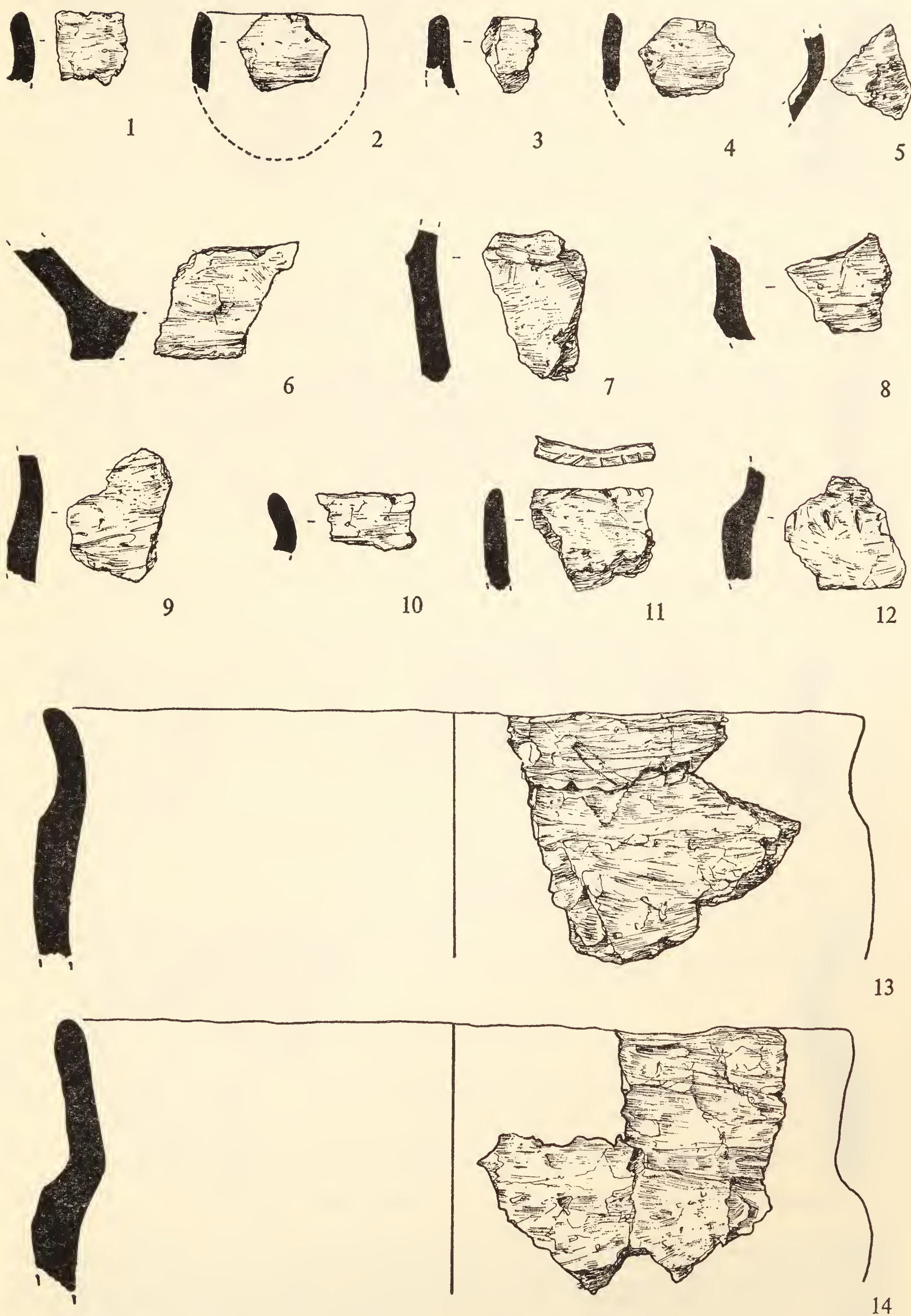


FIG. 4. 1, Barrow 3; 2-7, Barrow 5; 8-14, Barrow 7. ($\frac{1}{2}$).

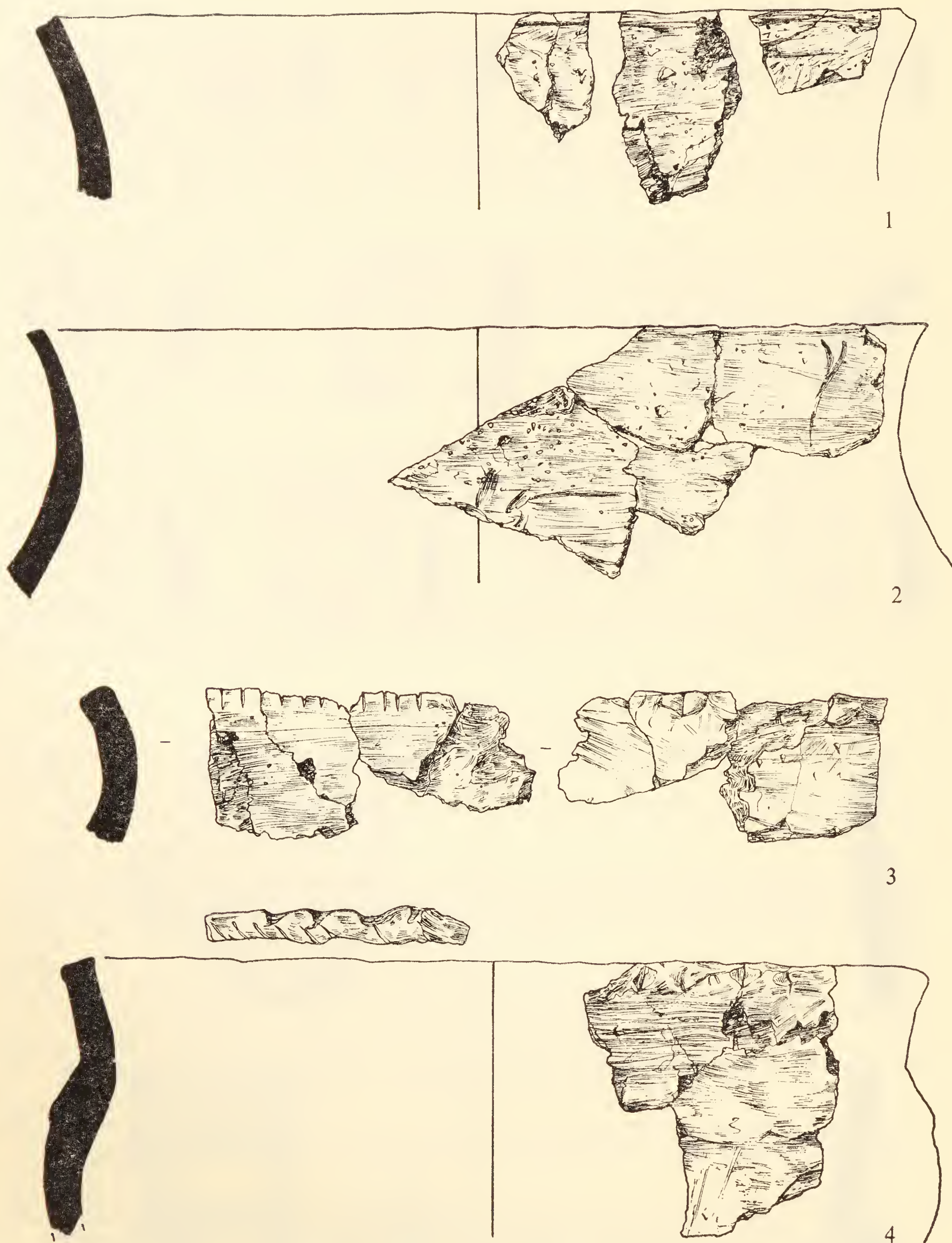


FIG. 5. 1-2, Barrow 5; 3-4, Barrow 7. ($\frac{1}{2}$).

BARROW 7

Number of sherds recovered from the old ground surface: 361. The vast majority of the sherds are small, being less than two inches square, and only a small proportion of each vessel appears to be represented. The sherds vary in weathering but in the main are relatively fresh, though many are slightly porous due to leaching. The range of wares appears to include Neolithic Grimston Ware, and probably Beaker, but the main element in the sherd collection is decorated and undecorated Bronze Age coarse ware.

Neolithic

- P7. Four joining sherds representing part of the rim and neck of a bowl of Grimston Ware. The paste is hard, fine and rather porous, varying from dark grey to brown. Both surfaces have been smoothed. Undecorated. (Fig. 5, 2.)
- P8. Four small undecorated sherds including fragment of shoulder, grey externally to dark grey internally, tempered with grit. Surface smoothed. (Fig. 4, 8.)
- P9. Small undecorated fragment of neck and shoulder of rather soft porous paste, brown externally, dark grey internally, surface smoothed. (Fig. 4, 9.)
Forty-six undecorated wall sherds in similar paste probably represent a variety of vessels. All share the porous paste, being light brown externally and often dark grey internally, with smoothed surface.

Beaker

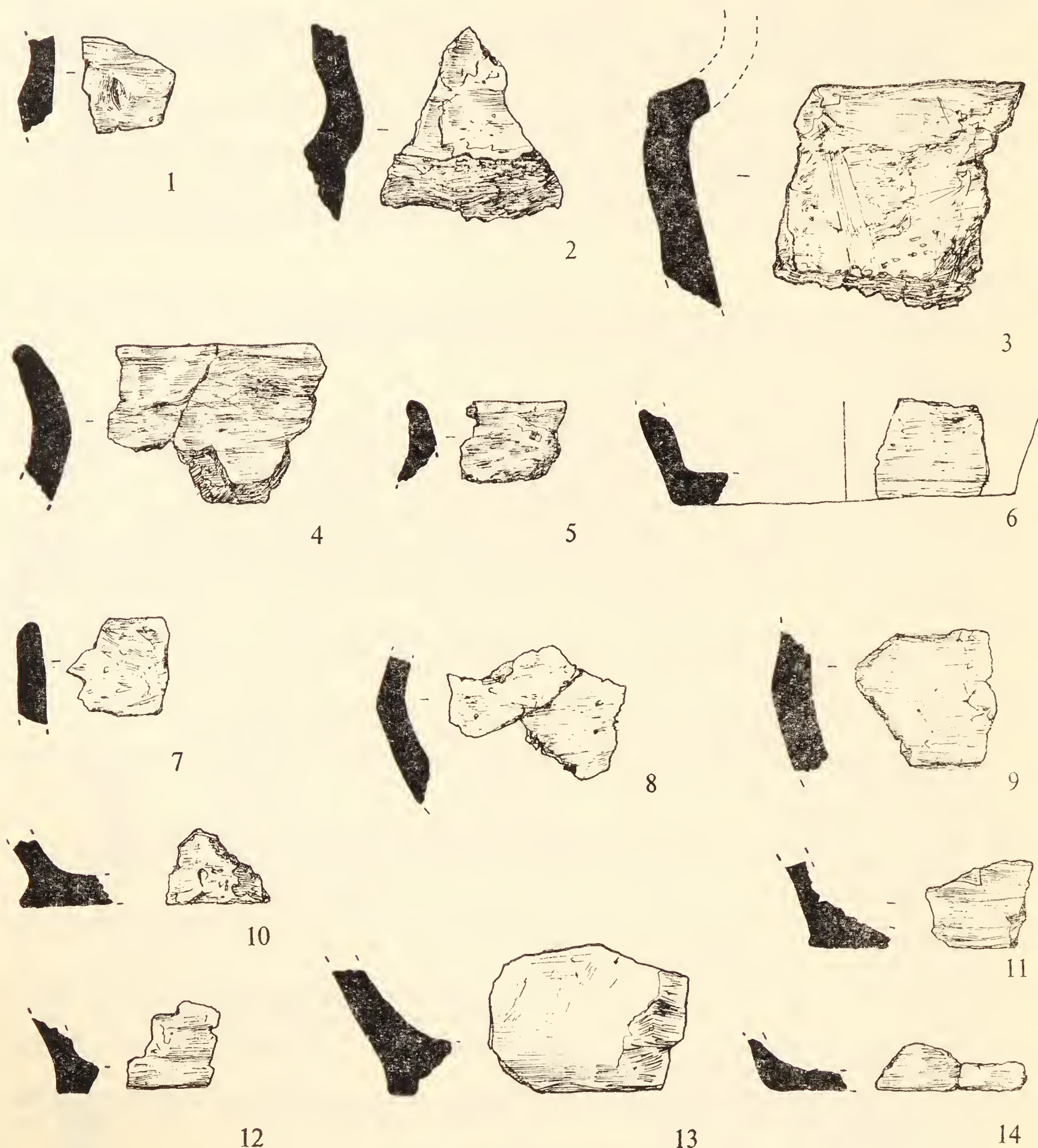
- P10. Undecorated rim of hard compact paste tempered with a considerable amount of fine grit, light brown both faces with dark grey core. (Fig. 4, 10.) Probably Beaker.
Small fragment of rim of similar paste.

Decorated Coarse Ware

- P11. Eleven sherds representing the rim, neck and wall of a vessel of hard paste tempered with grit including limestone. On some sherds the limestone has been dissolved out, leaving the sherd porous. Brown externally, brown to dark grey internally. Rim decorated externally with finger-tip impressions and along the internal edge with a row of vertical slashes. (Fig. 5, 3.)
Five undecorated wall sherds are of similar paste, but light reddish brown externally.
- P12. Four sherds representing the rim, neck and shoulder of a vessel similar in paste to P11. The paste is more porous, light brown externally, light to dark grey internally. Decorated along the outer edge of the rim with finger-tip impressions and along the inner edge of the rim with diagonal slashes. (Fig. 5, 4.)
- P13. Rim sherd decorated with groups of opposed diagonal slashes, of fairly hard paste tempered with grit, light brown externally, light brown to dark grey internally with dark grey core. Surface smoothed. (Fig. 4, 11.)
- P14. Fragment of shoulder decorated with a row of vertical strokes of relatively hard, slightly porous paste, brown externally, grey internally. Surface roughly smoothed. (Fig. 4, 12.)
- P15. Small fragment of shoulder of reddish brown fabric decorated with finger-tip impressions. (Fig. 6, 1.)

Undecorated Coarse Ware

- P16. Six undecorated sherds representing the rim, neck and shoulder of a vessel of hard but porous paste tempered with grit. Reddish brown surface externally, patchy reddish brown to grey internally. (Fig. 4, 13.)
- P17. Four sherds representing the rim, neck and shoulder of a vessel of hard coarse paste tempered with a large amount of coarse grit, grey to brown throughout with heavy carbon incrustation on the inner surface. Undecorated. (Fig. 4, 14.)
- P18. Sherd from the neck of a vessel similar to P17. Paste hard and tempered with grit, outer surface light brown, internal surface greyish brown. Both surfaces smoothed. Undecorated. (Fig. 6, 2.)
- P19. Sherd from the shoulder of a vessel of paste similar to P17. Undecorated. (Fig. 6, 3.) Heavy carbon incrustation on the internal surface.
- P20. Two undecorated rim sherds of hard paste tempered with large grit. Brown externally, greyish brown internally. (Fig. 6, 4-5.) This may possibly be the same vessel as P15 in a much less weathered state.
There are also nine undecorated wall sherds of similar paste.
- P21. Small undecorated rim of compact slightly porous paste, brown externally, greyish brown internally. (Fig. 6, 7.) Surface smoothed.
- P22. Eight undecorated sherds including three fragments of shoulder and two fragments of base angle of a hard compact sandy paste, two of the sherds being also rather porous. Grey to dark grey internally. (Fig. 6, 6, 8, 9.)
- P23. Small undecorated fragment of base angle of porous but relatively hard ware, light brown externally, dark grey internally. (Fig. 6, 10.)
- P24. Fragment of base angle of compact, slightly porous paste, light brown both faces with grey core. Undecorated. (Fig. 6, 13.)
- P.25 Small fragment of undecorated base angle of a hard coarse paste tempered with large grit, brown externally, internal surface lost. (Fig. 6, 11.)
- P26. Small fragment of undecorated base angle of a hard compact paste, brown externally, dark grey internally. Surface smoothed. (Fig. 6, 12.)
- P27. Fragment of undecorated base angle of compact grey paste, internal surface lost. (Fig. 6, 14.)

FIG. 6. 1-14, Barrow 7. ($\frac{1}{2}$).

Discussion¹

The pottery recovered during the 1966 excavations from the old land surfaces beneath Barrows 3, 5 & 7 adds considerably to our knowledge of the prehistory of Ampleforth Moor. The Neolithic sherds P2, P3 & P7-9 can be placed alongside those recovered in 1936 by Mr. G. F. Willmot² as indicating at least a scattered Middle Neolithic occupation of the area. Late Neolithic material is represented by the possible Beaker sherds, P1, P4 & P10, but there is nothing in the sherd collection directly comparable to the rim of

¹ I am indebted to Mr. G. F. Willmot and Dr. D. L. Clarke for their comments on aspects of this pottery.

² *P.P.S.*, iii, (1937), 204.

decorated Peterborough Ware recovered, again by Willmot, on the moor during the winter of 1936–7 and published by him the following year.¹ It is interesting to note the total lack of recognisable Food Vessel in a region known to have had a Food Vessel using population in the Early Bronze Age,² and the same can virtually be said for Collared Urns,³ for only one of the featured sherds, P5 from Barrow 5, and two wall sherds from the same barrow can be reasonably attributed to this form. The main elements in the sherd collections are coarse wares in a variety of pastes, all the sherds being of relatively small size with rims and featured sherds rare. The date of the construction of the mounds seems to rest with the latest datable element amongst these.

The complete absence of corded techniques and the presence of finger-tip decoration confined, when present, to the shoulder and rim of vessels might at first sight suggest a fairly advanced stage of the Bronze Age in an area where on present knowledge such techniques are confined almost exclusively to the local Early Iron Age.⁴ The discovery, however, of a faience bead amongst the material on the old ground surface beneath Barrow 7, unless this is to be treated purely as a unique stray, would indicate that some of the coarse wares should probably be assigned to an Early or early Middle Bronze Age date. It seems possible that bowl forms like P11, P12 and P17 could belong here. A comparison with the surviving sherds from the Heathery Burn Cave site, Co. Durham,⁵ preserved in the British Museum, does however indicate that some of the fabrics represented amongst the wall sherds at least from Barrow 7, together with that of P19, are almost identical and suggest contemporaneity with the Heathery Burn pottery or at least belong to a tradition which was current at that date, i.e., c. seventh century B.C. If this be accepted⁶ then a date for the construction of Barrow 7 of not earlier than the Late Bronze Age seems likely.

Unfortunately the 1966 excavations failed to reveal any primary or secondary interments in the mounds which might have served to confirm or confound such a conclusion. Barrow 7 had, however, been clearly robbed at some earlier date, and search was made amongst the earlier records of barrow exploration on the moor. These too failed to shed any direct light on the point. The only surviving account relating definitely to the opening of a barrow specifically in the Studfold Ring group is that given by the Rev. W. Eastmead in his *Historia Rievallensis*. Writing in 1824⁷ Eastmead records:—

‘Within and without the outer fortification or barbican (that is the Double Dykes), are seven tumuli, and not far from the encampment on the west are others. I had two of them opened and found near the bottom of each, a hard substance running through the whole tumulus, forming a strata, which appears to be composed of turf, ashes, charcoal, burnt stone, and animal matter. The strata is about 10 inches thick and rather softens on exposure to the air; but not so as to be altogether decomposed. I have some of it which still retains its union of particles so as to form a lump. We found no urn in either of the tumuli we opened, but had sufficient proof that bodies had been burnt there.’

The account suggests that Eastmead reached the old land surface but found or recognised no burials associated with pottery in the course of the excavation. In 1937 Mr. G.

¹ *P.P.S.*, iv, (1938), 338.

² What appears to have been a Food Vessel was recovered in 1849 by the Yorkshire Antiquarian Club from a barrow to the south-east of the Studfold Ring group. A drawing of the vessel is preserved in the MS. note book of the club – information kindly supplied by Dr. I. M. Stead. Other Food vessel burials were recovered by G. F. Willmot in 1936 (*P.P.S.*, ii, (1936), 215), 1937 (*P.P.S.*, iii, (1937) 443–4) and 1938 (*P.P.S.*, iv (1938) 318).

³ What appear to have been two Collared urns were recovered from the second of the two barrows opened in 1849 by the Yorkshire Antiquarian Club (see footnote 4). A Collared urn was also recovered by G. F. Willmot in 1938 (*P.P.S.*, iv, 318–9). Another urn is mentioned by Eastmead (1824) in his *Historia Rievallensis*, 234 but it has not proved possible to ascertain the type.

⁴ E.g., Scarborough (A. Rowntree, Ed. (1931) *The history of Scarborough*, Fig. 19); (R. A. Smith (1928) *Archaeologia*, lxxvii, Figs 14–23, Pl. xxi.) Staple Howe (T. C. M. Brewster (1963), *The Excavation of Staple Howe*, Fig. 33 f).

⁵ Especially B.M. Reg. nos. 1911, 10–10, 8; 1911, 10–21, 49 & 51. These are wall sherds not figured in C. F. C. Hawkes & M. A. Smith (1957), *Ant.J.*, xxxvii, 158, Fig. 6.

⁶ This assumes that the pottery surviving from the Heathery Burn Cave was all associated with the Late Bronze Age metal work from the cave.

⁷ P. 394.

F. Willmot excavating a small ditched bowl barrow to the south of the Studfold Ring group found pottery very similar to P16 in pyre material on the old land surface.¹

If a Late Bronze Age date be accepted for at least some of the wares represented beneath Barrow 7 then two interesting points emerge. Firstly, that small ditched bowl barrows were still being constructed on the moor in a late phase of the Bronze Age; and secondly, that as far as the evidence at present takes us, the custom of employing ceramic containers for the cremated dead was no longer being practised by this phase, at least in this part of Yorkshire.

APPENDIX

Since the above account was prepared two radiocarbon determinations have been obtained.

BM-368 537 \pm 90 BC for charcoal from the old land surface under Barrow 7.

BM-369 582 \pm 90 BC for charcoal from the old land surface under Barrow 3.

¹ *P.P.S.*, iii, (1937), 443-4.

THE EXCAVATION OF TWO BRONZE AGE BURIAL MOUNDS AT FERRY FRYSTON IN THE WEST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE

By A. L. PACITTO

with a report on the pottery by I. H. LONGWORTH

During April 1962 the writer supervised rescue excavations within the area of the new Ferrybridge 'C' Power Station, on behalf of the Ministry of Public Building and Works.¹ The site (SE.474245) was almost on the 75 ft. contour, 80 yds. south of the road from Ferrybridge to Castleford, and south of the River Aire (Fig. 1). It consisted of a barely perceptible ridge of raised ground bearing north-south, and terminating at each end in a



FIG. 1. The position of Mound I ('Tumulus'). Scale 6 ins. to 1 mile (1:10,560).
Crown Copyright reserved.

¹ Only two labourers were employed, for two weeks, but much of the work was done by a Drott Tractor-shovel. The writer would like to acknowledge the generous aid given by members of the local archaeological society, and, above all, thanks are due to Mr. G. D. Leydon, Resident Engineer for the Central Electricity Generating Board. The illustrations, apart from Figs. 8 and 9 (I.H.L.) were drawn by Miss G. D. Jones.

low mound. The northern mound was the more pronounced, the effect being enhanced by the general northerly fall of the ground, and it is marked on Ordnance Survey maps as a 'tumulus'. The smaller mound does not seem to have been recorded previously.

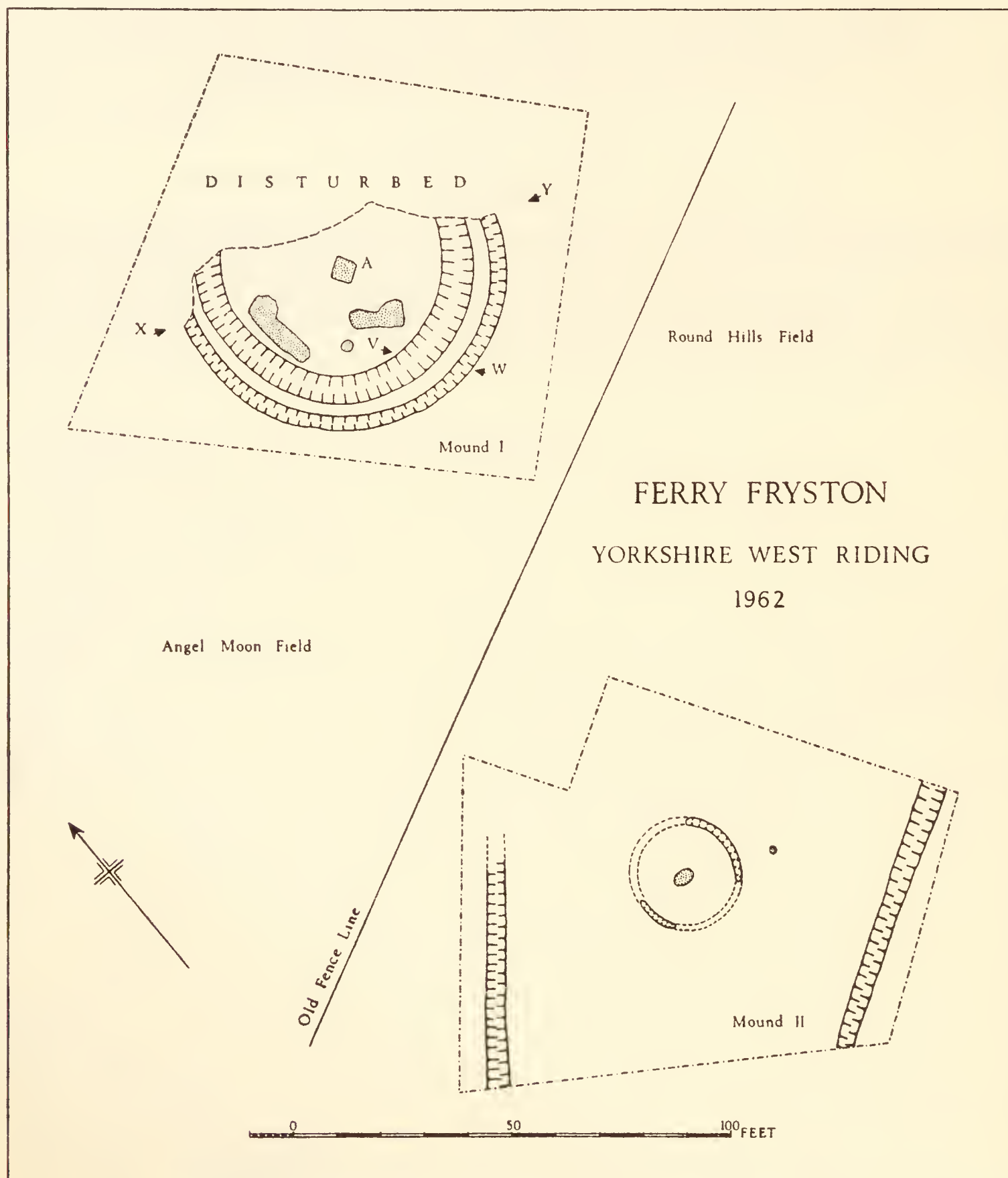


FIG. 2. Site plan, showing positions of Mounds I and II.

History of the Site

Greenwell excavated a barrow which he describes as 'placed upon a knoll of limestone on the slope of the hill which rises from the River Aire near Ferrybridge' and 'situated in Roundhill Field'.¹ At the time of the 1962 excavation all field boundaries had been destroyed, but Ordnance Survey maps show a boundary immediately south-east of the larger mound, which would have separated it from its smaller neighbour (Fig. 2). The northern field was called 'Angel Moon Field' and the southern 'Roundhills Field'. However, the recent excavation showed that the larger mound was Greenwell's Barrow CLXI, so there has been some confusion over the field names.

¹ W. Greenwell, *British Barrows*, 1877, 371-74 (Barrow CLXI). The barrows are now in the parish of Ferrybridge, but at the time of Greenwell's excavation they were in Ferry Fryston. Greenwell's name for the site has been retained in this report.

Greenwell records discoveries from two previous excavations, in 1811 and 1863, when several skeletons were found in the upper part of the mound. One of the skeletons was 'in armour', and Greenwell suggests that these were probably Anglian burials. There was also at least one disturbed Bronze Age cremation, for sherds from two pots were found, 'one a cinerary urn 10 ins. high, the other a smaller one 3 ins. high, and of a type customarily found with burnt bodies'. Below the probable Anglian burials, and 4 ft. deep near the centre of the barrow, was a stone cist 3 ft. 3 ins. long, 2 ft. to 1 ft. 5 ins. wide, and 1 ft. 5 ins. deep, with its capstone still in position. In the cist was a crouched inhumation associated with a Food Vessel and a flint knife, and there were scattered human bones, potsherds and charcoal, which suggested that an earlier inhumation had been disturbed by the surviving burial. 'On the north side of the barrow were found two cinerary urns filled with burnt bones' – the one is illustrated in Fig. 6, 4 (cf. W. Greenwell, *op. cit.*, 1877, Fig. 58) and the other is probably the vessel illustrated in Fig. 6, 3.

The barrow was 54 ft. diameter and 7 ft. high when Greenwell excavated it, and the burials he discovered were:

- (i) the cremation of a child, on a flat stone just above the natural surface, 12 ft. south-east of the centre.
 - (ii) the skeleton of a man, 6 ft. south of the centre; at his back a Food Vessel, and below it –
 - (iii) a cremation.
- (ii) and (iii) had 'most certainly both been placed in the mound at the same time' and the Food Vessel (Fig. 6, 2) 'was equally in contact with both'.
- (iv) at the centre, a grave 6 ft. in diameter containing a crouched skeleton. There was a Beaker (Fig. 6, 1) at the feet, and a bronze awl in the angle between the right femur and tibia. In this grave, too, there was evidence for a previous inhumation, disturbed by the surviving burial. Greenwell also found two large flat stones, which may originally have been associated with burials.

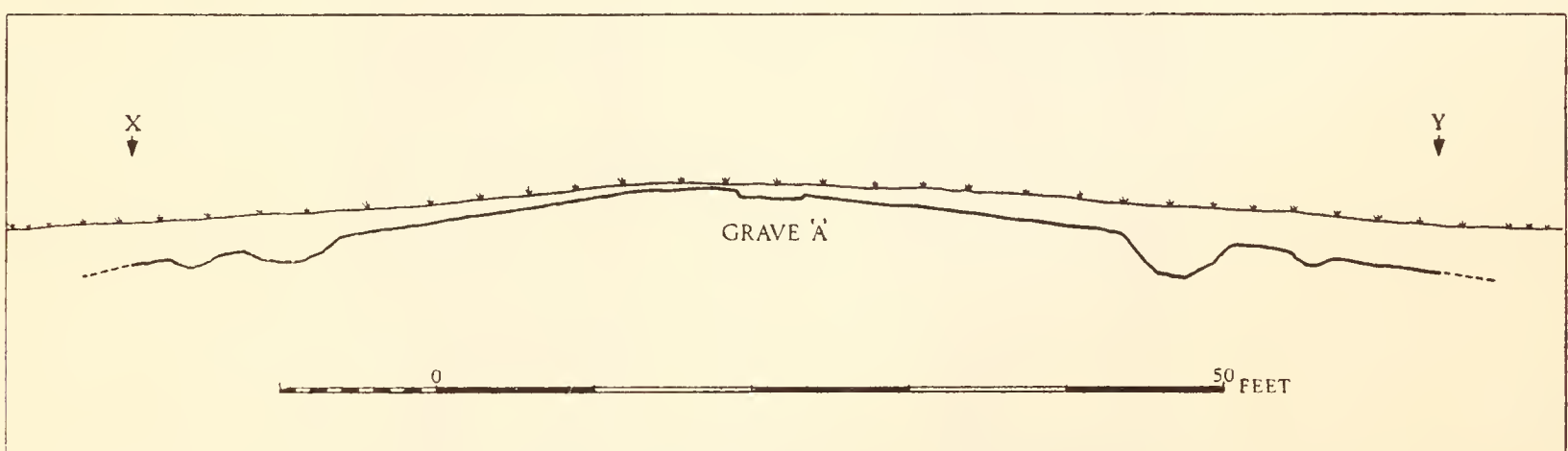


FIG. 3. Section through Mound I (see plan, Fig. 2).

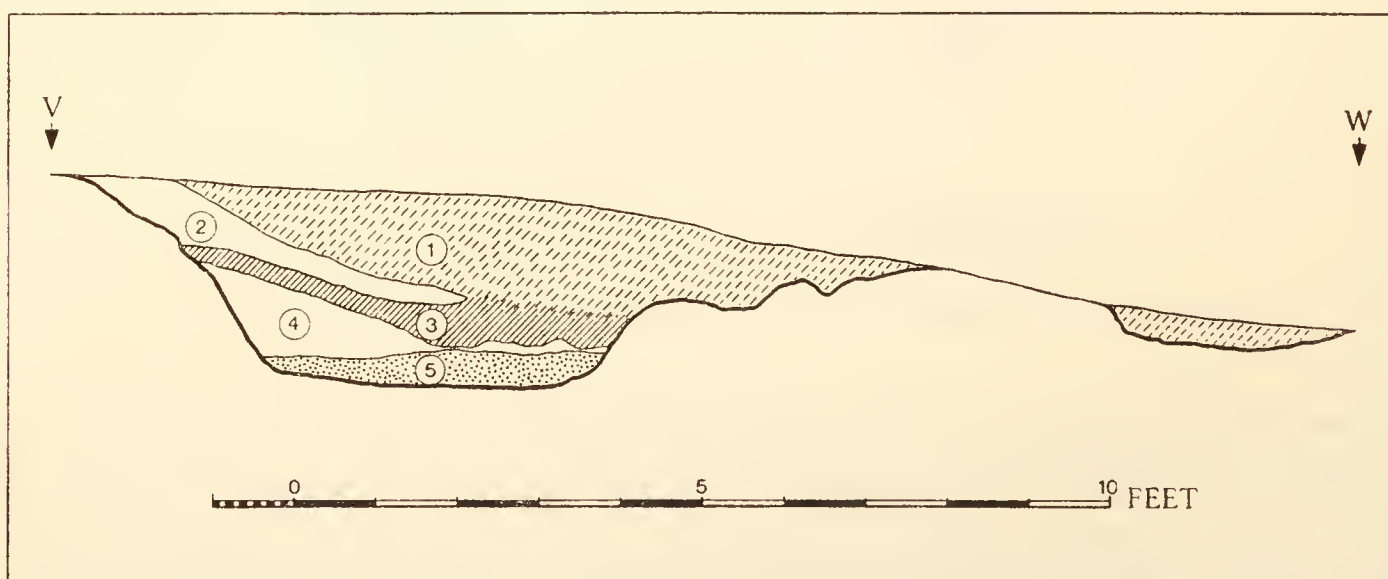


FIG. 4. Section through the ditches of Mound I (see plan, Fig. 2).

The 1962 Excavation

Mound I. It was soon apparent that the only surviving trace of the mound was natural,¹ but it was decided to examine the whole area for any possible burials. The topsoil was quickly and easily removed by the Drott, revealing natural bedded limestone near the centre. At the centre a pit, about 5 ft. square, had been cut to a depth of some 6 ins. into the rock (Fig. 2, pit A). It had been excavated previously, and no trace of a burial remained. This pit was surrounded by several other shallow and irregular depressions in the rock caused by, or disturbed by, earlier excavators.

To the north, the rock had been disturbed over about a third of the mound, probably during the excavations in 1811, and in this area fragments of bone, a modern lead disc, and a small brass plate were found.

The mound was surrounded by two concentric ditches, respectively 55 ft. and 75 ft. in diameter. The outer ditch was only a few inches deep, but the other had been cut into the limestone to a depth of 2 ft. 6 ins. Although levelling had destroyed the layers linking this inner ditch with other features, the stratification within the ditch was intact (Fig. 4). It appears that the mound had been reconstructed at some time:

Layer 4 limestone fragments and powder, representing the first fairly rapid erosion of the newly-made mound after the deposition of primary silting (5).

Layer 3 a light brown silt with some fragments of limestone, which probably represents slower erosion after the slopes of the mound had settled and become grass-grown.

Layer 2 very similar in all respects to (4), and most likely caused by re-capping the mound, possibly when the outer ditch was dug.

Layer 1 merges indistinguishably into (3), and probably of similar origin.

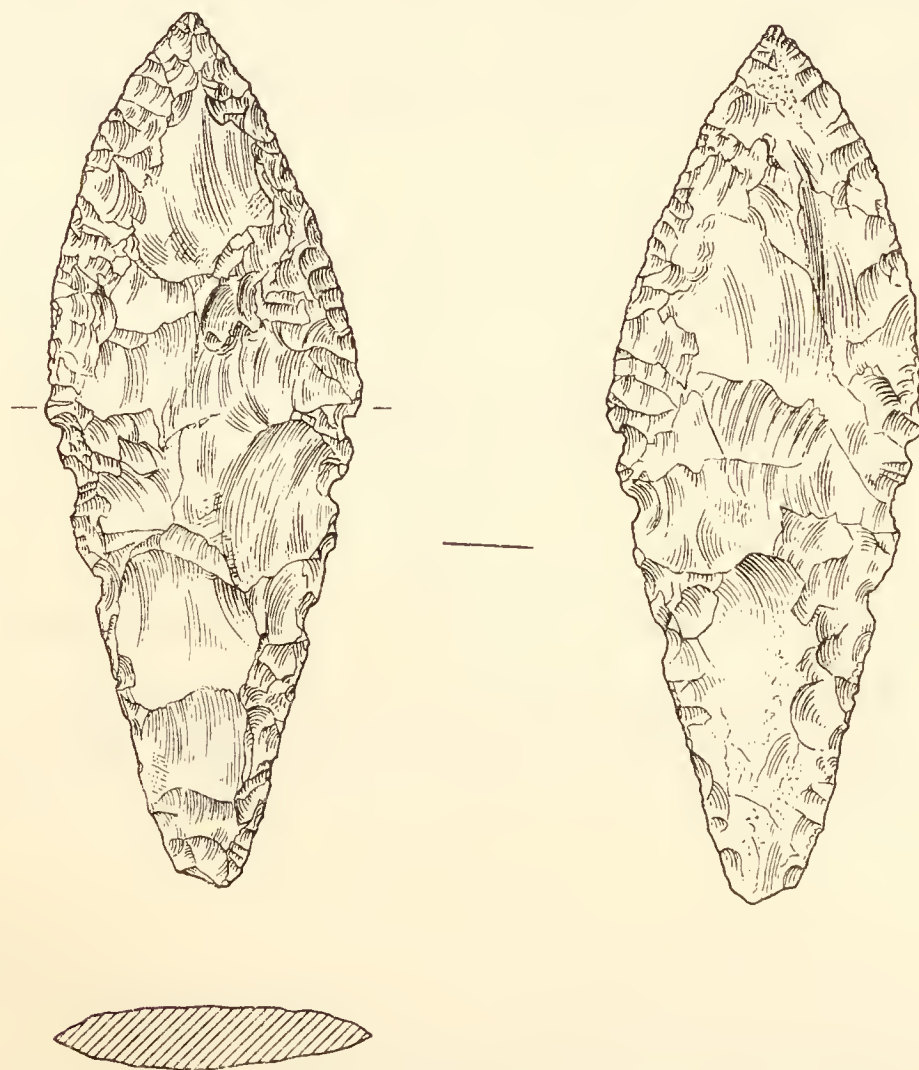


FIG. 5. Flint dagger found with the skeleton in Mound II. ($\frac{1}{2}$).

¹ The site was visited by Mr. E. G. Smith, of the Geological Survey, who reports that both mounds are 'natural in origin, being composed of two adjacent depositional "domes" in the upper part of the Lower Magnesian Limestone.' The stones in the fillings of man-made pits and ditches are 'largely fragments of flaggy yellow dolomitic limestone which is the country rock, but there were also several small fragments of pink oolitic limestone probably from the Upper Magnesian Limestone. The latter fragments, together with a quartzite cobble which was also observed, are assumed to have been derived from remanié glacial drift.'



PLATE I. The central grave, with skeleton and flint dagger, in Mound II.



PLATE II. Overall view of Mound II after excavation.

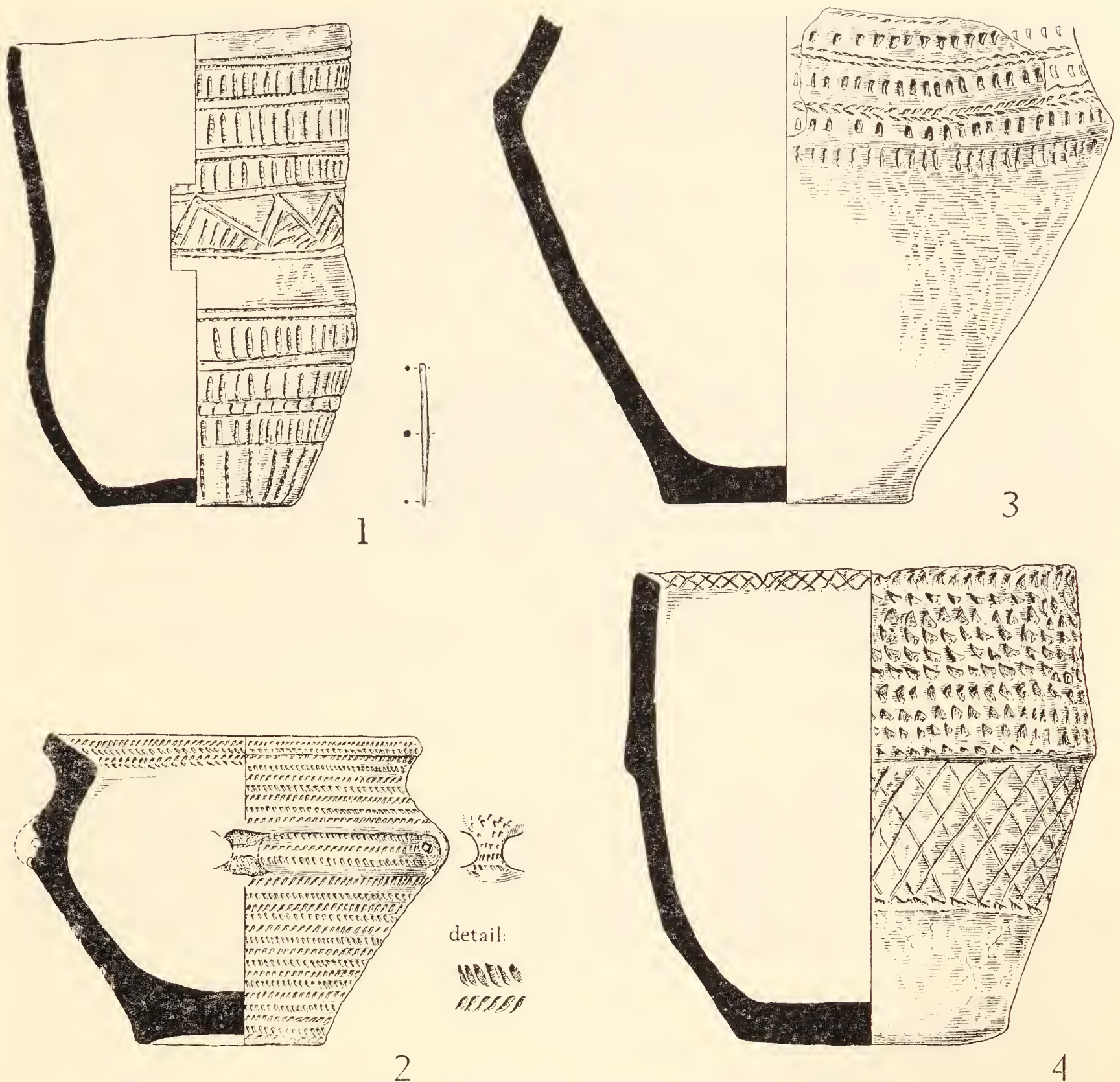


FIG. 6. Pottery from Mound I ($\frac{1}{3}$); detail of no. 2 and the bronze awl with no. 1 ($\frac{2}{3}$).

Mound II. The smaller mound was 160 ft. south of Mound I. It too had probably been levelled for agricultural purposes, although its presence does not seem to have been recorded previously. Natural rock was found immediately below the ploughsoil, and it had been scored by ploughing. In view of the complete lack of stratification the first traverse of the machine was arranged so that it cut across the mound from side to side, with one edge coinciding with a line drawn through the centre. This first traverse exposed half of an oval grave pit, measuring 3 ft. 9 ins. by 5 ft. On excavation it proved to be only 5 ins. deep, but in spite of this it contained an undisturbed crouched inhumation. The body was on its left side, facing south, and a notched flint dagger behind the pelvis was perhaps attached to a belt at the time of burial (Pl. I). The dagger (Fig. 5) is very neatly flaked from a fine flint with a pale blue patina. It has three notches on each side of the haft, and is very similar to one found in Doncaster in 1935.¹ The filling of the grave also included several fragments of human bone, one of which had been calcined (see p. 305).

The grave was surrounded at a distance of 11 ft. to 12 ft. by the remains of a circular ditch. Only two segments of this had survived, representing less than half of the total circumference. Doubtless ploughing had destroyed much of the original rock surface here as elsewhere. (Pl. II).

¹ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.*, xxxvii, 1951, pp. 254–56.

Outside the ditch and 20 ft. to the south-east of the grave was a small circular pit. With a flat bottom and vertical sides, it measured 2 ft. 3 ins. in diameter and was 1 ft. 2 ins. deep. The filling was mainly of broken and crushed limestone fragments, and there was no clue to its date or purpose. This pit was sited on the line of an east–west fault or joint in the rock.

THE POTTERY

by I. H. Longworth

1. BEAKER

B.M. Reg. No. 79 12–9 1347.

Diam. of mouth: 4.9 ins.

Height: 6.75 ins.

Diam. of base: 2.9 ins. (max.).

Well fired paste, light brown both faces with greyish patches on one side. Surface smoothed.

Decorated in toothed comb stamp in horizontal zones arranged in two bands with a blank zone left at the base of the neck. The upper band consists of four zones, three of short vertical lines enclosed and separated by two horizontal lines above a fourth zone of filled triangles similarly enclosed by two horizontal lines. The lower band has been less carefully executed and consists of four bands of short vertical lines, all but the basal zone being enclosed between pairs of horizontal lines. For part of the circumference the area between two of the horizontal lines used to separate the zones has itself been filled with vertical finger nail impressions.

AWL

B.M. Reg. No. 79 12–9 1348.

Length: 1.05 ins. (but one end badly corroded).

Of copper or bronze, both points round in section but middle slightly thickened and faceted.

2. FOOD VESSEL

B.M. Reg. No. 79 12–9 1346.

Diam. of mouth: 5.2 ins.

Height: 4.25 ins.

Diam. of base: 2.3 ins.

About two-thirds of the vessel survives. Originally four horizontally perforated lugs would have spanned the groove but only one of these survives intact, and there are remains of two others.

Quite well fired fine paste, brown both faces, surface smoothed.

Decorated externally from rim to base and on the internal rim bevel with rows of small impressions set in a herring-bone pattern. On the lugs, less distinct impressions were probably made with the same implement. The internal features of each impression have a look of whipped cord but the implement used is more likely to have been the end of a spatula into which transverse lines have been cut.

3. COLLARED URN

B.M. Reg. No. 79 12–9 1345.

Diam. of shoulder: 8.7 ins.

Height (remaining): 7.0 ins.

Diam. of base: 3.6 ins.

Body and part of neck only.

Quite well fired paste tempered with both grit and grog, brown both faces with dark grey core, surface smoothed.

Decorated on the neck with a horizontally zoned pattern consisting of a row of bone impressions alternating with a horizontal line of plaited cord. A single row of short vertical twisted cord impressions has been placed below the shoulder.

4. COLLARED URN

B.M. Reg. No. 79 12–9 1344.

Squashed oval.

Diam. of mouth: 6.1–5.4 ins.

Height: 6.6 ins.

Diam. of base: 3.75 ins.

Quite well fired paste tempered with some grit, reddish brown both faces, surface roughly smoothed.

Decorated on the collar with rows of bone impressions; on the neck, incised lattice; on the shoulder, a single row of bone impressions and on the internal bevel of the rim with incised lattice.

Discussion

None of the four vessels described above has previously received adequate publication. In his original account Greenwell illustrated only the Collared Urn (4)¹. In 1912, Abercromby published photographs of the Beaker (1),² the Food Vessel (2),³ and the Collared Urn (4).⁴

¹ *British Barrows* (1877), 71, Fig. 58.

² *Bronze Age Pottery* (1912), i, Fig. 109.

³ *Ibid.*, i, Fig. 104.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii, Fig. 168.

The fragmentary Collared Urn (3), which so far has received little attention, is of considerable interest. Three features suggest that it must belong early in the tradition and most probably to its Primary Series.¹ The extension of decoration below the shoulder on to the body of the vessel is an infrequent trait, distinctive of that series. Secondly, the arrangement of the decoration into narrow horizontal zones assigns the vessel to a relatively small group of comparable pots clearly displaying Beaker-derived decoration.² In this connection it is interesting to note that the general scheme of short vertical impressions split and enclosed by horizontal lines is closely comparable to that on the Beaker (1) from the same site. A third feature which deserves comment is the use of plaited cord. Though this type of cord impression is occasionally found in England and Wales on vessels of the *Secondary Series* (9 times), it is far more frequently found on vessels of the *Primary Series* (20 times).³ It is reasonable to suppose therefore that when plaited cord does occur in the *Secondary Series*, the vessels on which it is used are likely to be early rather than late in that series. Ferry Fryston lies on the Western edge of the main distribution of Collared Urns carrying this trait in England and Wales (Fig. 7) though isolated examples are known from Lancashire, Cheshire, Anglesey and Pembroke.

The Beaker (1), which belongs to a developed stage (phase 2) of Dr. D. L. Clarke's Southern Beaker tradition,⁴ is clearly the earliest of the four vessels from the site, but no great distance in time need separate the Food Vessel (2), of classic *Yorkshire Vase* form, and the Collared Urn (3). The remaining vessel, Collared Urn (4), on the other hand suggests a rather later date and one post 1400 B.C. This vessel belongs to the *Secondary Series* of the Collared Urn tradition showing typological development away from earlier usages. In shape and decoration the vessel clearly belongs to the *North Western Style*. The form, with a neck, straight but converging towards the shoulder is virtually confined to the North of England, and vessels carrying linear incised lattice or lozenge designs on the neck have their greatest density in the North West (Fig. 8). Jabbed shoulder ornament, while recurring more widely, is a consistent feature on vessels in this style. The affinities of this vessel then are essentially with the hill folk of the Pennines, Peak and North Yorkshire Moors rather than those living on the more fertile lands of the south and east. The position of the site near the mouth of Airedale, one of the natural cross-Pennine routes of the period, merely goes to emphasise this connection.

COLLARED URNS WITH PLAITED CORD ORNAMENT
IN ENGLAND AND WALES

<i>Primary Series</i>					
Kempston, Beds.	..	..	..	<i>P.P.S.</i> , xxvii (1961)	296 no. 106
Newport Pagnell, Bucks.	..	..	..	" "	296 no. 102
Tyringham, Bucks.	..	..	..	" "	296 no. 103
Grappenhall, Cheshire	..	..	..	" "	298 no. 199
Orton Longueville, Hunts.	..	..	..	" "	297 no. 134
Harston, Leics. . .	..	..	..	" "	298 no. 166
Caythorpe, Lincs.	..	..	..	" "	298 no. 204
Colney, Norfolk	..	..	..	" "	297 no. 161
Water Newton, Northants.	..	..	..	" "	297 no. 124
Alwinton, Northumberland	..	..	..	" "	301 no. 327
Cassington, Oxon	..	..	..	" "	296 no. 94
Felixstowe, Suffolk ⁵	..	..	..	" "	297 no. 150
Icklingham, Suffolk	..	..	..	" "	297 no. 152
Ipswich, Suffolk	..	..	..	" "	297 no. 153
Goodmanham, Y.E.R.	..	..	..	" "	299 no. 242
Painsthorpe, Y.E.R.	..	..	..	" "	299 no. 250
Grindle Top, Y.N.R.	..	..	..	" "	300 no. 275
Weapon-ness, Y.N.R.	..	..	..	" "	300 no. 299
Ferry Fryston, Y.W.R.	..	..	..	" "	300 no. 308
Barclodiad y Gawres, Anglesey	..	..	..	" "	301 no. 350
Nr. W. Williamstown, Pemb.	..	..	..	" "	303 no. 401
<i>Secondary Series</i> ⁶					
Elstow, Beds.				<i>Bedford Modern School Museum Guide</i> (1925), Pl. 7, A1	
Durham				<i>Arch. Ael.</i> 3rd s., xi, (1914), 170, Fig. 23	
Lancaster, Lancs.				<i>J.B.A.A.</i> , xxi, (1865), 160, Pl. 7 no. 1	
Sproughton, Suffolk				<i>P.S.I.A.</i> , xxix.2, (1962), 183, Fig. 25d	
Weybridge, Surrey				<i>Surrey A.C.</i> , xxxv, (1924), 14, Pl. iva	
High Nova, Y.N.R.				Unpub. York Mus. 1146.47	
Nawton, Y.N.R.				Ed. J. McDonnell (1963), <i>A History of Helmsley, Rievaulx and District</i> , 394, Fig. 15, no. 2	
Penny Hill, Y.N.R.				Unpub. York Mus. 1101.47	
11 m. E. of Pickering, Y.N.R.				Unpub. Sheffield Mus. N.181	

¹ *P.P.S.*, xxvii, (1961), 263ff, No. 308. ² *Ibid.*, 276.
³ Excluding the example under discussion. ⁴ I am indebted to Dr. Clarke for examining this vessel.
⁵ The provenance of this vessel may be Levington rather than Felixstowe cf *P.S.I.A.* (1962), xxix.2, 185. A Sherd, possibly from Bungay, *ibid.*, 182, Fig. 24m, also carries plaited cord.
⁶ The vessel from Rothbury, N'land, (*Arch. Ael.*, xv, (1892) 28 Pl. iii) seems to be decorated in pseudo-plaited cord actually executed in simple twisted cord.



FIG. 7. Distribution of Collared Urns with plaited cord ornament in England and Wales (see list, p. 301).

COLLARED URNS WITH LINEAR INCISED LATTICE/LOZENGE PATTERN
ON THE NECK IN ENGLAND AND WALES

<i>Primary Series</i> ¹							
Pendennis, Cornwall	..	..	..	<i>P.P.S.</i> , xxvii (1961)	294	no. 8	
Garlands, Cumb.	..	..	..	" "	301	no. 340	
Lacra, Cumb.	..	..	..	" "	301	no. 341	

¹ Not including Wilsford B5., *P.P.S.*, xxvii, (1961), 295 no. 81, on which an incised lattice pattern forms part of a zoned neck decoration not comparable to other examples.

Hungry Bentley, Derbys. . .	..	..	<i>P.P.S.</i> , xxvii (1961) 298 no. 175
Stanton Moor, Derbys. . .	..	..	" " " 298 no. 181
Stanton Moor, Derbys. . .	..	..	" " " 298 no. 186
Salmonby, Lincs. . .	..	..	" " " 299 no. 220
Danby, Y.N.R. . .	..	..	" " " 300 no. 269
Hutton Buscel CLIX, Y.N.R. . .	..	..	" " " 300 no. 280
Lodge Moor, Y.W.R. . .	..	..	" " " 300 no. 310
Lodge Moor, Y.W.R. . .	..	..	" " " 300 no. 311
Todmorden, Y.W.R. . .	..	..	" " " 301 no. 317
<i>Secondary Series</i>			
Sandyhill, Beds. . .	..	..	J. Abercromby (1912), <i>B.A.P.</i> , ii, Fig. 91
Eddisbury, Cheshire . .	..	..	W. J. Varley (1964), <i>Cheshire before the Romans</i> , 68, Fig. 20, no. 1
Eddisbury, Cheshire . .	..	..	W. J. Varley (1964), <i>Cheshire before the Romans</i> , 68, Fig. 20, no. 2
Aughertree, Cumb. . .	..	..	<i>Tr. C. & W.A.A.S.</i> , vi, (1883), 190-1
Broomrigg, Cumb. . .	..	..	<i>Tr. C. & W.A.A.S.</i> , i, (1950), 30-42, Fig. 4
Garlands, Cumb. . .	..	..	<i>Tr. C. & W.A.A.S.</i> , lvi, (1956), 8, Fig. 4, no.1
Garlands, Cumb. . .	..	..	<i>Ibid.</i> (not ill. Carlisle Mus. O.M. 265)
Little Mell Fell, Cumb. . .	..	..	<i>Tr. C. & W.A.A.S.</i> , lii, (1952), 178-80, Fig. 2
Netherhall, Cumb. . .	..	..	<i>Tr. C. & W.A.A.S.</i> , lvi, (1956), 2, Fig. 1, no. 4
Fin Cop, Derbys. . .	..	..	Unpub. Private Coll.
Flaxdale, Derbys. . .	..	..	J. Abercromby (1912), <i>B.A.P.</i> , ii, Fig. 89
Monsal Dale, Derbys. . .	..	..	J. Abercromby (1912), <i>B.A.P.</i> , ii, Fig. 79
Stanton Moor, Derbys. . .	..	..	<i>Ant. J.</i> , vi, (1926), 189
Stanton Moor, Derbys. . .	..	..	<i>D.A.J.</i> , lvii, (1936), 34, Pl. v, T.16A
Stanton Moor, Derbys. . .	..	..	<i>D.A.J.</i> , lvii, (1936), 34, Pl. v, T.16B
Stanton Moor, Derbys. . .	..	..	Unpublished. (Heathcote Coll. Birchover T.25D)
Stanton Moor, Derbys. . .	..	..	Unpublished. (Heathcote Coll. Birchover T.25E)
Durham . .	..	..	<i>Arch. Ael.</i> , 3rd s., xi, (1914), 170, Fig. 23
Bleasdale, Lancs. . .	..	..	<i>Ant. J.</i> , xviii, (1938), 163, Fig. 7
Bolton, Lancs. . .	..	..	<i>Tr. L. & C.H.S.</i> , iv, (1852), 131, Figs. 4 & 5
Coniston, Lancs. . .	..	..	<i>Tr. C. & W.A.A.S.</i> , x, (1910), 350, Fig.
Coniston, Lancs. . .	..	..	<i>Tr. C. & W.A.A.S.</i> , x, (1910), 350, Fig.
Lancaster, Lancs. . .	..	..	<i>J.B.A.A.</i> , xxxiii, (1877), 126, Fig.
Lancaster, Lancs. . .	..	..	<i>J.B.A.A.</i> , xxi, (1865), 160, Pl. 7, no. 2
Lancaster, Lancs. . .	..	..	Unpublished. (Lancaster Museum)
Over Darwen, Lancs. . .	..	..	<i>Tr. L. & C.H.S.</i> , xviii, (1865-6), 273-8, (H.S.1)
Over Darwen, Lancs. . .	..	..	<i>Tr. L. & C.H.S.</i> , xviii, (1865-6), 273-8, (H.S.2)
Over Darwen, Lancs. . .	..	..	<i>Tr. L. & C.H.S.</i> , xviii, (1865-6), 273-8, (H.S.6)
Over Darwen, Lancs. . .	..	..	<i>Tr. L. & C.H.S.</i> , xviii, (1865-6), 273-8, (H.S.7)
Over Darwen, Lancs. . .	..	..	<i>Tr. L. & C.H.S.</i> , xviii, (1865-6), 273-8, (H.S.13)
Urswick, Lancs. . .	..	..	<i>Tr. C. & W.A.A.S.</i> , lvii, (1957), 10
Aylestone, Leics. . .	..	..	<i>P.P.S.</i> , xvi, (1950), 71, Fig. 4
Aldro 87, Y.E.R. . .	..	..	J. R. Mortimer (1905), <i>Forty Years</i> , 67 (Hull Mus. xla)
Goodmanham, lxxxix, Y.E.R. . .	..	..	J. Abercromby (1912), <i>B.A.P.</i> , ii, Fig. 106a
N. Newbald, Y.E.R. . .	..	..	<i>P.S.A.</i> , 2nd s., vii (1876-8), 323
Riggs 33, Y.E.R. . .	..	..	J. R. Mortimer (1905), <i>Forty Years</i> , 175-6 (Hull Mus. cxxxiv)
Boulby, Y.N.R. . .	..	..	<i>Y.A.J.</i> , xxv, (1918), 48-52, Pl. ivb
Gilling cxxxii, Y.N.R. . .	..	..	W. Greenwell (1877), <i>British Barrows</i> , 344, (B.M. 79 12-9 1252)
3m. N. of Pickering, Y.N.R. . .	..	..	J. Abercromby (1912), <i>B.A.P.</i> , ii, Fig. 151
Prob. Baildon, Y.W.R. . .	..	..	Unpublished. (Bradford Mus. 28.35)
Barnside Common, Y.W.R. . .	..	..	<i>Reliquary</i> , v, (1899), 147, Fig. 2
Elbolton Cave, Y.W.R. . .	..	..	Skipton Museum
Ferry Fyryston, Y.W.R. . .	..	..	Above, Fig. 7, no. 4
Silsden, Y.W.R. . .	..	..	<i>Y.A.J.</i> , xxix, (1929), 362
Skircoat, Y.W.R. . .	..	..	J. A. Petch (1924), <i>Early Man in the district of Huddersfield</i> , 59, Fig. 26
Todmorden, Y.W.R. . .	..	..	Russell in H. L. Roth (1906), <i>The Yorkshire Coiners</i> , 313, Fig. 225, 6a
Todmorden, Y.W.R. . .	..	..	Russell in H. L. Roth (1906), <i>The Yorkshire Coiners</i> , 307ff. (not ill.)
Warley, Y.W.R. . .	..	..	H. L. Roth (1906), <i>The Yorkshire Coiners</i> , 295, Fig. 195
Warley, Y.W.R. . .	..	..	H. L. Roth (1906), <i>The Yorkshire Coiners</i> , 295, Fig. 196
Abercar Farm, Breck . .	..	..	<i>A.C.</i> , xciv, (1939), 22-3, Fig. 2
Bwlch-y-groes, Cards. . .	..	..	<i>A.C.</i> , xcvi, (1941), 31-48, Fig. 1
Llanwenog, Cards. . .	..	..	<i>A.C.</i> , x, (1910), 373-9
Wstrws, Cards. . .	..	..	<i>A.C.</i> , v, (1905), 62-9, Fig. 3A & C

Wstrws, Cards. . .	..	..	..	A.C., v, (1905), 62-9, Fig. 3B
Fairwood Common, Glam.	..	..	..	A.C., xcvi, (1944-5), 57-63, Fig. 7.1
Leterston, Pemb.	..	..	..	A.C., c, (1949), 67-87, Fig. 7A
Leterston, Pemb.	..	..	..	A.C., c, (1949), 67-87, Fig. 7F



FIG. 8. Distribution of Collared Urns with linear incised lattice/lozenge pattern on the neck in England and Wales (see list, p. 302).

by Miss R. Powers, Sub-Department of Anthropology, British Museum (Natural History)

Skeleton 1, Mound II.

The Skull: Both parietals, both temporals, the occipital (minus basioccipital) and the right half of the frontal are present, though too fragmentary for measurement. The malars, maxillae, mandible and most of the teeth are present and the dental formula may be reconstructed as follows:

Attrition is severe and has removed the entire crowns of the remaining incisors and the upper molars. Small abcess cavities are associated with the right upper first premolar and the inner root of the right upper first molar. A loose molar, probably the right upper second, is represented by the two outer roots with a caries cavity penetrating into the pulp chamber. The extent of the caries was such that it had separated the tooth into halves. There are grooves, either post-mortem erosion or the start of caries, in the interproximal neck region of several of the lower molars. Some calculus is present on the anterior lower teeth, on the labial surface. These teeth at least had been lost during life, *II*, *Rt.*, *Pm l L.*, and *Pm l Rt.*, the latter some years before death with the result that the adjacent teeth had drifted in and almost closed the gap. The cranial sutures are fused but not obliterated, and the temporal sutures are open. An age between 45 and 60 would be consistent with both cranial and dental conditions.

The distal end of the left ulna is lipped where it contacts the radius. The intervertebral surfaces of the body of lumbar V are very osteoporotic and the arthritic deformity is also present in the sacrum. There are similar osteo-arthritic changes affecting the whole cervical spine and involving the lateral articulations as well as the intervertebral surfaces.

The Skull: Two small fragments, probably occipital and parietal, not belonging to the main skeleton and differing from it in preservation. Two teeth: a lower incisor showing moderate wear and an upper second or third molar with no wear.

Post-Cranial Skeleton: A short length of fibula shaft, another of humerus (about mid shaft), the upper end of a femur shaft and the distal epiphysis of a femur of practically adult size. Unidentifiable long-bone fragments.

Although there is no proof that these bones all belong to one individual they could all be accounted for as an individual aged between 10 and 20.

Cremation: From the filling of the same grave came a fragment of cremated long-bone, probably a radius, under 2 cm. long. No other fragments of cremated bone were found.

Mound I: The only bones from Mound I, from the disturbed area (p. 298), reconstruct into two portions of animal bone, probably innominate.

Measurements of Skeleton 1:

Bimental breadth (ZZ) = 42 mm. Min. B. Ramus (RB¹) = 31 mm.

Lateral diameter of femur (FeD2) = 33 mm.

Anterior-posterior diameter of femur (FeD1) = 29 mm.

ESH'S BARROW

By J. D. HICKS

On 1 November 1866 William Greenwell spent the day supervising the opening of a round barrow south of the village of Helperthorpe in the East Riding of Yorkshire. In *British Barrows*¹ (1877) he published an account of this excavation, giving it the number xlix. Helping with the excavation was Robert Mortimer, of Fimber, who wrote a private account with a plan² which has recently been found in the Hull Museum among the papers left by his brother, J. R. Mortimer.

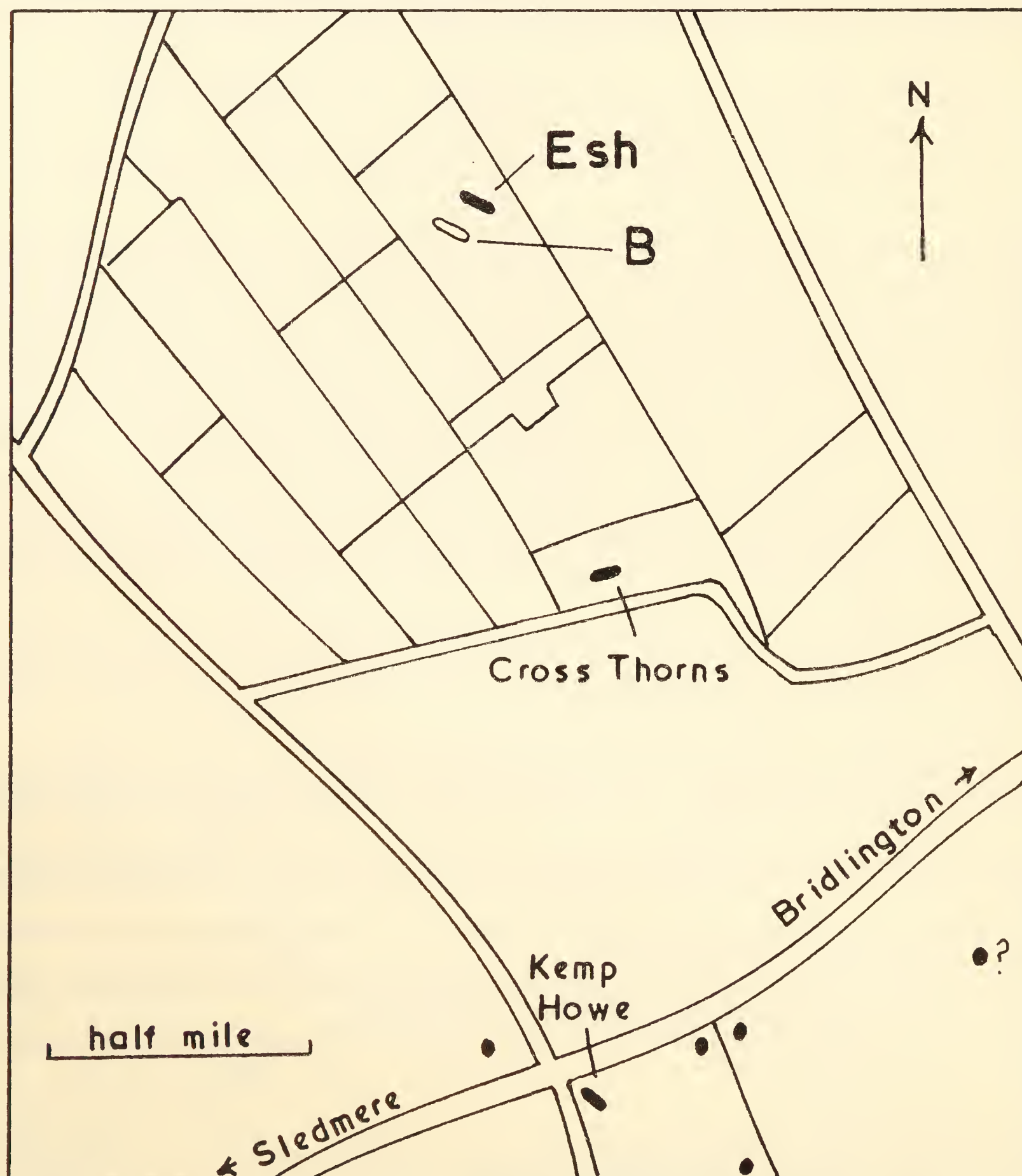


FIG. 1. Map of district around Esh's Barrow.

¹ pp. 205-8.

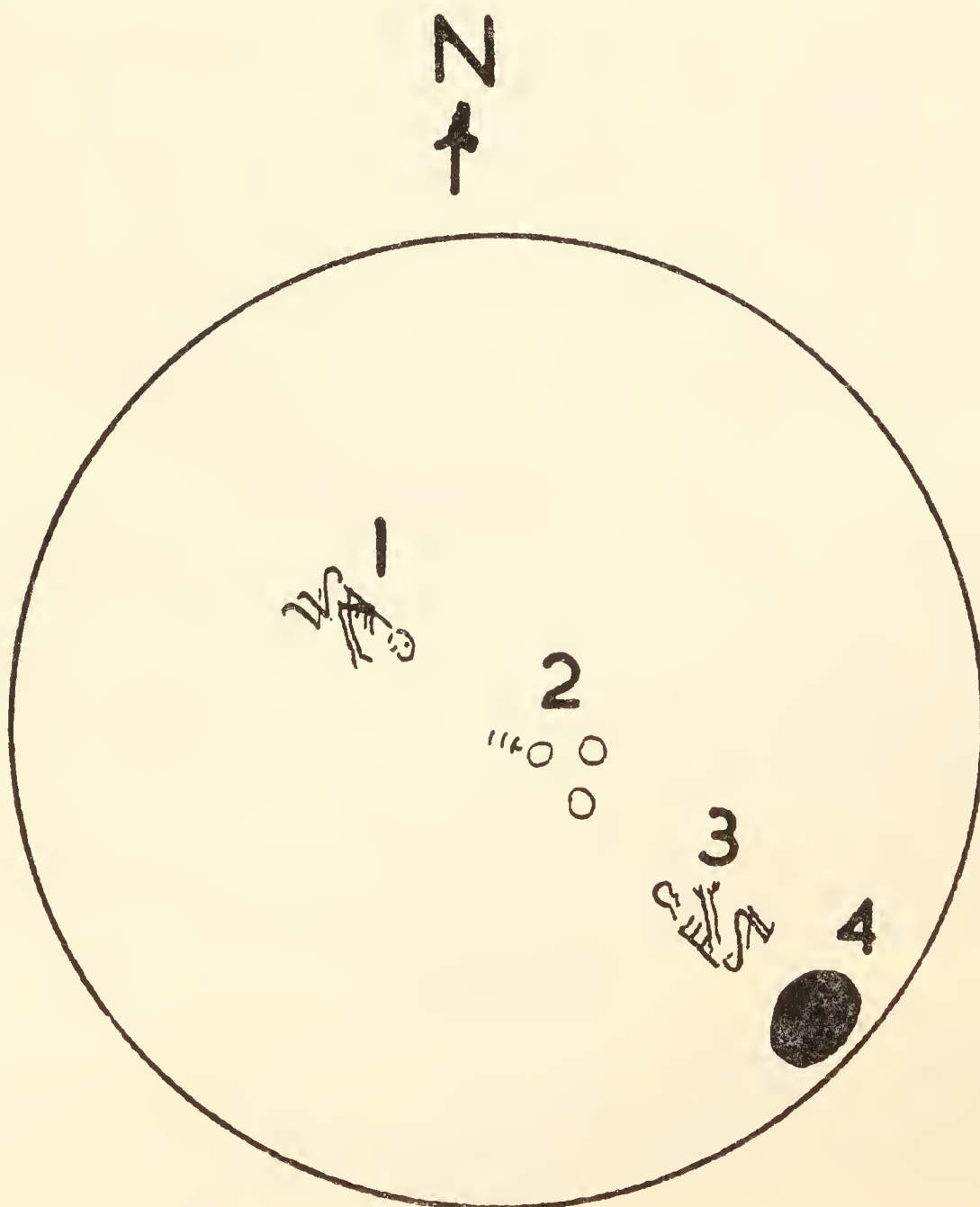
² Appendix A.

This barrow was given the name 'Esh's Round Barrow' by the Mortimer brothers and it is the source of the well-known primary neolithic material now in the Hull Museum. The name 'Esh' is that of Mr. R. Esh,¹ one time tenant of the farm which included the Helperthorpe Long Barrow (Cross Thorns -A²) and the fields to the north of it. Among the Esh Barrow material in the Hull Museum is a paper with a rough version of Plan No. 2 and the note 'Opened by Canon Greenwell. Eshes Round Barrow re-opened by J. R. Mortimer.' The exact site of the barrow was marked by J. R. Mortimer on his own 6 ins. O.S. map of the region³ and can be given as SE.95946892 in the parish of Luttons.

Greenwell found this barrow an unusual site with bronze-age features adjacent to a crematorium which latter immediately reminded him of a similar crematorium he had explored in the Willerby Wold Long Barrow. He considered that this site could possibly be a former long barrow (possibly of debased type) converted into a round barrow at a later period.

With the additional aid of Robert Mortimer's plan and account it is possible to list these features (see Plan No. 1):

BRITISH BARROW XLIX
ROBERT MORTIMER'S PLAN



PLAN No. 1.

¹ The name is given as 'R. Esh' in the manuscript of J. R. Mortimer's 'Forty Years . . .', p. 1007 and incorrectly printed in the published volume on p. 333. The manuscript is in the Hull Museum.

² Mortimer, 'Forty Years . . .', pp. 333-5.

³ Now in Hull Museum.

No. 1 on plan – was a crouched male inhumation placed on the natural surface. The body was accompanied by a bronze dagger (B.M. 79, 12–9, 528).¹

No. 2 on plan – is the position of the inhumation of a young child together with three skulls, all being placed on the natural surface. The skull farthest from inhumation no. 3 had some vertebrae and other bones in situ. This area was disturbed and a hollow containing a cremation was found below these three skulls but is not certainly an earlier burial.

No. 3 on plan – was a crouched adult male inhumation placed on the natural surface (the lower part of the body being burnt) and accompanied by a bone pin and a quartz pebble. Neither article can now be traced in the British Museum.

No. 4 on plan – is the crematorium which Greenwell said contained one or more bodies which probably indicates that the remains were disarticulated. Greenwell continues, 'Mixed chalk and flint had been laid upon the bones and then fired, the whole by the process having become compacted into a substance nearly as hard as stone and presenting many features in common with those of the calcined chalk and flint in the Long Barrow on Willerby Wold and others . . .'² Later he states that the crematorium covered an area of three and a half feet square. Robert Mortimer describes it as a deposit of 'calcined bones in all appearances having been burnt on the spot in a shallow cavity . . . they were in a very calcined fragmentary state: brecciated chalk containing bone was also dug out from the bottom of this spot . . .'³

According to an appendix⁴ to Robert Mortimer's account which was written by his brother, J. R. Mortimer, the two brothers decided to re-open this mound in February 1868. They found a penannular ditch three feet wide which they sectioned in five places. (No section drawings survive.) Two axial or ritual pits were also found – one being the centre of a thirty-six foot long feature, five feet wide and with vertical sides four feet eight inches deep which contained 'loose stones, soil, bits of charcoal and a few slightly burnt bones'. This appears to be the façade bedding trench of a long barrow of which Greenwell had previously found the crematorium. The central pit contained the almost complete primary neolithic pot published by Piggott in 1923.⁵ Other primary neolithic sherds came from the same pit and the fill of the trench. The bone material now in the Hull Museum (see Appendix C) may be from the façade bedding trench.

Conclusion

'Esh's Round Barrow' is the same site as Greenwell's British Barrow No. xlix. The site is located at SE.95946892. It consists of a round barrow containing inhumations overlying a long barrow, of which the façade bedding trench, crematorium and two or three axial pits have been examined. The concave façade bedding trench with its central pit compares with the Willerby Wold Long Barrow.⁶ The RAF air photographs of this region have been examined by Mr. D. Brachi, M.B.E., M.A., and the twin quarry ditches of the long barrow pin-pointed. Closely adjacent is another feature (B on site plan) which is discussed in Appendix D.

'Esh's Round Barrow' has been previously known as one of the series of East Yorkshire round barrows producing primary neolithic pottery. It is now shown that this pottery in fact comes from a long barrow underlying the round barrow.

REFERENCES

- 'British Barrows' (Greenwell), pp. 205–8.
 'Forty Years Researches . . .' (Mortimer).
Arch. Journ., lxxxviii (Piggott), p. 144 and Fig. 9, No. 3.
 Hull Museum Publication No. 162 (Sheppard), p. 108.
 East Riding Antiquarian Society Transactions, xxvii (Sheppard), pp. 167–72.
 Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society iii (Newbigin), p. 206 and Fig. 2, Nos. 3 and 6.

¹ Greenwell, 'British Barrows', Figs. 108 & 109.

² Greenwell, 'British Barrows', pp. 205–6.

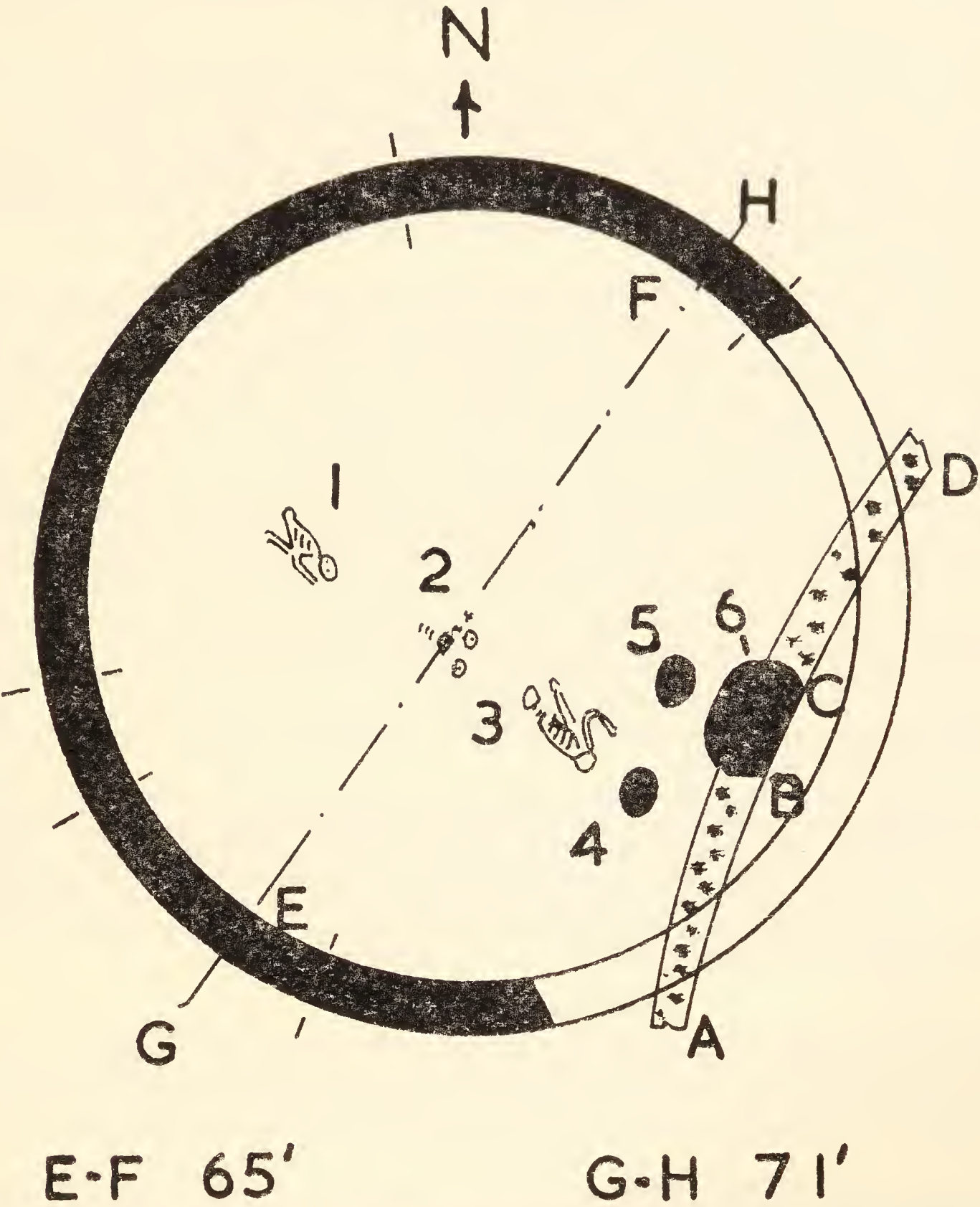
³ Appendix A.

⁴ Second part of Appendix A.

⁵ Piggott, *Arch. Journ.* lxxxviii, p. 144 & Fig. 9.

⁶ Manby, *P.P.S.*, xxix, p. 177, Fig. 178.

ESH'S ROUND BARROW
FEB 14 and 27 1868



PLAN No. 2.

APPENDIX A
1 NOVEMBER 1866.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE OPENING OF A BARROW UNDER MR. GREENWELL'S
SUPERVISION – HELPERTHORPE, EAST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE
by Robert Mortimer

[Some words are missing from the original.]

This barrow is unnoticed in O.S. sheet 126, 6 ins. scale, and is situated in the adjoining field north of Cross Thorns Barn, south of Helperthorpe. The mound measured 54 ft. in diameter and only 1½ ft. in height, it having been reduced by cultivation.

Skeleton No. 1 was doubled up lying on the left side with crown of the head pointing south-east. Between the knees and chin, Messrs. Greenwell & Evens (the latter gentleman a distinguished geologist and antiquarian from London) found a bronze blade with two rivets of the same metal attached; this

weapon measured $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long and 2 ins. in breadth where the haft had been fixed: we possess a similar example. Towards night, in the presence of Sir T. Sykes, Bart., Mr. Greenwell and the writer again went to the skeleton (No. 1) to make a further research and found three more bronze rivets and a bone fastening or loop which had been used for the short shaft of the dagger. The skull of this ancient British warrior was procured in good condition.

The three skulls marked No. 2 were next dealt with. They were lying contiguous to each other in a position forming an angle as represented in the foregoing plan: crown of their heads had also a bearing to the south-east and with each of their faces looking to the zenith. What is the most curious with this 'find' not any vertebrae nor leg bones were found with two of the skulls but with the adjoining western skull of this interment, fragile bones of the body were found, likewise some fragments of the calvarium of probably a fourth body. The three skulls were unmistakably juveniles of the *mean* age of likely a dozen years. Two of these skulls may be rebuilt, if so I think they will give a cephalic index of a dolichocephalic type – or long skull.

Skeleton 3 (the next interment) was found situated in direct line $16\frac{1}{2}$ ft. south-east from skeleton No. 1. Mr. Lovel and I bared it very carefully in situ and when doing so we found a bone skewer behind the head, $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long, closely accompanied with a quartz pebble nearly the size of a boy's marble. The femora of the skeleton measured 19 ins. but the femora of skeleton No. 1 only gave an extreme length of 18 ins; therefore, as the bronze dagger was found with Skeleton No. 1 and the bone pin or skewer with No. 3, I cannot refrain from conjecturing that the former may have been a male person and the latter female (probably the wife) notwithstanding its indicating the greater stature.

No. 4, shown on the diagram, represents a place of deposited *calcined* bones, in all appearances having been burnt on the spot in a shallow cavity; from the centre of this place of cremation to the skull of No. 3 measured $7\frac{1}{2}$ ft. The bones I believe belonged to both man and animal – probably the dog; they were in a very calcined and fragmentary state: brecciated chalk containing bone was also dug out from the bottom of this spot; but none of the burnt matter was preserved for future examination.

The interments Nos. 1 and 3 were only about 8 ins. below the apex of the 'howe', over the skull of No. 3 interment, portion of a leg bone was placed belonging to some other skeleton. The second interment, viz. the three skulls, was only 5 ins. within the mound. The cavity containing calcined bones was 15 ins. deep, dish-shaped and having a diameter of $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft.

A single fragment of an urn was picked up from the soil overlying the skeleton No. 3 but not any urns nor chipped flints were discovered.

I am of an opinion that there yet exists a rock grave somewhere below the base of the tumuli as the mound consisted in excess chalk rubble, in fine loose rock containing *charcoal* did appear beneath skeleton No. 3 in the plan above, but as night had nearly approached, the barrow was being rapidly completed and unsatisfactorily explored. The tumulus was trenched over with four-tined forks and shovels in a hurried manner by six or seven men as if by 'takework', a method not at all suitable for making antiquarian researches on a scientific principle – the greatest care and diligence are required with a barrow to find every accompaniment and to glean every connected therewith.

APPENDIX TO THE FOREGOING

Being one who witnessed the exploration of this mound by the Rev. W. Greenwell on 1 November 1866 and not being satisfied with the day's attempts on the investigation of its contents, we (brother and I) undertook to re-open this mound during the splendid weather experienced in February 1868, when the following highly interesting results were obtained and which can be best explained with the subsequent engraving.

We commenced operations by turning the barrow completely over and testing the ground beneath as we proceeded for grave interments. We discovered this tumulus to have been nearly surrounded with a trench, a custom which seems to have been frequently adopted by our early ancestors in their barrow makings.

In the centre body of the mound previously disturbed by Mr. Greenwell, we carefully examined the rock for underground graves but without our expectations of meeting with such being realised.

Towards the eastern margin of the tumulus we discovered, however, a circular deposit of undisturbed burnt bone (No. 5) measuring $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. in diameter and cut $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. deep dug into the rock. This 'nest' contained human bones consisting of portions of skull, part of under-jaw, finger bones, portion of scapula and several splinters of leg and arm bones: also mingled with the same were shells (*Helix Normalis*), a fragment about $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long of the neck-end of an antler of the stag and several bones seemingly of the same animal – the whole of which being partly burnt.

At a distance of 7 ft. to the east of the deposit of bones, we came in contact with red earth (No. 6) and a careful examination and removal of it followed. At a depth of 2 ft. we found a unique and nearly complete fictile vessel having been made with reddish earth of a common sort unsparingly mixed up with several pieces of chalk. This unique urn or drinking cup is of a hemispherical shape both within and without and has a slightly overhanging rim but without any other ornamentation. Its height is ft. and is ins. in diameter against the brim. The hole where the urn was found measured 4 ft. 8 ins. deep and extended over to the south $6\frac{1}{2}$ ft. and contained highly reddened soil (burnt) almost of the same colour as the urn itself, bits of charcoal, burnt bones and several fragments of another urn (apparently of a similar kind) scattered about, and we found as we proceeded to clear out the mysterious meany matter, parts of a third.

From this deposit (No. 6) at each end there extended a trench having the same depth of 4 ft. 8 ins. but shorter in width, being only 5 ft. The sections A-B and C-D differed in their filled-in-material from No. 6 (or B-C) by containing loose stones, soil, bits of charcoal and a few slightly burnt bones. Fragments of a third vessel of a well-hardened texture, having a slightly over-hanging rim, and small shells of the *Helix Normalis* were also met with.

The trench from A to B measured 16 ft. and from C to D 20 ft., thus making a total length of 36 ft. from A to D. The whole length of the trench had vertical sides, and – which is still more worthy of note – carried outwards at each end without a connecting balk.

This tumulus, when completely opened, proved to be a very interesting one and can be best explained by an engraving.

[J. R. Mortimer did not insert dimensions for the 'hemispherical' vessel.]

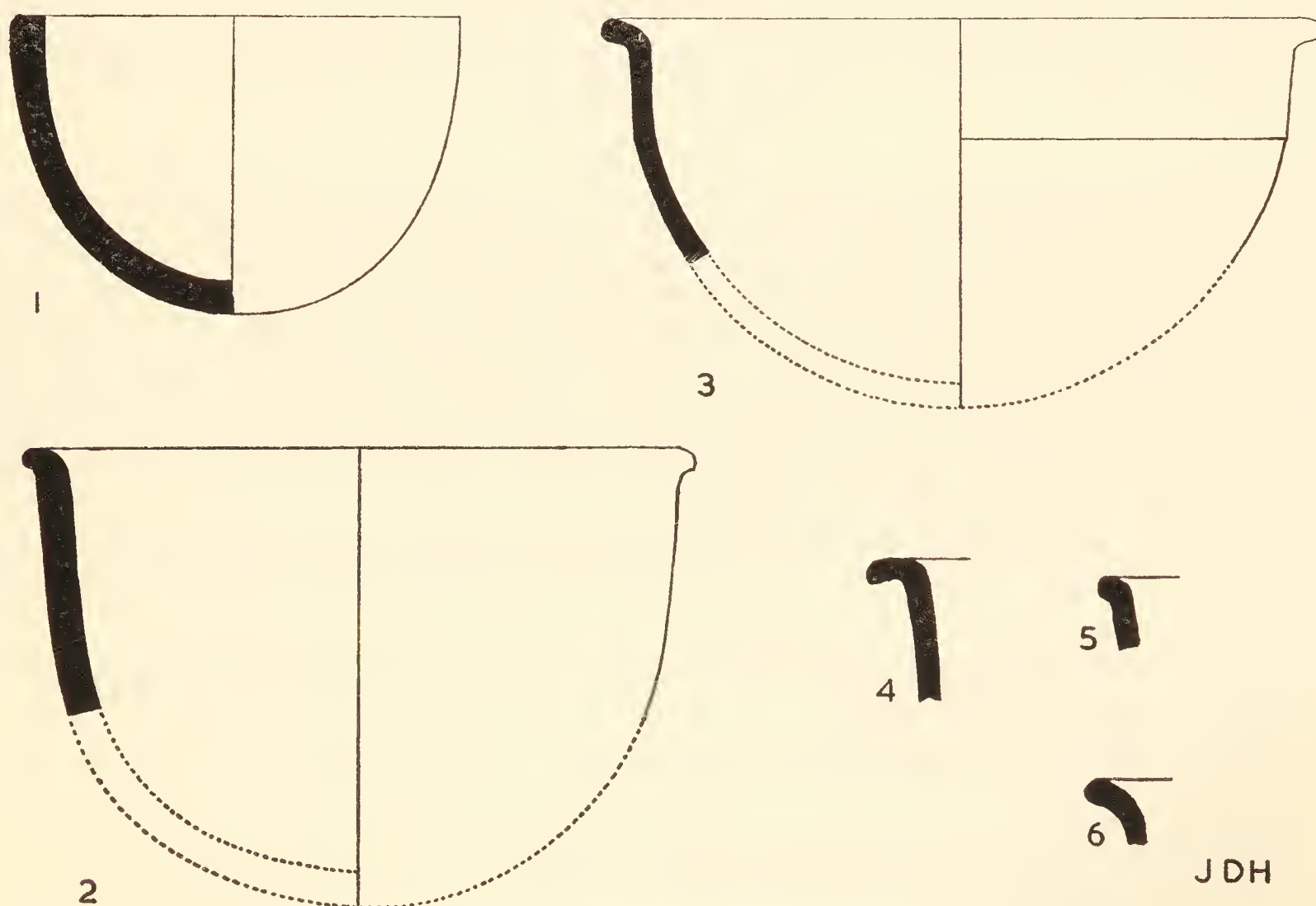


FIG. 2. Pottery from Esh's Barrow ($\frac{1}{3}$).

APPENDIX B

MATERIAL FROM ESH'S ROUND BARROW IN THE MORTIMER COLLECTION AT HULL

Bone Material (see Appendix C)

A few shells, possibly of *Helix Normalis*

One sherd of Romano-British pottery.

Primary Neolithic Pottery

This material consists of one almost complete vessel (No. 1) and a small collection of sherds including five rim pieces all from different vessels. Vessel No. 2 has a number of thin scratched marks on the outside. All the other fragments are without any decoration. Vessel No. 4, with flutings and rolled-over rim, is close in fabric to the Grimston Ware from the Grimston Long Barrow. The remainder of the vessels represented are not easy to classify as either Grimston or Heslerton Ware and must be regarded as having some features of both. A re-assessment of all the neolithic pottery from East Yorkshire will be needed before meaningful classification is possible.

The following notes refer to Fig. 2.

No. 1 (Published by Piggott, Sheppard & Newbigin)

An almost complete pot with most of the rim restored. Thick, dark, gritty ware and is 5 ins. in diameter. Museum No. 119:42

No. 2 (Published by Newbigin)

A single rim sherd with an irregular, pinched rim. Pink fabric with quartz, flint and shell grits and a rough finish. The outside with thin scratch marks. Diameter about 8 ins. Museum No. 120:42

No. 3

Rim sherd of smooth, hard, red ware with flint grits. About 8 ins. in diameter. Roll rim with narrow fluting. Museum No. 115:42

No. 4

One rim sherd of hard, light grey ware with large grits. About 13 ins. in diameter. Museum No. 114:42

No. 5

One rolled-rim sherd of hard gritted ware fired red-to-black. Museum No. 116:42

No. 6

One rim sherd of hard gritted ware fired red-to-black. Museum No. 116:42

In addition there is a quantity of body sherds.

APPENDIX C

REPORT ON THE BONE MATERIAL FROM ESH'S ROUND BARROW AND NOW
IN HULL MUSEUM

by Mrs. J. Dawes

The material investigated was comprised of 5½ ounces of bone fragments. These varied in condition from obviously calcined to apparently unburnt. The two largest pieces, roughly 80 mm. long came in the latter class. They were, however, very hard which may be the result of moderate heat. The rest of the fragments fell roughly in two halves one of which had fragments from 45–60 mm. in length and up to 30 mm. wide, and the other with fragment size 25–40 mm. long by up to 30 mm. wide. The colour of the fragments varied from white and buff to grey. Hardly any were heavily calcined but there was a great range of variation. All fragments were very hard and not brittle. Only on a group of the most heavily burnt pieces was there any distortion detected and these were again the only pieces showing heat fissuring to a slight extent. If these pieces were deliberately broken there is no evidence of this. A small amount of reconstruction was possible as some of the fragments belonged together. The breaks between adjacent pieces had for the most part occurred in antiquity.

Roughly a quarter of the fragments could be assigned to the skull. The rest were mainly long bone fragments. The following identifications were made. As far as could be seen all fragments except one were human.

1. Part of the left occipital bone near asterion.
2. Part of the left temporal bone with the mandibular fossa and part of the root of the zygomatic arch.
3. Part of the right petrous temporal.
4. Part of the right mandibular fossa.
5. Part of the right temporal above the mastoid process.
6. Portions of vault.
7. Part shaft left radius.
8. Lateral border of lower end left femur just above condyles.
9. Upper portion shaft of very large robust tibia.
10. Part shaft right femur.
11. Sundry portions of unidentified long bone pieces. One small length of long bone is possibly that of a small animal, hare or similar.

The development of the temporal pieces and extensive mastoid base suggests that a male may be represented. There is no evidence that more than one individual is present. From the size of the tibia fragment it is likely that he was very large and robust. The piece of femur (8) appears to end where the epiphysial would be expected. If this is correct it would suggest that the lower femoral condyle was not yet fully fused to the shaft which would indicate an age of less than 24. A fair selection of parts of the body are represented but the particle size is very big and if this is really all that was interred in the barrow it would seem that only a representative handful of large fragments was collected from the funeral pyre.

APPENDIX D

In the British Museum there is the following material labelled 'Helperthorpe E.R.Y. (Esh 1)'

Reg. Nos. 79, 12 –9, 1686 –90.

1686 decorated jet spacer-plate.

1687 half of similar plate.

1688 V perforated jet button.

1689 half of sandstone pebble.

1690 triangular sandstone rubber.

(Information kindly supplied by Dr. I. H. Longworth of the Department of British & Medieval Antiquities.)

In the manuscript of Mortimer '40 Years . . .', p. 1009 – 'Though Canon Greenwell opened this (Helperthorpe Long Barrow) and two other neighbouring barrows at the same time he only described one – xlix. He not infrequently omitted to mention a barrow in which he found nothing.' This passage was deleted by Sheppard.

In his study of the air photographs of the region around the Esh 'round' barrow, Mr. D. Brachi found another site at the position marked B on the site plan. This feature is either a long barrow or twin round barrows. The nearby Helperthorpe long barrow was marked on the early 6 ins. O.S. maps as two adjacent round barrows.

The three reports given in this appendix may possibly all refer to the same site.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This report owes much to the facilities afforded the writer by J. E. Bartlett, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., F.M.A., Director of the Hull Museums, who allowed access to the miscellaneous papers, reserve collections and records of the Museum as well as offering much advice at all stages in its preparation.

I also wish to record my thanks to Mr. D. Brachi, M.B.E., M.A., for interpretation of air photographs, Mrs. Jean D. Dawes, M.A., for the report on skeletal material, Dr. I. H. Longworth, M.A., F.S.A., for information on the Greenwell Collection now in the British Museum, and Mr. T. G. Manby, M.A., for advice on a number of points.

THE MESOLITHIC PERIOD IN NORTH-EAST YORKSHIRE

By J. RADLEY

In the last twenty years there has been an enormous increase in the quantity of information concerning the Mesolithic period on the North-east Yorkshire moors. This is due to the growing number of collectors, detailed recording by such people as R. H. Hayes, and renewed investigation into the botanical history of the area. These activities have been facilitated by the exposing of considerable areas of mineral soil as a result of the removal of the peat cover by accidental burning, military activities, deforestation and afforestation. The exposed mineral soil has yielded concentrations of flint artifacts, and in many cases in partially denuded areas the relationship of the flints to the lower peat horizons can be observed. This paper is a general statement of the number of sites involved, the location of these sites, a detailed description of some representative sites and a tentative assessment of their chronological position.

Background to the Mesolithic period in North-east Yorkshire

In 1863, the Rev. J. C. Atkinson described a flint site near Siss Cross, Danby, where he found a 'Celtic flint-implement factory . . . sufficient in quantity to half-fill a fair-sized fishing basket', and many individual artifacts were like 'the point of a not very large three-cornered needle'. Another site, two miles away, was confined to an area 6 to 8 ft. across [1]. These must rank as two of the earliest recorded Mesolithic sites in Britain. In 1912, A. L. Armstrong found a site between Hawnby and Chop Gate and Elgee records a site from between Farndale and Westerdale with fifty microliths, with smaller sites on Brown Hill, Commondale, and at Cock Heads [2]. Elgee adopted the current designation of Tardenoisian for these sites. The best recent statement on the Mesolithic is that by R. H. Hayes [3], but this is confined to the Ryedale area. He records twenty-two sites, all from above 1,000 ft. O.D., which range from a small scatter of waste flakes to what must have been elaborate series of flint-working areas, each with an abundance of diagnostic implements. From Atkinson to Hayes the sites have two common factors – they are confined to the high ground, and they yield an abundance of microliths.

It is difficult to place these North Yorkshire sites in the existing scheme of the British Mesolithic for two reasons. First, there is no modern comprehensive survey of the British Mesolithic, and second, the existing classification of microliths into standard shapes [4] does not lend itself to a simple description of the North Yorkshire implements.

It is possible from a few Carbon 14 dates to construct a tentative framework for Britain which accommodates the major components of the period in an early and a late phase. Fig. 1 shows the sort of dates which can be expected within and near to Britain, and which divide the different industries into a rough chronological scheme. At the end of the Younger Dryas period (c. 8000 B.C.) the first hunting-fishing groups moved around the fringes of the shrunken North Sea. This may have included survivors of the Tjongerian group which are known from the Allerød period (c. 10,000–8850 B.C.), and certainly included people coming from the east with Maglemosian industries in the eighth millennium B.C. [5]. It is possible that descendants of the French late Magdalenian people found their way into Britain, represented by some of the pure rod microlithic sites in the Pennines [6], followed by those people from the south who brought truly miniature microliths, the Sauveterrian culture. It has been said that an industry with Sauveterrian affinities was recovered from Peacock's Farm, Cambridge, and that many Yorkshire sites have similar affinities [7]. It is worth noting here that it can be argued that while the Yorkshire industries are close to the French type sites, as Coulanges pointed out in 1935 [8], the Peacock's Farm site does not stand in so close a relationship as the Yorkshire sites.

Movement in and out of Britain was restricted when Britain became an island in c. 6000 B.C. and this terminated the early phase, with the representatives of at least two traditions living in southern Britain, and the remnants of other traditions surviving in northern Britain. The subsequent evolution of the continental Tardenoisian culture, flourishing in the fifth to third millenia B.C., appears to have had only a marginal influence on the contemporary British Mesolithic. Sites which have been dated to this island phase, such as Peacock Farm and Oakhanger, do not display large scale innovations but rather a mixture of Maglemosian and Sauveterrian elements, due no doubt to interaction between the descendants of the original colonists. Occasionally Tardenoisian microlithic types can be recognised which probably illustrate a limited contact with the continent. This hybrid culture seems to have extended into the Neolithic period, that is after 3000 B.C. and may have survived as late as 2000 B.C. in highland areas, evolving new forms of microliths and perhaps incorporating Neolithic arrowheads into its technology. This framework, spanning over 5,000 years, will no doubt be modified as more dates from surface and sealed sites become available, but at least it permits a reasoned statement of the nature of the Cleveland industries.

	CONTINENT	BRITAIN
Maglemosian	<div>Kosterlund7040 ± 140</div> <div>Post-Kosterlund6440 ± 150</div>	<div>Thatcham8080 ± 120</div> <div>7550 ± 170</div> <div>Star Carr7638 ± 209</div>
Sauveterrian	<div>Rouffignac7045</div> <div>6420</div>	<div>Ickornshaw Moor6150</div> <div>(Britain becomes an island)</div>
Tardenoisian	<div>Rouffignac5850</div> <div>Hoedic4625 ± 350</div> <div>Coincy-en-Tardenois3090 ± 350</div> <div>2790 ± 350</div>	<div>Peacock's Farm5650 ± 150</div> <div>Oakhanger4400 ± 120</div>
Neolithic	<div>Curnic4030</div>	<div>Fussell's Lodge3230 ± 180</div> <div>Hembury3140 ± 180</div> <div>Seamer Moor3080</div>

FIG. 1. British and Continental C.14 dates for the Mesolithic period (dates all B.C.)

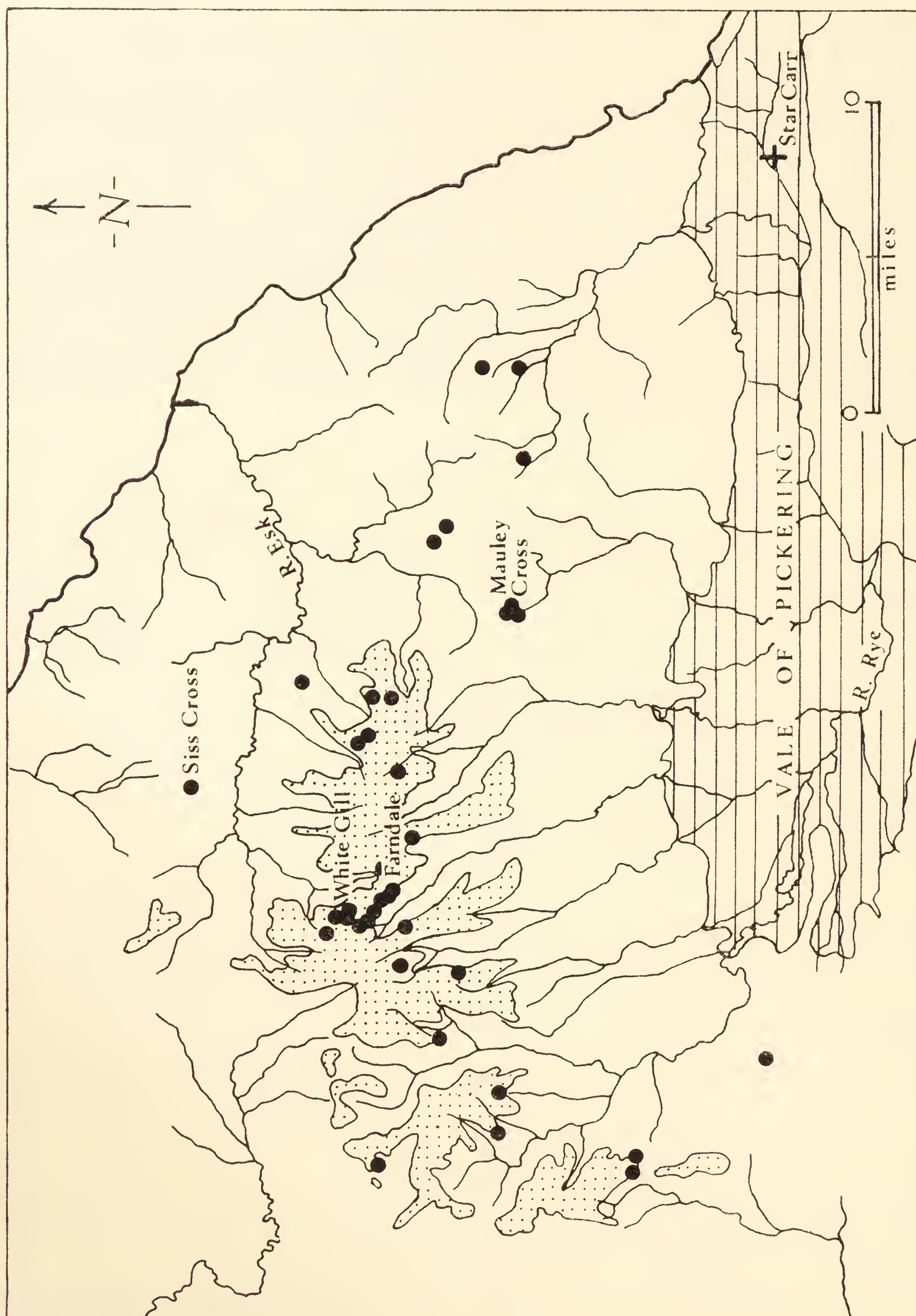


Fig. 2. Mesolithic Sites in North-east Yorkshire. Stippled area is over 1,000 ft. O.D.

The North Yorkshire Moors

It is probable that the sharp topographical distinction between the gently undulating upland plateau and the deeply incised dales exercised a degree of control in the choice of areas utilised by Mesolithic groups for their camp sites or temporary settlements. Very

few remains have been found in the dales, even where ploughing permits flint collecting, and curiously few remains have been found along the coast where one might expect the shoreline to exert an attraction, as in the case of the Crimdon Dene site in County Durham [9]. Some small sites have been found in the peripheral hills, and particularly on the southern side of the moors, but the majority of the large sites have been found on the undulating watersheds above 1,000 ft. O.D. between the headwaters and upper courses of the main rivers, in particular on the broad spine of gritstone which includes the high moors of Egton, Glaisdale, Danby, Farndale, Westerdale and Baysdale (Fig. 2).

Dimbleby [10] has demonstrated that it would be wrong to assume that the hunters operated in an environment similar to the present one. Prior to human intervention, these hills were covered by a well-developed woodland dominated by oak, alder, birch and hazel, and only later was the tree canopy thinned to such an extent that heathers, grasses, and rushes were able to dominate the increasingly damp and peaty hills. In a milder climate than that of the present it is possible that the uplands were occupied by round-the-year semi-permanent settlers who hunted red deer, pig, flocks of birds, fished and collected vegetable products, although the evidence for these materials is very scant. For a limited period Mesolithic man appears to have found optimum hunting conditions on the North Yorkshire moors, and it remains to define as far as possible how they lived and when.

The Early Mesolithic Period

The most striking feature of an examination of the flint assemblage from these moors is the apparent absence of Maglemosian remains. With Star Carr only a few miles away, and later, developed Maglemosian remains from Bringham [11], Selby [12], Hornsea [13], and the Pennines [14], no site has been found on the moors. It seems unlikely that many sites will be forthcoming, perhaps due to the lack of riverine or lake-side habitats which were usually preferred.

There are probably some Sauveterrian-like sites in the area but none have been isolated from the various surface collections. All the components are present on most sites, but these sites also usually include diagnostically late tool forms. As a result, there is no certain evidence from this period covering *c.* 8000–6000 B.C.

The Late Mesolithic Period

The bulk of all the flint collections appears to belong to the later Mesolithic, where tool forms are characterised by regional variations on the Maglemosian and Sauveterrian technologies, together with some Tardenoisian forms. In general, the sites described below appear to belong to a regional variation which has primarily grown out of the earlier Sauveterrian.

The flint sites, large restricted spreads of tools and waste, occur along the fingers of erosion which have dissected the peat cover; on wind-swept areas where the peat has been removed by fire; and in areas prepared for afforestation. Because of the distance from roads, these areas have seldom been excavated, and as a result little significance has been attached in this report to individual tools.

A. West of Bilsdale

In 1966 a site yielding mainly triangular microliths was found on Hawnby Moor (SE.548943) and a similar site is known on Cow Ridge (SE.950526) [15]. A large collection from the head of Scugdale was made in the 1930's [16]. On the Hambleton Hills sites are known at Hesketh Dike (SE.518878), Sneck Yate (SE.507878) and Wass Moor (SE.567813) [17].

B. East of Bilsdale – Bransdale Moors

Material has come from many places in this area. A recent site, found by R. Pollard of Bradford, covered an area 50 ft. across on Nab End Moor (SE.580980), and included microlithic rods, points, and triangles. Nearby large Neolithic scrapers and *petit tranchet derivative* arrowheads were found.

At Three Howes, above Ouse Gill Head (SE.637978), Hayes excavated (1938–41) flints from below 4 ft. of peat. On Cockayne Ridge, at 1,300 ft. O.D. (SE.613906) another site was located. Quantities of flint have been found on Urra Moor. One site on Bilsdale East Moor (SE.609968) has yielded over fifty microlithic rods.

C. *Baysdale – Westerdale – Farndale Moors*

Elgee noted this as a productive area [18] and almost every person collecting from these moors has quantities of tools from this area. Isolated sites are known on Stockdale Moor (SE.630038) and Stoney Ridge (SE.630925), but between the heads of Farndale and Westerdale is one of the richest series of sites in Britain. Large collections have been made at Common Stone at 1,330 ft. (NZ.627000), near Ash House (NZ.648003), near Blakey House (SE.679995) by R. H. Hayes, A. Smith, W. Thornley, G. Williams, and others. Hayes excavated, 1950–3, a small site above Esklets at 1,275 ft. (NZ.666008) and has recorded quantities of flints from the largest site in the area at White Gill (NZ.640027).

D. *Danby – Glaisdale – Rosedale Moors*

Sites have been known here for over a century, especially on Glaisdale High Moor, and a few on Rosedale Moor, for example, on Northdale Beck (NZ.713002). Elgee noted flints from Cock Heads [19], and recently J. Bartlett has examined an area 100 by 50 ft. at 1,300 ft. O.D. (NZ.72930162) which yielded microliths and an arrowhead [20]. One of the rare transept axes from this region was found at Cock Heads.

E. *Egton – Wheeldale – Goathland Moors*

There are fewer sites on these moors, but recently a small site has been found at Yarlsey Moss (NZ.749006) [21]. Wheeldale Moor is virtually devoid of sites. At Simon Howe (SE.830983) the 1947 fire revealed thousands of flints, some of which are Mesolithic with microlithic rods and triangles and two arrowheads [22].

F. *Spaunton – Pickering – Lockton Moors*

These lower moors have yielded several small sites and also a large site at Mauley Cross (SE.796945) [23].

G. *Other Areas*

Microliths and waste flints are still found at Siss Cross on Danby Low Moor (NZ.070704) and at Brown Hill on Comondale Moor. Small flint groups have been found at Sil Howe Bog, Sleights Moor, and low down at 700 ft. small sites have recently been found on Wykeham High Moor (SE.918959) and on Maw Rigg, Wykeham (SE.922935) [24].

The Content of these Industries

A. *White Gill*

The key site on the North Yorkshire Moors is that at White Gill, which is by far the richest site and as such deserves the most detailed treatment. Numerous collectors have removed thousands of flints from this site [25], but this account is based on the collection of W. Thornley of Bolton, Lancs., together with the author's own collection. Because Thornley collected tiny pieces as well as more obvious artifacts, it is probable that his collection is truly representative of the site.

The flint is usually brittle, opaque, yellow-grey-brown, with a few pieces showing incipient patination and others fire-crazing. The assemblage was recovered from an area 50 yds. across on a gentle north-east facing slope at 1,250 ft. above the steep head of Westerdale. The area is denuded of much of its peat and the flints are easy to see. Surviving lumps of peat permit flints to be excavated with little effort. Immediately south-east of the site is the upper course of White Gill after which the site is named. The site has been intensively searched for structures but, although charcoal abounds, no hut foundations have been found. The location has little protection at present from the westerly winds and has wide sweeping views of Westerdale and across Eskdale.

The industry can be summarised as follows:

<i>Waste</i>			<i>Tools</i>		
Cores	..	117	Microliths	..	837
Core trimmings	..	76+	Long blades	..	132
Microburins	..	53	Scrapers	..	18
Débris	..	6400+	Notched pieces	..	10
			Knives	..	18
			Saws	..	4
			Burins	..	6
			Awls	..	2
			Retouched pieces	..	36+

The intention appears to have been to produce small and large blades with some tools being made from irregular flakes. Most of the reasonably complete large blades (5–7 cm.) show signs of use, but only a few have any retouching. Where a deliberate straight-edge has been produced they have been called knives.

The cores are generally small (2.5–3.5 cm.), with one or two platforms tending towards a flat, conical or cylindrical shape.

The flint must have been fairly intractable since it was necessary to frequently rejuvenate the cores but only a few classic rejuvenation flakes have been isolated. The cores in their abandoned state are only large enough to produce the blades necessary for microlith production and occasionally the microburin technique was used. Fifty-three microburins can be classified as follows:

Right-hand side notched	–	Butt	–	37
		Tip	–	3
		Mishit	–	9
		Double	–	1
Left-hand side notched	–	Butt	–	1
		Tip	–	1
		Mishit	–	1

The majority of blades have such small percussion bulbs that they were normally ignored and the bulbs are still wholly or partly intact on many microliths. Many whole or broken microliths have been recovered but the more fragmentary ones are excluded from the following classification:

	Microliths Unburnt	Microliths Burnt	Total
Triangles	241	37	278
Rods, one side worked	249	30	279
Rods, both sides worked	34	4	38
Points	65	7	72
Tranchet forms	8	—	8
Others	115	—	115

This subdivision tends to obscure an important point: most of these forms grade into each other as the illustration (Fig. 3) shows, so that rods with parallel sides may taper at one or both ends to form a Sauveterrian point, and an angle added to one side makes a triangle. Besides these shapes, there are a few C- and S-shaped microliths; others made from splinters and core trimmings; crescents, pear-shaped, and boat-shaped examples. At least seventy-eight have been burnt.

The remaining tools are very few. The few scrapers are short end and side scrapers. There are no axes or axe fragments, and the only wood and bone working tools are a few saws and burins.

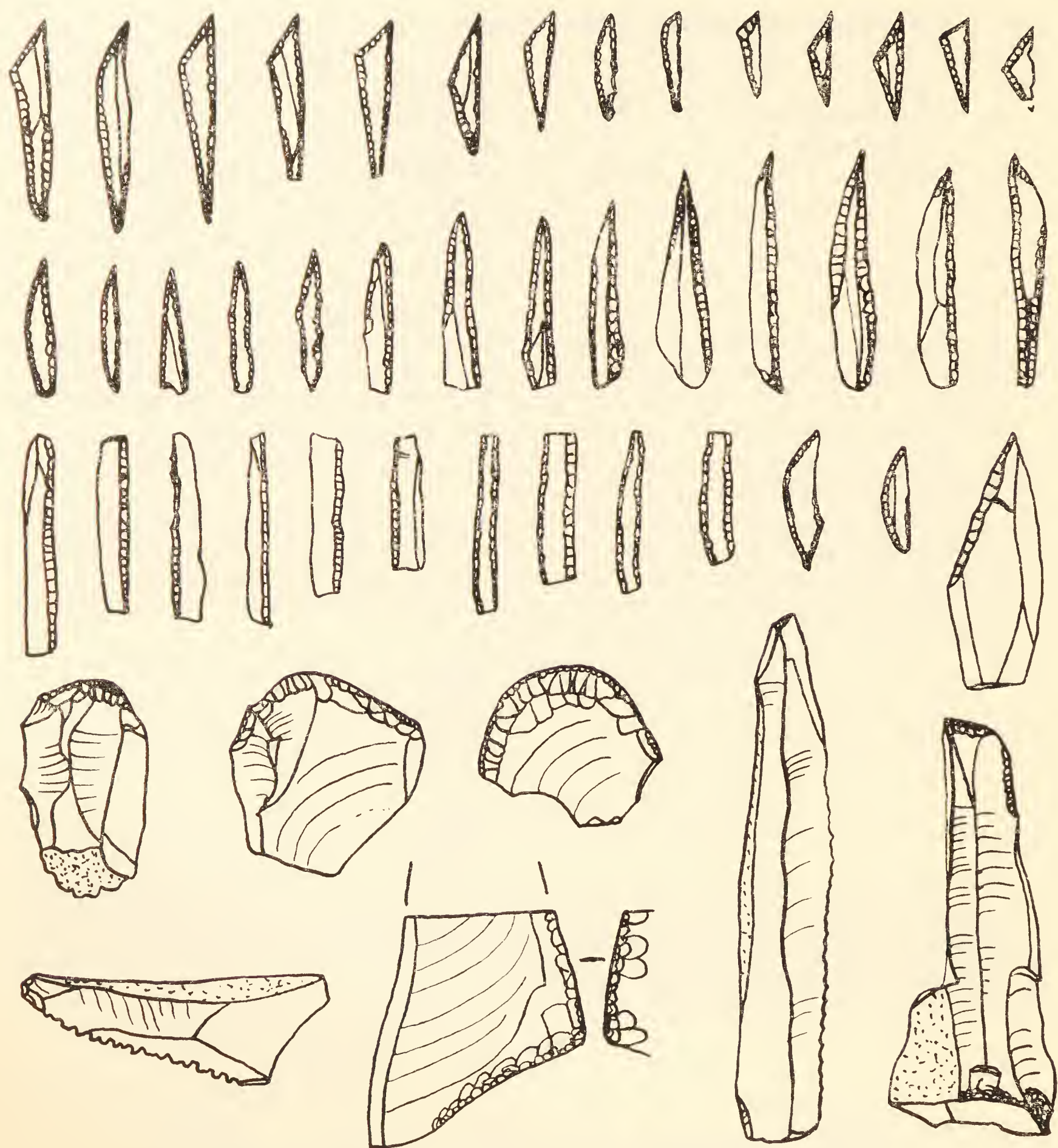


FIG. 3. A representative series of tools from White Gill. ($\frac{1}{1}$).

B. *Farndale Moor*

In 1948-9, Thornley found three similar sites (NZ.648010, 650007, 650005) which can be treated together:

<i>Waste</i>			<i>Tools</i>		
Cores	..	25	Microliths	..	58
Core trimmings	..	37	Long blades	..	157
Microburins	..	3	Scrapers	..	2
Débris	..	1800	Notched pieces	..	4
			Knives	..	3
			Saws	..	3
			Awl	..	1
			Burins	..	3
			Retouched pieces	..	7

The cores are small (2.7–3.4 cm.) with one or two platforms. Hearths are suggested by 710 burned pieces of débris. Long blades are prominent, with many showing signs of use. The microliths are as follows:

Triangles	..	..	6
Rods, one side worked		..	46
Rods, both sides worked		..	4
Others	..	..	2

There are probably many other sites on this moor, and many isolated finds have been made.

C. *Mauley Cross*

This site was first recorded in 1905 [26], and flints were found here after the 1944 ploughing, but the largest modern collection was made by the late Mrs. J. Gibbs-Smith from 1956–62 when the area was ploughed for afforestation. Now in the Yorkshire Museum, this homogeneous industry has a limited use since the smaller artifacts were not collected.

Waste				Tools			
Cores	..	..	49	Microliths	..	..	229
Core trimmings		—	5	Scrapers	..	..	8
Débris	..	..	1700	Notched Flake		..	1
				Retouched blades		..	15
				Saws	..	..	2
				Knife	..	..	1
				Burins	..	..	2

The occupants of this site at 825 ft. O.D. used the ubiquitous opaque brittle flint which was recovered at a depth of 8 ins. in sandy soil. The cores are usually small (less than 3 cm.), conical, with one platform. A few blades exceed 6 cm., the largest being 10.5 cm., and appear to have been used as casual knives. There is a paucity of all tools save microliths which constitute 88 % of all tools found, and occur as triangles, rods and points in roughly equal proportions, averaging 2.0–2.5 cm. in length.

D. *Some other groups of microliths*

The microliths have been counted for several of the smaller sites for comparison with the sites already described. For brevity these are summarised below as:

- 1. A site near Thornley’s main Farndale site.
- 2. A site on Westerdale Moor, by Thornley.
- 3. Another on the same moor, by Thornley.
- 4. Summary of the Williams’ collection from Bilsdale – Farndale – Scugdale.
- 5. Pollard’s collection from Bilsdale Moor.

Site	1	2	3	4	5
Triangles	13	10	—	37	9
Rods, one side worked	35	11	17	93	12
Rods, both sides worked	4	7	2	30	6
Points	—	6	7	35	8
Others	7	—	—	28	5

The site at Cock Heads is of special interest since only tools were found and these were as follows:

Triangles	–	30
Rod	–	1
Point	–	4
Arrowhead	–	1

Here the triangles are particularly tiny and made from an opaque yellow-brown flint. The *petit tranchet derivative* arrowhead is made from the same flint. Similar arrowheads have been found on the Mesolithic sites at Simon Howe, Stape and White Gill.

Discussion

All the assemblages examined up to the end of 1968 conform to a limited range of implement variation. They are characterised by simple workmanship, producing blade cores which yielded large and small blades. Only 3 – 5% of the large blades show secondary retouching, but many of the others when placed under a microscope show symmetrical wear, typical of a flint knife. The other macrolithic tools are confined to a few awls, saws, angle burins, and fewer scrapers than one might expect.

The microliths are the dominant implement and, since totals vary considerably, some characteristics are given below as percentages:

	White Gill	Farn- dale 1	Farn- dale 2	Wester- dale 1	Wester- dale 2	Williams	Pollard	Cock Heads Glaisdale
Triangles	34.8	10.3	22.0	29.5	0	16.6	22.5	85.0
Rods 1	35.5	79.3	59.5	32.3	65.3	41.2	30.0	} 2.5
Rods 2	4.8	6.8	6.7	20.5	7.7	13.4	15.0	
Points	9.6	0	0	17.6	26.9	15.6	20.0	11.2
Other	15.3	3.4	12.0	0	0	13.2	12.5	0

The microliths from White Gill represented 93% of all implements, at Mauley Cross 88%, and at Farndale 72%. The microliths were commonly manufactured from small blades which only occasionally had the bulb of percussion removed by the microburin technique; on Maglemosian sites the microburin : microlith ratio is of the order of 1 : 4 or less, but at White Gill the ratio is 1 : 16 and at Farndale Moor 1 : 17. The rod form of microlith is the commonest type, usually retouched on one side, but the number worked on both sides may be as many as 40% of all rods, as at one of the Westerdale sites. Rods sharpened to a point at one or both ends are classified here as points, and these may grade into elongated triangles. Most sites have triangular microliths, but the Cock Heads site is the only one listed above with a preponderance of triangles. Other shapes such as *petit tranchet*, crescent and forms dictated by the original blade shape such as ‘C’ and ‘S’ shapes, also occur. It is by no means certain that the small scale variations in microlithic form are meaningful, and every site has its own individuality. Perhaps the Cock Heads site, with its large proportion of triangles, may indicate a cultural difference.

At the beginning of this paper it was suggested that it might be possible to distinguish more than one cultural grouping on the North Yorkshire Moors. While the possibility remains, no evidence has been forthcoming to suggest any cultural or chronological distinction within the material examined.

The economy of the social groups represented by the flints can be sketchily reconstructed. The sites are usually small hunting camps, but White Gill might represent something more substantial. No heavy flint industry in the form of axes or adzes have

been found in the material examined, but the quantity of charcoal on and near some sites may indicate the use of fire as a forest clearance or hunting technique. Bone does not survive on these moors but it can be assumed that red deer, pig, and birds were hunted. Flint knives were used to butcher the carcasses. The few awls, saws, burins and scrapers suggest a limited amount of domestic activity such as the preparation and treatment of skins, the working of leather and bone, as well as the manufacturing of flint tools. The abundance of charcoal may result from innumerable camp fires, but no dwelling has been found on any of these sites. Whatever the origin of the charcoal, it represents the first attack on the woodland environment, which led to the eventual replacement of the woods by heath.

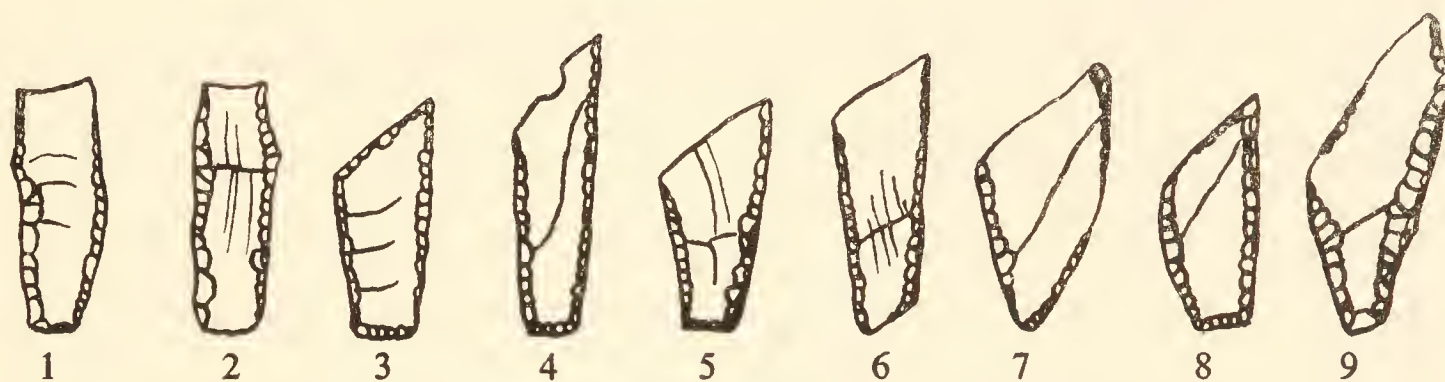


FIG. 4. Tranchet Microliths from White Gill.
1, 3, Site 5; 4, Site 6; 2, 5-9, Site 7.

Finally, in the absence of carbon dating, the chronological position of these sites has to be assessed from a limited amount of evidence. Bartlett has already noted that the Cock Heads flints occurred in the lower peat and not beneath it, and that a pollen analysis of the peat beneath the flints suggested a date of *c.* 6000–4000 B.C. for the flint industry. Recent work on the peat at White Gill (see appendix, p. 324), where flints also occur in the peat, indicates a peat initiation perhaps as late as 3000 B.C. This suggests a date very late in the Mesolithic for the flint industries. If this is true, the presence of Neolithic *petit tranchet derivative* arrowheads on at least four of the sites may not be fortuitous. The broken arrowhead at White Gill is made from the same flint as the rest of the assemblage, and this is true at Cock Heads, but clearly the association of the arrowheads with the microliths is not a firm one and needs a sealed excavated site to prove their contemporaneity. However, attention may be drawn to the *petit tranchet* microliths or arrowheads, eight of which occur on the White Gill site and several more on the other Farndale sites. Two types, a square-ended and an oblique ended form, occur and these are common on continental Tardenoisian and Ertebolle sites, and where they occur in Yorkshire they are probably indicative of a late date in the Mesolithic period (Fig. 4).

This slight evidence suggests a date near to 3000 B.C. which is the time of the earliest Neolithic sites in the area. Nearby, the Seamer site has a C.14 date of 3000 B.C. which one can speculate may suggest a late flourishing of hunting communities on the North Yorkshire Moors alongside the first Neolithic settlers in the Vale of Pickering and on the Yorkshire Wolds. The available evidence, therefore, suggests a date of the order of 4000–3000 B.C. for the majority of the remains on the moors, and this order of age may be applicable to some of the Pennine Mesolithic sites, in particular sites on Blubberhouses Moor. These sites appear to differ from the late sites in East Anglia and elsewhere in the absence of the group of microliths with pronounced basal working, which may constitute a regional development.

Conclusion

The sites appear to form a typological entity which is characterised by waste flints which are the by-product of a light industry orientated largely to the production of microliths, together with a few non-microlithic tools. It appears to be a regional development which took place late in the Mesolithic period, and possibly late enough to have contact with Neolithic cultures. It is not possible to say whether the *petit tranchet*

microliths were part of a change which contributed to the replacement of microlithic artifacts by the *petit tranchet derivative* arrowhead, or whether it was a Neolithic innovation.

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APPENDIX:

VEGETATION HISTORY DURING THE MESOLITHIC IN NORTH-EAST YORKSHIRE

by

I. G. Simmons and P. R. Cundill

Pollen evidence now exists in sufficient quantity for the elucidation of much of the vegetational history of the North Yorkshire Moors during the Post-glacial period although most of the interest has been confined to the higher moors in an attempt to understand the relationships between archaeological remains and vegetational changes.

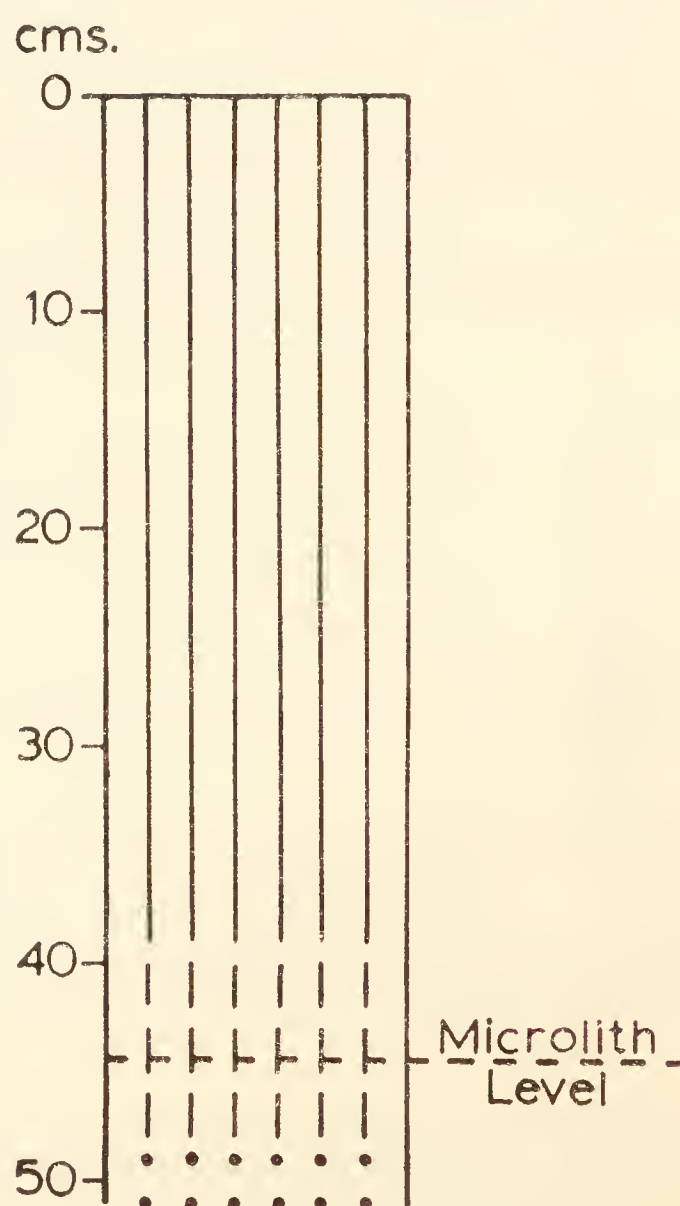
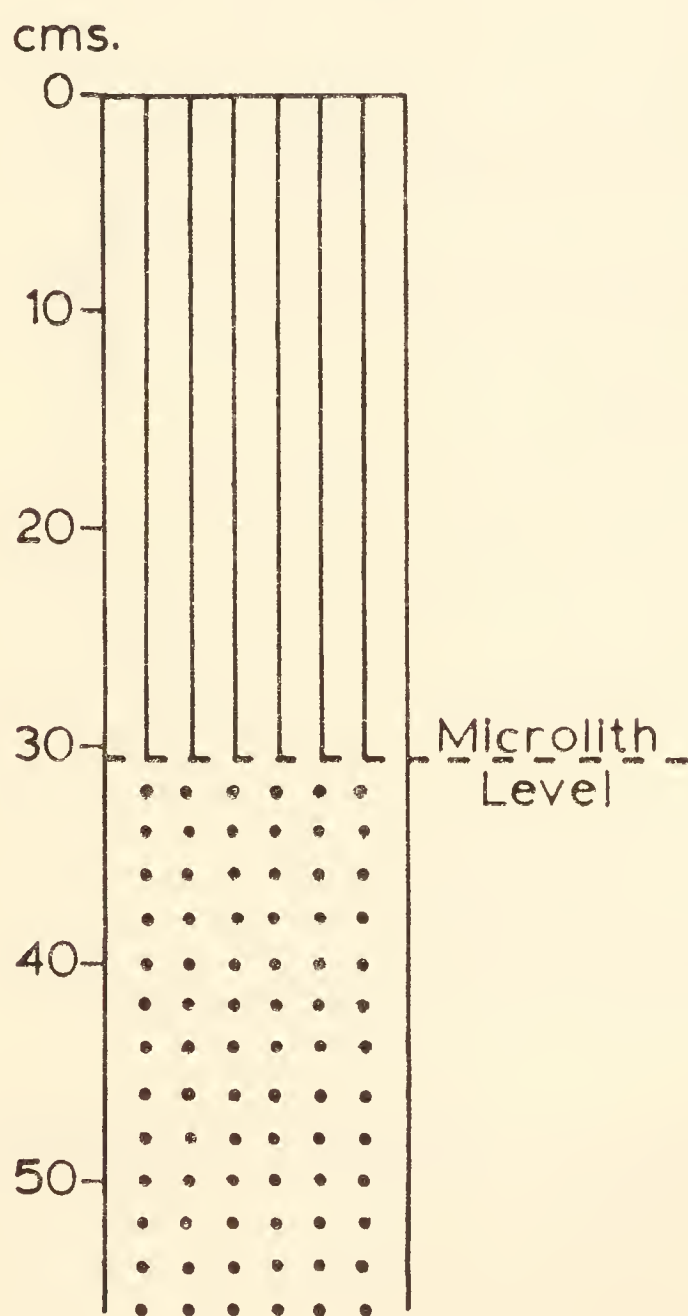
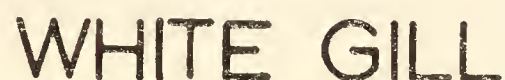
The work of Dimbleby[1] is particularly well known in connection with the examination of buried soils associated with archaeological sites. However, the high moorland also contains very wide spreads of peat, some of which extend to a depth of six metres in favourable localities, and which allow the vegetational history of the area to be examined in a different kind of detail. In terms of age the peat deposits cover most of the timespan of the Post-glacial (from pollen zone V up to the present day) and thus include information of the period when Mesolithic man is assumed to have been present (i.e., zones V, VI and VIIa).

(a) *The vegetation of the upland in zones V, VI and VIIa*

Five sites now exist which extend back to earlier than the VI/VIIa (Boreal-Atlantic) transition, although no sites are thought to be earlier than zone V. Moss Swang (NZ.806035), a sub-glacial meltwater channel[2, 3] exhibits an infill of peat of six metres depth which appears to have started accumulation in zone V, and illustrates a 'normal' Post-glacial succession of trees. The pattern starts with high Pine and Birch percentages in zone V, a gradual introduction of Elm and Oak during V and VI and the final 'Mixed Oak Forest' as it is often described, in zone VIIa (the 'Mixed Oak Forest' consists of Oak as the dominant tree associated with Elm, Alder, Lime and Birch in this area). Analysis of a site from the open moorland on Glaisdale Moor (NZ.732015), the material for which was kindly supplied by J. Bartlett, supports the evidence from Moss Swang of the vegetational development during zones VI and VIIa. It is not until zone VIIb (i.e., after 3000 B.C.) that one can clearly illustrate the effects of man on the vegetation: the decline in tree pollen and the increase in herbaceous and ruderal (weed) pollen indicate the nature of the change. The boundary between zones VIIa and VIIb is characterised by the now classic decline in Elm pollen frequencies, associated generally with a little ruderal pollen. All the diagrams that span the VIIa/VIIb boundary from the higher parts of the moors (five diagrams in all) show this clear decline in Elm, which is probably attributable to the activities of man.

(b) *The growth of peat on the upland*

In very general terms the peat on the uplands may be divided into two distinct categories which appear to be related to the inception of peat growth. The two categories are: (i) the peat with wood remains, and (ii) peat without wood remains. The peat with wood remains is fairly restricted in its distribution and seems to be only found in the sub-glacial meltwater channels and in the valleys of streams in the open moors such as Collier Gill and Bluewath Beck. It appears that the peat in this latter situation started growth at about the time of the Boreal-Atlantic transition, and is thus similar to the sites of Conway[4] in the Pennines. The Glaisdale Moor pollen diagram shows the Boreal-Atlantic transition from a predominantly Pine woodland to a Mixed Oak Forest which may represent a climatic change to wetter and milder conditions and which in turn may have allowed peat accumulation to start.



1a

1b

Vertical lines = peat. Dots = mineral material. Vertical dashes
= minero-organic material

DIAGRAM 1. Profiles showing the stratigraphy from the sites of Dimbleby (1a) and Cundill (1b).

The peat that would be more appropriately called blanket or hill peat, covering the undulating topography of the moors over a considerable area, and containing no wood remains, seems to have a very constant inception date of early VIIb from the sites so far examined (e.g., Yarlsey Moss, White Gill). Why peat formation should date from this time is by no means clear as the mechanisms necessary for the start of accumulation of peat are not fully understood, but it is fairly certain that the activities of man through modifying the vegetation cover played no small part in the process.

(c) *Stratified flints*

Whilst the formation of peat was going on, a vast assemblage of flint implements and waste flakes was incorporated at or near its base only to be revealed at the present time as erosion has stripped off the peat. Most microliths are exposed on the surface of the peat or the underlying purely mineral sub-soil by sheet erosion of the peat. In this type of situation to attempt to fit the flints into the stratigraphy of the site would be erroneous. It is only when a flint is exposed in situ in a section that it is of value to the pollen analyst as it can then be related to the whole of the profile. Dimbleby[5] describes such a section at White Gill where a stream had cut through the peat and mineral sub-soil to reveal a line of microliths still in situ along the peat/sub-soil horizon (Diagram 1a). Thus he was able to relate the microliths to the vegetation conditions existing before and after they had been incorporated into the profile, and assigned a VIIa date to the actual incorporation of the microliths.

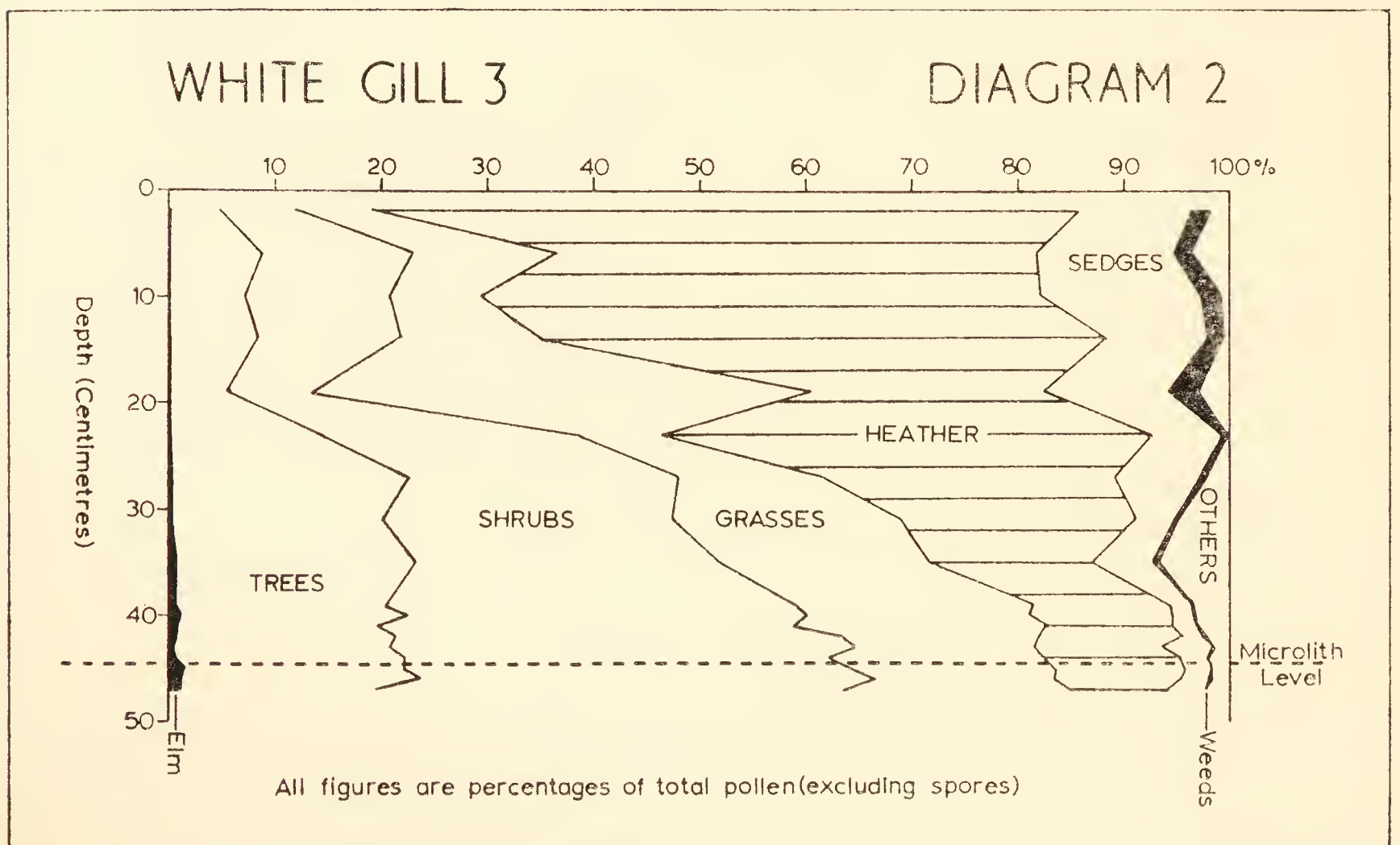


DIAGRAM 2. Major pollen types from profile 1b (Diagram 1) at White Gill.

Through the very valuable assistance of R. H. Hayes, who located the site, a profile was obtained from the White Gill area with a microlith in situ (Diagram 1b). The microlith was embedded in a mineral-organic deposit, and thus the microlith was in a different type of position from those in Dimbleby's profile. The pollen diagram produced (Diagram 2) from the profile shows a rather complex pattern when an attempt to zone it is made. The Elm pollen frequencies fluctuate quite markedly around the part where the microlith is situated and do not allow for the recognition of the usual Elm decline. The other pollen types are not particularly useful in zoning the profile although the presence of open habitat pollen types such as Heather and such weeds as Plantain indicates that the area was not a completely 'closed' woodland vegetation when the microlith was incorporated into the profile. A suggestion that the lower section of this is immediately after if not part of the Elm decline would fit in with the ideas of Radley expressed in the present paper, and furthermore Dimbleby[6] and Simmons[7] postulate that it would not be unreasonable to expect some Mesolithic occupation of the moors at least into Neolithic times. The stratigraphy contains no wood remains and on the classification suggested above, this in itself would indicate a post-Elm decline date for the microlith.

J. Bartlett's site from Glaisdale Moor also contained a flint with peat attached to it and this was analysed by Churchill, revealing a VIIa pollen assemblage. However, the absence of a complete profile with the microlith in situ does not allow for the confident placing of the microlith within the period of zone VIIa.

(d) *Clearance effects and the Mesolithic*

An earlier idea of Mesolithic man depicted him as a simple hunter and fisher with very little impact on the environment. This was supported in part by analysis of peats at Star Carr, a lowland lakeside site in the Vale of Pickering[8] which showed that this particular Mesolithic settlement had no noticeable effect on the woodland around the site. However, more recent work, mainly on the upland and lowland heaths and moors of this country [e.g., 9, 10] seem to point to a much more impressive impact on the vegetational environment by Mesolithic man. Dimbleby[11] even went as far as to suggest that evidence for the keeping of domesticated stock by Mesolithic man is available at his Oakhanger site in Surrey. As far as the North Yorkshire Moors are concerned the pollen evidence cannot be interpreted this far, but nevertheless there are interesting features. The cause of the onset of blanket peat formation is a problem in itself and while Conway's[12] arguments for climatic change for the formation of peat in the Pennines may be applicable on the North Yorkshire Moors, the presence of charcoal in every profile from the VI/VIIa boundary onwards is perhaps significant. Admittedly the charcoal is in very small quantities in some cases, but the presence of it at all shows that the vegetation was affected by fire, and the sites at White Gill produce an even clearer picture as charcoal is found in association with microliths. At North Gill (NZ.727008) charcoal is found at the base of the profile and while there are no microliths in this instance there is a pollen assemblage of VIIa age with ruderal and open habitat species present[13]. This would paint a picture of a burnt opening in the 'Mixed Oak Forest'. The use of fire, whether deliberate or accidental, must be recognised as being of very great significance in the vegetational history of the North Yorkshire Moors. Burning of what must have been a heavily wooded landscape (although exactly how far it was a closed forest canopy is rather difficult to say) on the poor soils of the area would have left such soils open to degrading influences, such as podzolisation, and made the re-establishment of woodland more difficult. At the same time conditions, because they were more open, were probably favourable for the grazing of wild and later domesticated animals. This in turn (and almost certainly accompanied by further burning) led to increased degradation of soils, accumulation of peat and even later the spread of Heather which has produced the characteristic moorland of today. The reasons for the initial destruction of woodland by Mesolithic man are conjectural although one possible use of fire may have been as an aid in hunting, allowing game to be driven in a desired direction.

The evidence and arguments outlined are by no means conclusive, but certainly the indications all seem to point to Mesolithic man having considerable power to effect environmental changes, and probably continuing these changes into the cultural period described as the Neolithic.

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THE LIST OF ÆLFRIC'S FESTERMEN IN THE YORK GOSPELS¹

By JANET COOPER

A list of the names of between seventy and eighty men, said to be the *festermen* or sureties of Ælfric, is preserved on folio 153d of the York Gospels in a hand of the late eleventh or early twelfth century.² W. H. Stevenson considers that this list is almost certainly a copy of an earlier document, and that it was made by a copyist who was unable to read his exemplar properly, for spaces have been left blank and marks of suspension added to many words. It is thus not clear whether the whole of the original document survives. Moreover, the bottom left-hand corner of the folio has been torn, leaving gaps at the beginning of the last two lines in which there is space for about fifteen and about twenty-three letters.³ There can, then, be no certainty about the number of names the list originally contained, for, apart from the missing letters, the many abbreviations might be either nicknames of men already named or the names of different individuals. It is particularly unfortunate that there should be this doubt as to the number of names in the list, for the Anglo-Saxon laws often require sureties or compurgators in groups of twelve, or multiples of twelve. Had the list of Ælfric's festermen contained seventy-two or eighty-four names it would have suggested strongly that the festermen were required as sureties for a man accused of some major crime.

Four of the names in the list of Ælfric's festermen, Ulfketel, Forna, Godwine, and Rafen, appear also in the witness list of Cnut's grant of the manor of Patrington to Archbishop Ælfric of York in 1033,⁴ and although no certain identifications can be made, it is possible that these witnesses are identical with the festermen of the same name. The list of festermen itself can be dated to the middle of the eleventh century since it contains the name Merleswein, a rare Anglo-Scandinavian compound. This Merleswein is almost certainly the sheriff of Lincoln, a large land-holder in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Somerset, Devon and Cornwall,⁵ who fled to Scotland in the summer of 1068.⁶ There is unfortunately no evidence as to the date at which Merleswein obtained his lands in Yorkshire, although if Gaimar's description of him as a supporter of Earl Godwine is based on a genuine tradition, it may have been during Godwine's son Tostig's tenure of the earldom of Northumbria (1055–65).⁷

¹ I am indebted to Professor Dorothy Whitelock for much helpful criticism of this article in its early stages.

² See W. H. Stevenson, 'Yorkshire Surveys and Other Eleventh Century Documents in the York Gospels', *English Historical Review*, vol. xxvii (1912), pp. 1–25; *New Palæographical Society*, Second Series, (London 1913–35), Plate 165a; N.R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, (Oxford 1957), p. 469.

³ Stevenson, *E.H.R.*, vol. xxvii, p. 13.

⁴ Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici* (London 1869–), No. 749; W. Farrer, ed., *Early Yorkshire Charters*, vol. i (Edinburgh 1914), pp. 23–5.

⁵ See Olof von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book* (*Nomina Germanica* 3) (Uppsala 1937), p. 326.

⁶ See D. Whitelock, D. Douglas, and S. Tucker, ed. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A Revised Translation* (London 1961), p. 146n.

⁷ Geoffrey Gaimar, *Lestorie des Engles*, C. T. Martin and T. D. Hardy, ed. (Rolls Series, London 1888–9), II, 4937–41. Merleswein the sheriff appears among the witnesses of Peterborough charters, KCD 806 dated 1051–60, and KCD 808 dated 1060. Although the witness lists of these charters, which are preserved only in the twelfth century Peterborough chartulary, cannot be in their original form (they describe Wulfwig bishop of Dorchester as bishop of Lincoln, although the see was not moved from Dorchester to Lincoln until the time of the first Norman bishop), it seems likely that they are genuine lists which have merely been modernised in copying.

The main interest of the list of Ælfric's festermen for scholars has been the number of Scandinavian names preserved in it, and it is for these that it has chiefly been studied.¹ The word *festermen* itself has usually been associated with clause 2,3 of the Northumbrian Priests' Law: *⁊ ælc preost finde him xii festermen, þæt he preostlage wille healdan mid rihte* (and each priest is to provide himself with twelve sureties that he will rightly observe the priests' law). The fact that the list contains so many names, coupled with the fact that the festermen are those of an Ælfric, has led to the identification of this Ælfric with Archbishop Ælfric of York (1023–51), and the conclusion has sometimes been drawn that the names are those of men who stood surety for him at the time of his appointment to York.² But not all scholars have accepted this argument. Farrer comments on the list, 'The Ælfric named must not be too readily accepted as Ælfric archbishop of York 1023 to 1050',³ and W. H. Stevenson, in noting the use of the word *festermen* in the Northumbrian Priests' Law, writes, 'The provision seems to relate to the ordination of priests and there is no statement that prelates upon their consecration were required to find 'festermen'.⁴ It is, in fact, extremely improbable that a man of such high rank as an archbishop would have been required to find sureties for his behaviour. The system of *borh* for laymen as described in I Æthelred 1 (cf. III Edgar 6), was '... þæt ælc freoman getreowne borh hæbbe, þæt se borh hine to ælcon rihte gehealde, gif he betyhtlad wurðe' (... that every freeman shall have a trustworthy surety who shall hold him to the performance of every legal duty, if he has been accused). The lord, however, was above this system, for I Æthelred 1,10 (= II Cnut 31) rules, '⁊ hæbbe ælc hlaforð his hired men on his agenon borge' (and every lord shall be personally responsible as surety for the men of his own household).

The word *festermen*, however, does not occur only in the Northumbrian Priests' Law; it is also used in a series of entries in the twelfth century Peterborough chartulary, M.S. Soc. Antiq. 60, which record the sureties given for lands acquired by the abbey during the last part of the tenth century.⁵ The Old Norse word *fastar* occurs in a similar context in two thirteenth-century Swedish charters.⁶ Yet another list of sureties for a land transaction is preserved in the Leofric Missal,⁷ and translations of further lists were incorporated in Book II of the twelfth-century *Liber Eliensis*.⁸ These last two documents do not contain the word *festermen*, but the Peterborough lists show that the word was a synonym for the Old English *borh(hand)* which was used of a surety for a commercial transaction or for a man's good behaviour. These Peterborough lists are in many ways very similar to the list of Ælfric's festermen. About half of them start with the words *Pis synd þa festermen* ..., and all end with a list of names. However, there are two important differences between the two lists; the Peterborough entries always give details of the land transaction, and although the number of names in them varies from two to thirteen, none of these lists is nearly as long as the York one. Nor is the form exactly the same as that of the York list. Thus the first entry about these Peterborough land transactions runs, *Pis synd þa festermen þe Osferð swade beard funde. Adeluolde bisc. ⁊ Eadulfe ab. ⁊ Sumerlydan preoste þe þane feste nam æt þan land æt Wyrmingtune an is ...* (These are the sureties whom Osferth Swade Beard found for Bishop Æthelwold and

¹ See G. Stephens 'En Yorkshire Liste over dansk-engelske Mandsnavne fra det 11 Aarhundrede', *Blandinger til Oplysning om dansk Sprog i ældre og nyere Tid, Universitets-Jubilæets danske Samfund*, vol. i (1881), pp. 60ff; Jon Stefansson, 'The Oldest Known List of Scandinavian Names', *Saga Book of the Viking Society*, vol. iv, pp. 296–310; Erik Björkman, 'Die festermen des Ælfric. Eine Namenliste aus York', *Studien zur Englischen Philologie*, vol. xlix, pp. 1–20, and 'Zu den "festermen" des Ælfric', *Beiblatt zur Anglia*, vol. xxiv, p. 281.

² See W. Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, 5th edition, (Oxford 1891), vol. i, p. 266; Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, (Halle 1898–1916), vol. ii, p. 333; Björkman, *Studien zur Englischen Philologie*, vol. xlix, pp. 3–4.

³ *Early Yorkshire Charters*, vol. i, p. 28n.

⁴ *E.H.R.*, vol. xxvii, p. 11.

⁵ A. J. Robertson, ed. *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (Cambridge 1939), no. xl; also published in Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum* (London 1883–95), no. 1130.

⁶ J. G. Liljegren, ed. *Diplomaterium Suecanum* (Stockholm 1829), nos. 1091 and 1191.

⁷ Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, no. xlvii.

⁸ E. O. Blake, ed. *Liber Eliensis* (Camden Society, 3rd Series, vol. xcii, London 1962), pp. 88 and 92–3, and Foreword by D. Whitelock, p. ix.

Abbot Ealdulf and Sumerlida the priest, who took security for the estate at Warmington, the first is . . .) Others take a slightly different form, for example, '*Pes landes æt Wīðeringige is þe Mannel sealde Adeluolde bisceop. an hide buton anes oxgang. þonne sint festermen Gyrewearð, Gyrping. Þurwold on Macusige 7 Steiyncytel.* (The estate at Wittering which Mannel gave to Bishop Æthelwold consists of one hide less an oxgang. These are the sureties . . .) The Devonshire list runs, '*Dis synt þa men anburge betwinon Eadyfe abbedysse 7 Leofrice abbode æt þam lande æt Stoctune Wulfsige Edwig 7 Cytel 7 Densic 7 Godwine 7 Hunwine 7 Sweta 7 Edwig boga 7 Brun preost. þæt se abbod hit hebbe his dæg 7 æfter his dæg into mynstre.* (These are the men who stood surety between Abbess Eadgyfu and Abbot Leofric for the land at Stoctune . . . that the abbot should have it for his lifetime, and after his death it should go to the minster.) The two Swedish charters incorporate lists of festermen in their witness lists. The first, dated 1293, ends with the names of two *testes* (witnesses), and of six *firmatores ulgariter Garthfastae*, and the other gives the names of the twelve men who are said to have been *byfastar et gardfastar in negocio supradicto*. In the Ely lists the men are described as *testes*, which should mean witnesses rather than sureties, but this may be an error in the translation into Latin. The Ely lists are of interest since, although none contains more than thirteen names, one transaction, the payment for land at 'Wilbertun', is said to have taken place *coram Osuii, fratre Ulf, et coram Wine et altero Wine et coram omnibus melioribus et senioribus de Ely*. This might indicate a large number of witnesses, who were perhaps equivalent to festermen, but the account of another transaction ends, '*Huius itaque rei testes erant Oslacus, filius Appen, et Folcardus et Kenelmus presbiter, cognatus Aðulfi episcopi, et alii quamplurimi barones et omnes urbani de Teotford et meliores de Ely, scilicet Ælfstanus et Eama et Godere et Wine de Wiceford et Æluricus,*¹ so the number of *testes* involved may not, after all, have been very large.

The occurrence of the word *festermen* in the Peterborough lists was noted by Björkman in the second of his articles on Ælfric's festermen,² and he referred there to an article by Sir Paul Vinogradoff on 'The Transfer of Land in Old English Law',³ but, presumably because he was interested chiefly in the names recorded in the lists, Björkman did not pursue any further the possibility that Ælfric's festermen were connected with a land transaction. In his article, Vinogradoff discussed the Peterborough lists of festermen at considerable length, and considered the role of sureties in the transfer of land in both Scandinavia and England in the early Middle Ages. He pointed out that such festermen or sureties were distinct from witnesses, and that their main function was to stand pledged to act as securities in regard to the transfer of land; they vouched for the validity of the title transferred.⁴ But although he noted the use of the word *festermen* in the Northumbrian Priests' Law, Vinogradoff did not refer to the list of Ælfric's festermen.

There are, then, two possible interpretations of the list of Ælfric's festermen, that it is a list of sureties for Ælfric's good behaviour, or that it is a list of sureties for a sale of land. The large number of the festermen, coupled with the entry of their names in the York Gospels implies that, if they were connected with a legal case, they were required for an unusually important one. They are unlikely to have been the normal *borh* which III Edgar 6, and the related clauses I Æthelred 1 and II Cnut 20 require every man to have. Such special sureties were required by the untrustworthy man, or the man who had often been accused. III Æthelred 7,2 for instance, lays down that a man who cannot be trusted by the reeve shall find twelve sureties; III Edmund 7,1 decrees that all untrustworthy men and those who have been frequently accused shall be placed under surety. In I Æthelred 4, the king's reeve is given the responsibility of placing the untrustworthy man under surety. The man who has failed in the triple ordeal or who has sworn a false oath on the relics was also required to find sureties.⁵ As these were more serious offences, such a man may have

¹ *Liber Eliensis*, pp. 92–3.

² *Beiblatt zur Anglia*, vol. xxiv (1913), p. 281.

³ Sir Paul Vinogradoff, 'The Transfer of Land in Old English Law', *Harvard Law Review*, vol. xx (1907), pp. 532ff; also printed in *Collected Papers of Paul Vinogradoff*, ed. L. Vinogradoff (Oxford 1928), pp. 149–67.

⁴ *Collected Papers of Paul Vinogradoff*, pp. 159–60.

⁵ See I Æthelred 1, 5, and II Cnut, 36, 1.

to find an extra large number of sureties. III Æthelred 13 lays down that anyone accused of the crime of giving food to a man who has broken the peace shall clear himself with the unusually large number of three times twelve compurgators, chosen by the reeve.

The list of Ælfric's festermen might be a list of sureties for a man accused of some very great crime, such as the breach of the peace given by the king's hand or seal, for which the penalty in Yorkshire, according to Domesday Book, was the large fine of twelve hundreds, i.e., ninety-six pounds.¹ The same fine is laid down by III Æthelred 1 for the breach of the peace established by the ealdorman or the king's reeve in the Court of the Five Boroughs. But the number of festermen in the York list is very large, and seems rather too great even for so serious an offence as the breach of the peace. The fact that a man might, under certain circumstances, require thirty-six compurgators, or be punished by a fine of ninety-six pounds, does not necessarily imply that an equally large or even greater number of sureties might be required for a man accused of a serious crime.

It seems more probable that the list of Ælfric's festermen is the incomplete record of a land transaction. True, there is no reference (as in the entries in the Peterborough chartulary and the Leofric Missal) to a land transaction, but the document as it survives in the York Gospels is only a copy; an introductory sentence giving the circumstances of the transaction could have become illegible or torn and been lost in the copying. (Such an introductory sentence might also have been expected if the list is that of sureties for an untrustworthy man.) It is possible, although less likely, that the transaction was so important and well-known at the time that it was thought unnecessary to record details of it. The use of the word *festermen* for sureties in a land transaction in the Peterborough documents, coupled with the similar use of the words *byfastar* and *garthfastar* in the Swedish charters makes it highly likely that the word was used in this sense in Northumbria also, and Vinogradoff showed in his article that sureties of this kind played an important part in the transfer of land in England and Scandinavia at this date. Moreover, the Peterborough and Devonshire lists, and the entries in the *Liber Eliensis*, show that the names of sureties of this kind might be written down and preserved. The York list of festermen is admittedly very much longer than any of the Peterborough ones, or the Devonshire or Ely lists (none of the Peterborough lists contains more than thirteen names), but this might be accounted for by the importance of the transaction, or possibly by supposing several pieces of land to be involved.

In discussing the York list of festermen in his *Early Yorkshire Charters*, Farrer pointed out that judging by the places named, the festerman belonged mainly to the districts of Sherburn and Snaith, and concluded that most of them were sokemen of these districts.² The 'representatives of influential county families' whose presence Vinogradoff noted in the Peterborough lists, are also found at York, however, in the names at least of Ulfketel the king's reeve, Merleswein, and perhaps also of Ulf. This Ulf may be Ulf Fenisc, Gilbert de Gand's predecessor in Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire and Cambridgeshire, for an entry in the *Clamores* for Yorkshire in Domesday Book records that Gilbert de Gand should have one carucate of the land of Ulf in Birkin.³ Half of Birkin, according to a survey entered in the York Gospels and dated c. 1030 by Stevenson,⁴ belonged to the soke of the large archiepiscopal manor of Sherburn in Elmet. The archbishops had very wide lands in the area, in this manor and in that of Snaith, and their interest in these lands is shown by their inclusion both in the eleventh-century survey from the York Gospels and in the note on the lands taken from the church in Yorkshire compiled by St. Oswald.⁵ It seems quite possible that the list of Ælfric's festermen refers to a sale or grant of land in the neighbourhood of Sherburn in Elmet and Snaith to the church of York, although it is unfortunately impossible to tell from Domesday, in which Snaith is not surveyed, to what extent these lands had been increased between the survey of c. 1030 and 1086.

¹ Domesday Book, vol. i, fol. 298b.

² *Early Yorkshire Charters*, vol. i, p. 28.

³ Domesday Book, vol. i, fol. 37b.

⁴ Stevenson, *E.H.R.*, vol. xxvii, p. 16.

⁵ Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, no. liv.

But although the list of festermen may well be associated with the church of York, it is extremely unlikely that the identification of the Ælfric of the list with Archbishop Ælfric of York is correct. Such a man did not require sureties for his behaviour, and in other records of land transactions, the festermen are given by the seller, not the buyer. It is improbable that Archbishop Ælfric should have sold some of the lands of his see, or if he did so, that such a grievance was not recorded by the anonymous chronicler of the archbishops of York who wrote early in the twelfth century and whose brief account of Ælfric's pontificate mentions only the archbishop's benefactions to his church.¹ Since Archbishop Ælfric himself seems to have come from Wessex (he had been monastic dean of Winchester before his elevation to York), he almost certainly had no private lands in Yorkshire to sell or grant. Furthermore, the Ælfric of this document is not called archbishop or bishop, although Anglo-Saxon documents almost invariably give such men their titles.

Although the name Ælfric is not recorded nearly as frequently in Northumbria as in southern England, it was used occasionally in the north. There is an Ælfric among the witnesses to the grant of Patrington to Archbishop Ælfric, and the name appears twice in Domesday Book for Yorkshire.² An Ælfric (Aluric) is said to have had a manor of one carucate in Birkin worth ten shillings, which Gamel held of Ilbert de Laci in 1086.³ This may have been the land which Gilbert de Gand claimed on the ground that it had belonged to his antecessor Ulf Fenisc. An Ælfric (Aluric) who may have been identical with the Ælfric in Birkin held, with a Gamel, a manor in Thurgoland of four and a half carucates, which had passed to Ilbert de Laci in 1086.⁴ It seems unlikely that this Ælfric, if the two entries do refer to the same man, was sufficiently important and wealthy to have sold or granted land to the see of York which required over seventy festermen to vouch for the transaction. But he was associated with the area of Sherburn, and it is possible that he held more land than appears in Domesday Book. The name Alric or Elric, which might be either Ælfric or Æthelric, occurs several times in Yorkshire Domesday, but most of these entries seem to refer to Alric the father of Swen whose name is, in a later charter, spelt Ailric,⁵ an indication that it was Æthelric, not Ælfric. The name Ælfric also occurs five times in the Durham *Liber Vitae*,⁶ but this does not help to identify the Ælfric of the list of festermen.

The Ælfric a list of whose festermen was entered in the York Gospels cannot, then, be identified, but he was presumably an important man in Yorkshire, and he was probably associated with the area of Sherburn in Elmet from which his festermen came. The festermen themselves might be sureties for Ælfric's good behaviour, but in view of the very similar lists from Peterborough, the entry in the Leofric Missal, the lists preserved in the *Liber Eliensis* and the evidence of the Swedish charters, it is more likely that they are sureties for the legality of a land transaction.

¹ ed. James Raine, *Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops* vol. ii (Rolls Series, London 1879), pp. 342–3. For the date of this chronicle, see Preface to this volume, pp. xx–xxii.

² See von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book*, p. 177.

³ Domesday Book, vol. i, fol. 315b.

⁴ Domesday Book, vol. i, fol. 317.

⁵ Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, vol. iii, p. 317.

⁶ On fols. 14b (twice), 42b (twice), and 51b; see A. Hamilton Thompson, ed., *Liber Vitæ Ecclesiæ Dunelmensis* (Facsimile edition), Surtees Society, vol. cxxxvi, Durham 1923.

MEDIEVAL GRAVE SLABS FROM THE BRIDLINGTON DISTRICT

By J. R. EARNSHAW

Museum & Art Gallery, Sewerby Hall, Bridlington

Summary

During 1964–68, the writer carried out a survey of medieval grave slabs in churches around Bridlington. From the designs on the slabs, it was found that most of them were carved in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Many slabs, of course, have been broken up and used for subsequent rebuilding and restoration from the medieval period to the nineteenth century. Therefore, many fragments of these grave slabs were found built into the fabric of the churches whilst a few were located within the churchyards. Enough slabs were discovered to allow some comments on the development of the various designs, and from this a rough estimation of their date was also obtained. The various types of designs found on the slabs are illustrated within the text, along with two distribution maps.

Location and Description

Bridlington Priory is the remains of an ancient foundation of Augustinian Canons, founded about A.D. 1115. There are several slabs in the precincts, three of which are illustrated.

Slab 1 (Fig. 1) is raised on low pillars near the south-west tower. The slab is locally known as the 'founder's stone' and dates from the late twelfth century. It is carved from black Tournai marble. On the top, in low relief, are two winged dragons over a representation of a Byzantine-style church containing a shrine. Below the church are a fox and goose drinking from a jug. At the base is a lion passant, probably indicating that the deceased was of noble descent. The sides of the slab show remains of hollow-moulding and the edges are beaded.

Slab 2 (Fig. 1) dates from the middle of the thirteenth century and is built on to the wall near the north-west tower. It is of dark coloured calcareous grit with a straight-armed cross carved in relief upon it. The cross is richly ornamented with fleur-de-lys terminals and trefoils on the shaft. The base is carved as a three-stepped calvary. The edges of the slab are beaded and the sides are hollow-moulded.

Slab 3 lies partly beneath slab 1. It is carved from coralline limestone but only the middle part remains. The face of the slab rises to a ridge on which a cross shaft is carved in relief. Gothic lettering is inscribed on each side of the cross shaft, spelling out, on one side, . . . PEVELISSIMO . . . The lettering on the other side is too badly damaged to be discernible, but three letters can be identified as E E I. The sides of the slab are double-hollow-moulded. The slab may date from the early thirteenth century.

Slab 4 stands alongside slabs 1 and 3. It is composed of two chalk blocks set end to end. Deeply inscribed around the borders of the blocks are the following words, written in Gothic lettering:

HIC JACET DUS ROBT BRYSTWYK QUO DA PRIOR HUI LOCI Q OBIIT
ANODO CCCC NONAGES IMO III CUI AIE PICIETC DEC AMEN.

'Here lies Lord Robert Brystwyk, formerly prior of this place who died in the year of the Lord 1493 . . .'¹

The length of the slab is 4 ft., and the width, 1 ft. 10 ins.

¹ Translations after Prickett, *Bridlington* (1838).

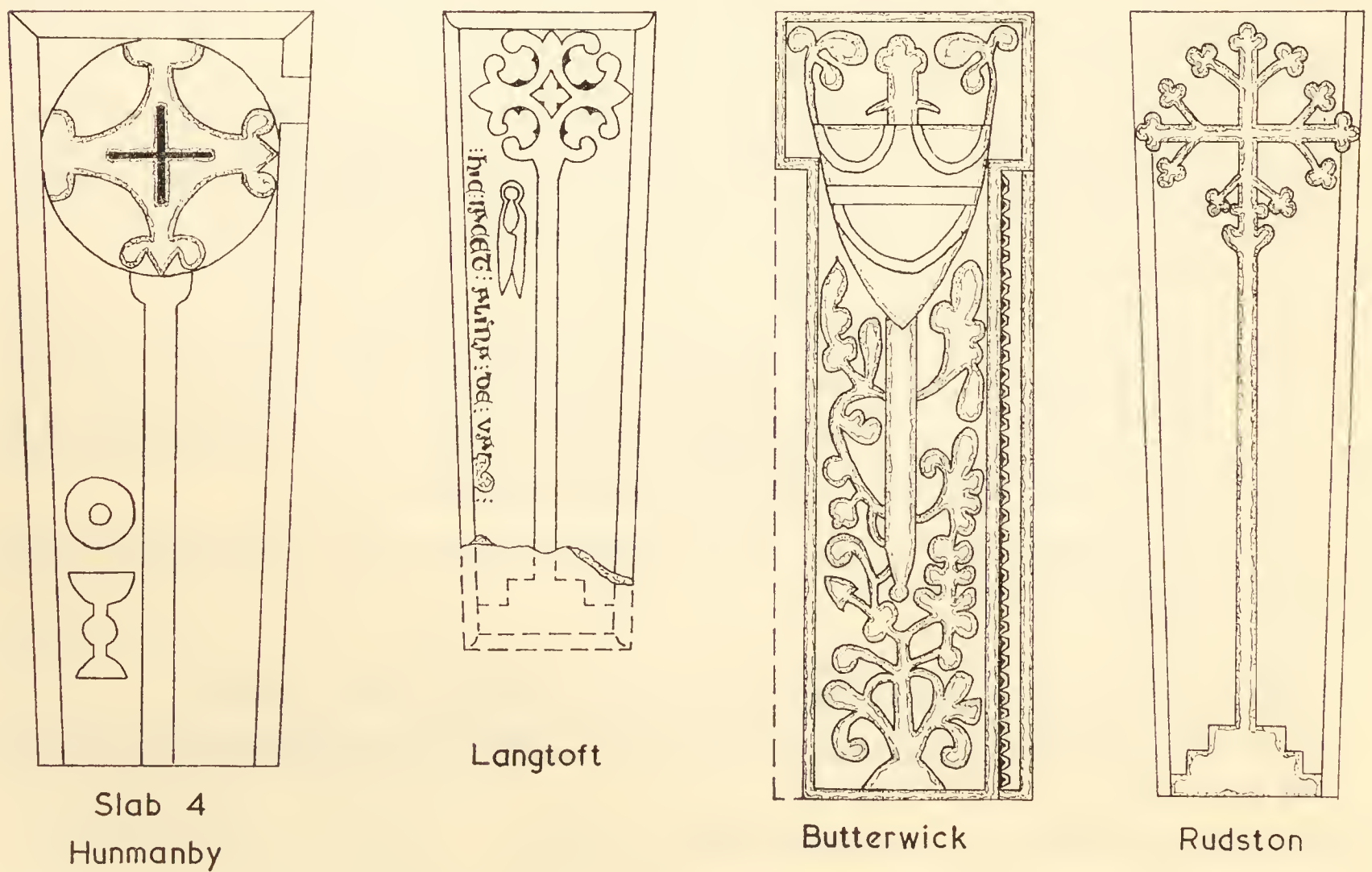
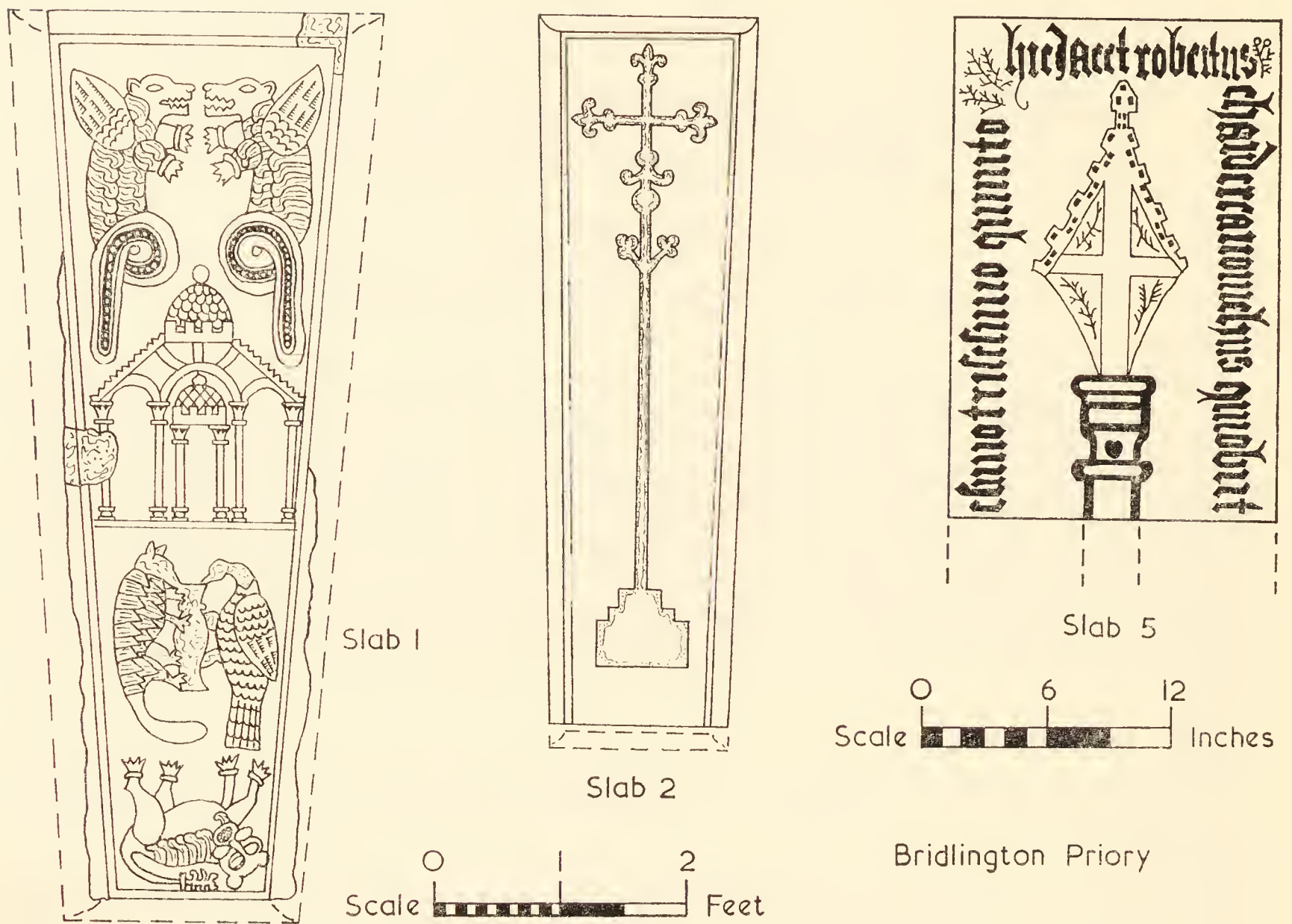


FIG. 1.

Slab 5 (Fig. 1) possibly dates from the fifteenth century and stands against slab 4. The lower half is missing, but the remaining half is of chalk inscribed with Gothic lettering of similar style to slab 4. It is inscribed around its borders with:

HIC JACET ROBERTUS CHARDER CANONICHUS DUI OBIIT . . .
TRICESIMO QUINTO.

‘Here lies Robert Charder, canon, who died . . . 35.’¹

On the slab is also incised a mitred straight-armed cross which is decorated with thorns.

Slab 6 is in the upper room of the north porch. The slab is composed of two fragments of chalk inscribed with some very worn Gothic lettering which seems to be of the same character as the previous slabs.

Slab 7 is a small fragment of oolitic limestone in the basement of the north porch. It is inscribed in Gothic lettering and the name LAURENCE is discernible. The style of lettering on slabs 6 and 7 suggests a fifteenth century date for both of them.

Carnaby Church is close to the main Bridlington-Driffield road, two miles from Bridlington. It has two slabs built into the wall of the south nave aisle. They are of calcareous grit and have been re-used for building material.

Slab 1 has a cross shaft, clearly incised, and a five stepped calvary.

Slab 2 (Fig. 4) has incised a splayed-armed cross with terminals of round leaf and pointed bud design. The date of the slab is probably early thirteenth century.

About two miles south-west of Carnaby, *Burton Agnes Church* has a complete grave slab of calcareous grit (Fig. 3), placed upright against a brick wall on the south side of the churchyard. The slab probably dates from about A.D. 1300 and has a straight-armed cross elaborately carved in relief upon it. Each terminal of the cross face and the calvary are decorated with a fleur-de-lys. The cross shaft is decorated by four pairs of buds or globes and the cross face lies partially on a raised circle. The sides of the slab are richly carved in steps, convex moulding and chamfers.

Two miles or so south of Great Driffield, *Hutton Cranswick Church* has three grave slabs.

Slab 1 in two fragments, is built into the exterior wall of the chancel. It is of coralline limestone. The slab is inscribed with Gothic lettering of the same character as on slabs 4 and 5 in Bridlington Priory. The date of this slab is possibly fifteenth century.

Slab 2 is used for a door lintel in the north nave aisle wall. It is of calcareous grit with a cross shaft and bar incised.

Slab 3 also of calcareous grit, is in the same wall and is incised with a straight-armed cross; the terminals are missing.

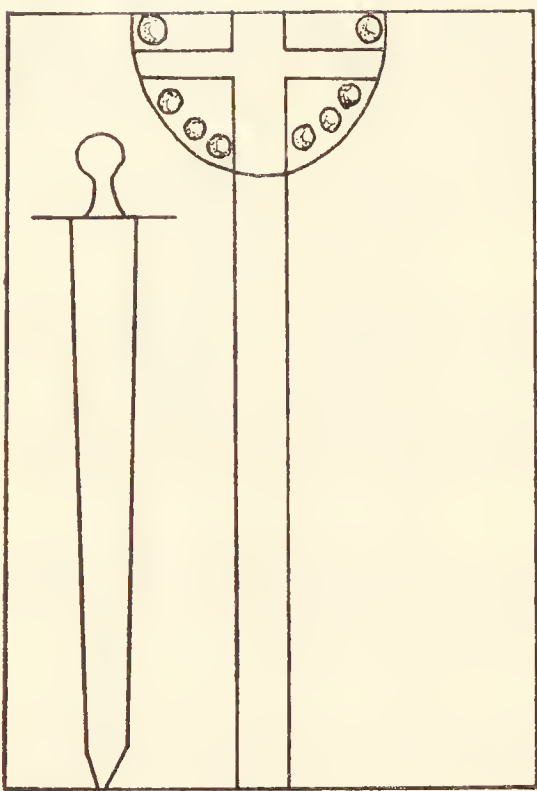
Skerne Church, about three miles south of Great Driffield, has built into the blocked north nave aisle a demi-effigial slab of calcareous grit (Fig. 3), with a woman carved in low relief below its surface. The head of the figure is within a quatrefoil whilst the feet are enclosed in a type of trefoil. Between the head and feet, carved in low relief, is a worn shaft decorated with trefoils. The slab dates from the late thirteenth century.

Bainton Church is a few miles to the west of Hutton Cranswick. Inside the church near the west end of the nave aisle are to be found several fragments of medieval grave slabs. They were used in the fifteenth century as building material for the tower, but were brought down from the parapet in the restoration work of the 1860's. All the slabs are of calcareous grit.

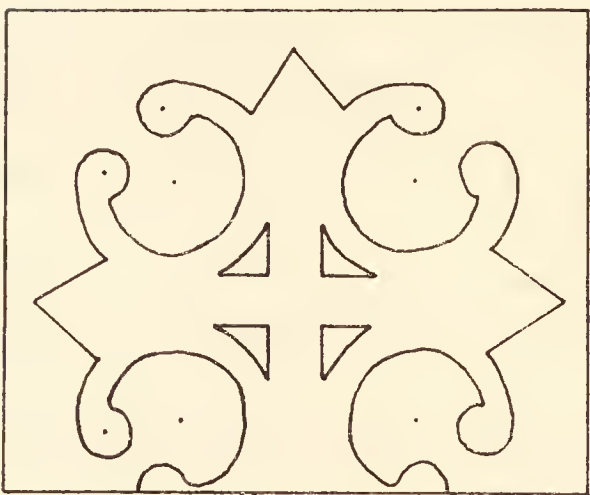
Slab 1 (Fig. 4) is late twelfth or early thirteenth century and is incised with a bracelet-type cross and part of the cross shaft. The original sides and base are missing.

Slab 2 is of the same date as slab 1. It has an identical cross, but there is a marking-out line down the centre of the shaft.

¹ Translations after Prickett, *Bridlington* (1838).

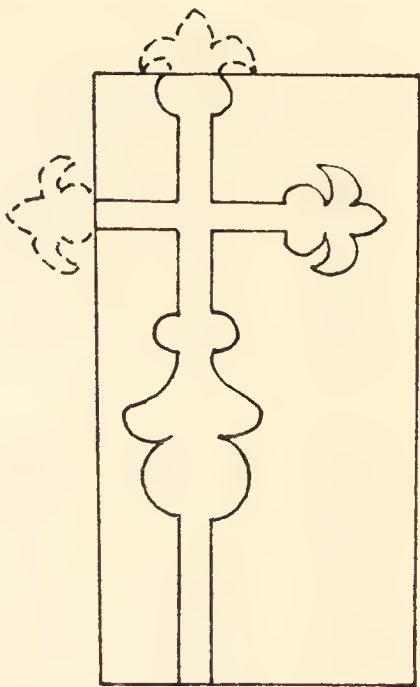


Slab 1

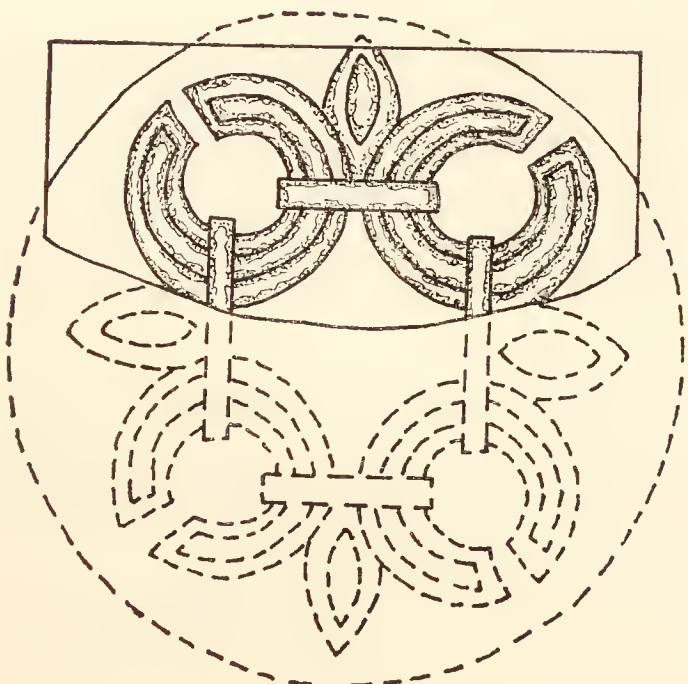


Slab 2

Little Driffield

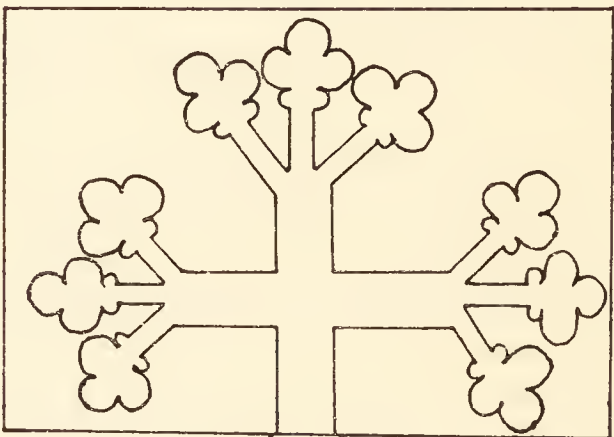


Slab 4

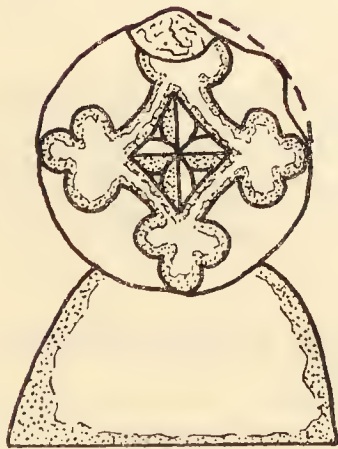


Thwing

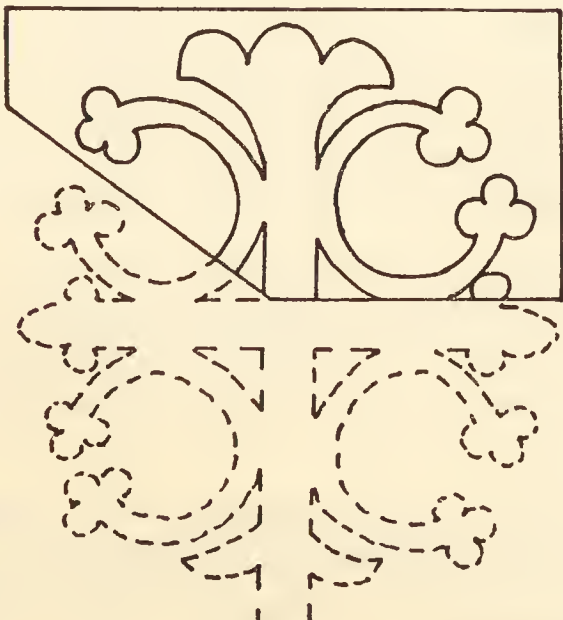
Slab 1



Slab 5

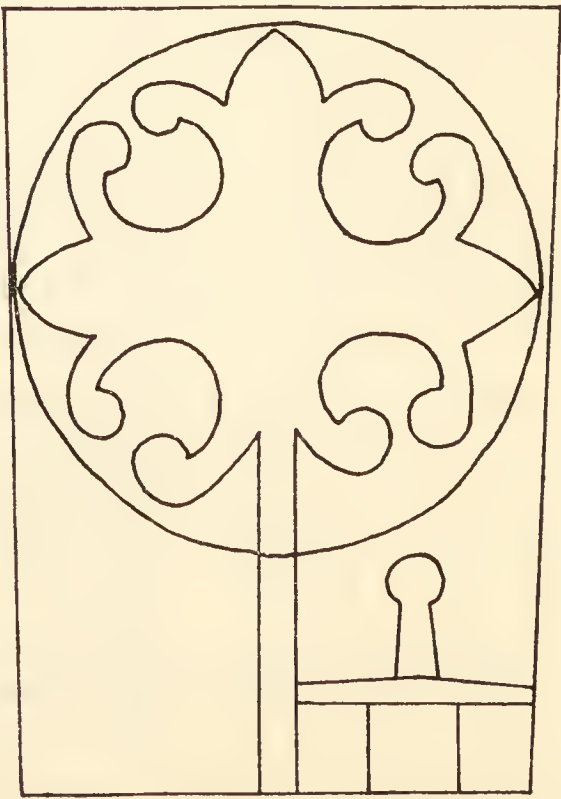


Headstone



Slab 3

Wetwang



Slab 1

FIG. 2.

Slab 3 (Fig. 4) can be dated about the first half of the fourteenth century. The cross is elaborately incised with clustered fleur-de-lys terminals. The outer arms of the clusters are decorated with pointed leaves.

Slab 4 (Fig. 4) seems later than slab 3, and probably dates from the second half of the fourteenth century. It is incised with a cross of clustered fleur-de-lys design, but the inner leaves curve upwards to meet others from the terminals, while the outer leaves are pointed.

Little Driffeld Church, just west of Great Driffeld, has eleven slabs, of which numbers 1, 2, 4 and 5 are illustrated (Fig. 2). They are all of calcareous grit and have been re-used as building material for the exterior walls of the nave and tower.

Slab 1, incised, bears a broad-bladed sword and the lower half of a cross face with shaft. The cross is incised within a circle decorated around the circumference with small bosses. The design suggests an early twelfth century date.

Slab 2 dates from the early thirteenth century and is incised with a bracelet-type cross, decorated in the centre with a small straight-armed cross. Compass points are to be seen in the centre of the bracelet terminals.

Slab 3 is again an incised bracelet-type cross of the early thirteenth century, but differing in design from slab 2.

Slab 4 dates from the middle of the thirteenth century and is incised with a straight-armed cross with fleur-de-lys terminals.

Slab 5 is elaborately incised with a cross face of the early-to-mid-fourteenth century. The terminals of the cross have a design of clustered trefoils.

Slabs 6, 7 & 8 are all fragments of slabs incised with cross shafts.

Slabs 9, 10 & 11 are incised fragments of slabs with plain circles at the end of cross shafts. The slabs probably date from the twelfth century.

Wetwang Church is on the main Driffeld-York road, six miles west of Great Driffeld. There are several slabs built into the lychgate of the churchyard. All the slabs are of calcareous grit; three are illustrated.

Slab 1 (Fig. 2) is of thirteenth century date and is incised with a bracelet-type cross within a circle into which part of the shaft protrudes. On the right of the shaft is incised the remains of a sword, showing pommel, handle, quillon and part of the blade.

Slab 2 is incised with the lower half of a cross shaft and stepped calvary.

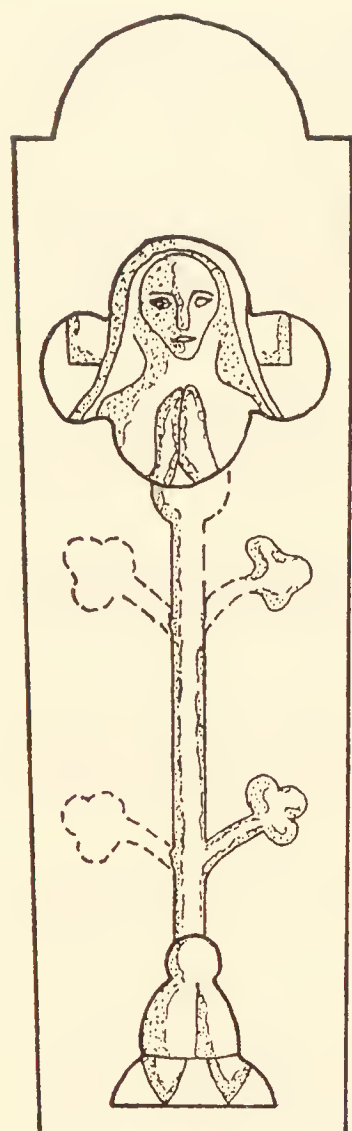
Slab 3 (Fig. 2) dates from the mid-thirteenth century and bears the design of a straight-armed cross, decorated with bracelets. The bracelets have trefoil terminals, whilst the terminations of the straight-armed cross are in the form of fleur-de-lys.

Slab 4 dates from the thirteenth century and has a straight-armed cross with fleur-de-lys terminals.

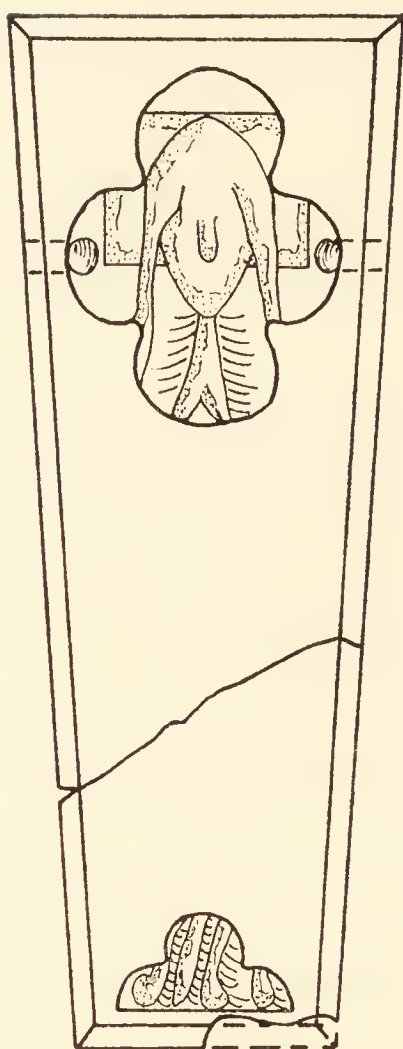
Four miles east of Wetwang is *Garton Church* and in the churchyard are two complete slabs of magnesian limestone.

Slab 1 (Fig. 3) dates from the late thirteenth century and is a demi-effigial type. The head of a woman with plaited hair is deeply carved in a quatrefoil. The head, which rests on a pillow, has a hole on each side of it. At the base of the slab is a trefoil, also deeply carved, showing the hem of the woman's dress. The sides of the slab are chamfered.

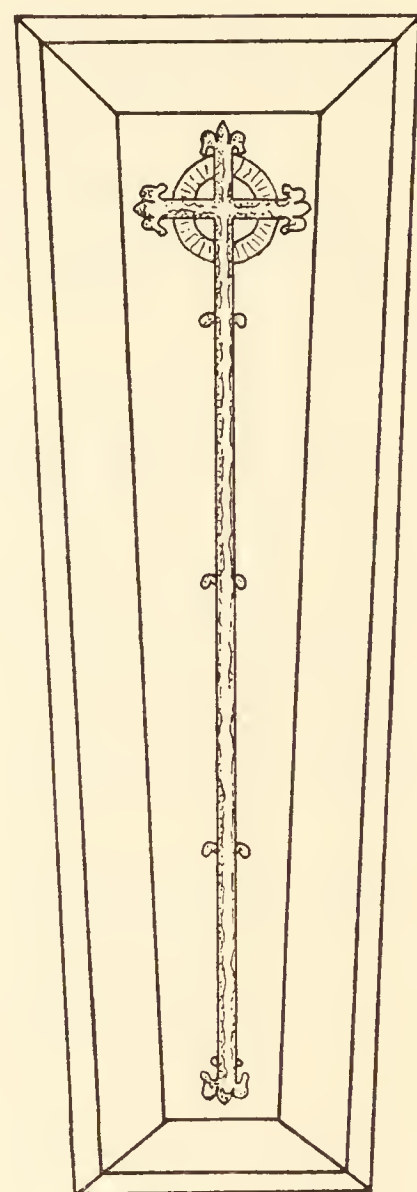
Slab 2 dates from the middle of the thirteenth century, and rests on a large plinth of calcareous grit. On the slab is a weathered straight-armed cross with bracelets, of a similar design to slab 3 from Wetwang. The terminals of the straight-armed cross have fleur-de-lys, whilst the bracelets have trefoil and quatrefoil terminations. The cross face is partly hidden by a shield and the shaft is decorated with trefoils and lozenges. On the right of the cross shaft are the possible remains of a sword. The sides of the slab are plain.



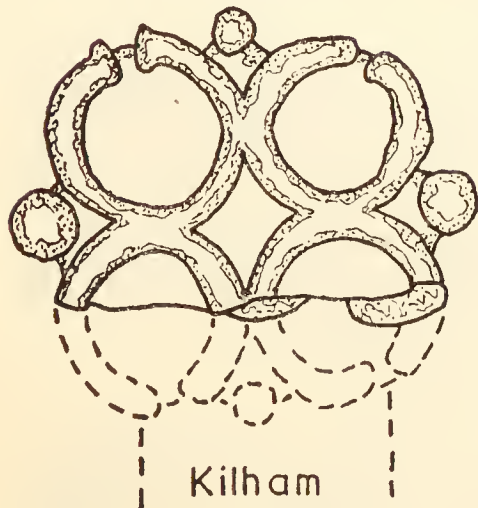
Skerne



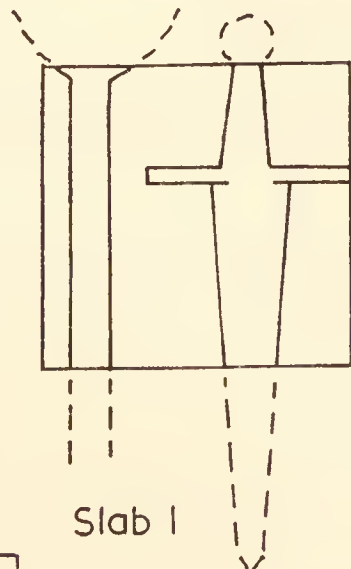
Slab 1, Garton



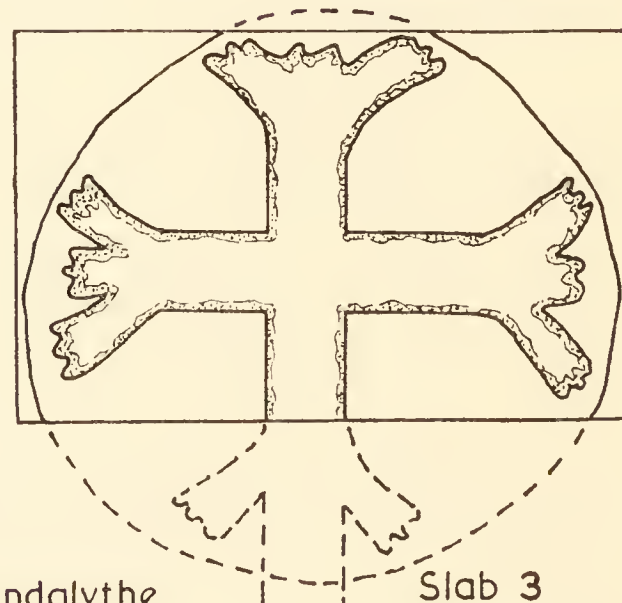
Burton Agnes



Kilham

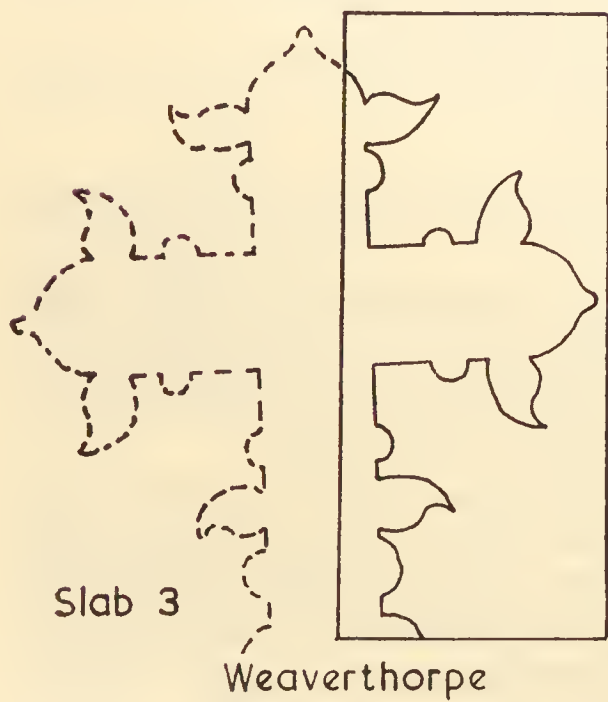


Slab 1



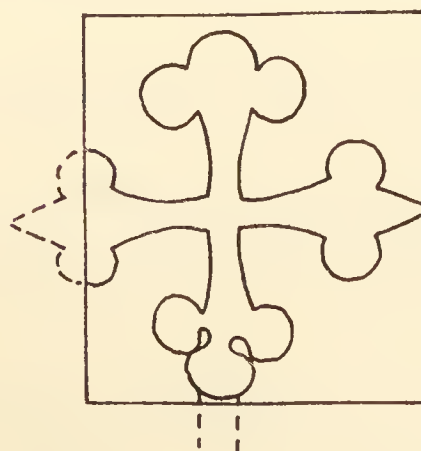
Slab 3

Kirby Grindalythe

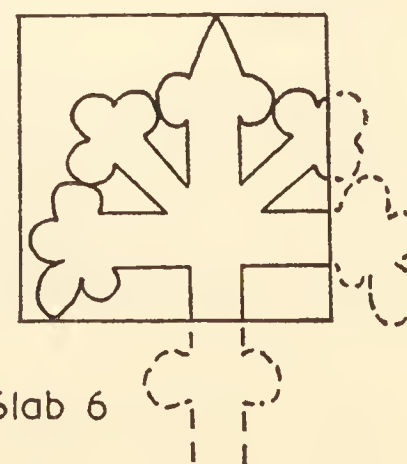


Slab 3

Weaverthorpe



Slab 2



Slab 6



FIG. 3.

Kirby Grindalythe Church is about eight miles north of Garton. The church was rebuilt in the nineteenth century and fragments of eleven grave slabs are to be seen in the exterior walls of the chancel. All the slabs are of calcareous grit, and some of them form an interesting group of designs that are not found elsewhere in the district.

Slab 1 (Fig. 3) dates from the twelfth century and is incised with a cross shaft, half of a circular cross face and a broad bladed sword.

Slab 2 (Fig. 3) is incised with a cross paté with trefoil and round-leaf and pointed bud terminals, and dates from the thirteenth century.

Slab 3 (Fig. 3) dates from the thirteenth century and has a straight-armed cross carved in relief within a circle. The terminals are interesting as they seem to represent broken branches.

Slabs 4 & 5 are incised with cross patés. The terminals are trefoils. The slabs date from the thirteenth century.

Slab 6 (Fig. 3) is incised with a clustered cross of the early fourteenth century. The terminals vary in design from trefoils and quatrefoils to round-leaf and pointed bud.

Slab 7 is incised with part of a cross face and shaft. The terminals are missing, but the length of the cross arms can be estimated as they contain bars similar to those found under the terminals of slab 2 from Bridlington Priory.

Slab 8 possibly dates from the twelfth century and is incised with a circle under which is a smaller circle and part of a cross shaft.

Slab 9 is again possibly of the twelfth century and is incised with a circle and cross shaft.

Slabs 10 & 11 are incised with cross shafts.

Five miles north-east of Kirby Grindalythe *Weaverthorpe Church* has a number of slabs and a headstone re-used in the nineteenth century as building materials for the porch and north nave wall. All the slabs and the headstone are of calcareous grit.

The Headstone is to be found on the floor of the church near the chancel arch amongst a few blocks of ashlar. The Headstone is incised with a cross paté within a circle. The thickness of the stone suggests that it may have been a small, early twelfth-century slab which may have been broken up and the incised part re-used as a headstone.

Slab 1 probably dates from the thirteenth century and is built into the north nave wall. The slab is incised with a cross shaft decorated with trefoils and a three stepped calvary.

Slab 2 may be part of slab 1 and is to be found in the porch. It is incised with a thirteenth century straight-armed cross and terminals of round-leaf and pointed bud design.

Slab 3 (Fig. 3) is located in the north nave wall and is incised with a straight-armed cross decorated with elaborate fleur-de-lys terminals which have upward curved outer leaves. The slab dates from the middle of the fourteenth century.

Slabs 5, 6, 7 & 8 are to be found in the porch and are incised with shafts and stepped calvaries.

A few miles north of Weaverthorpe is *West Heslerton Church* which has fragments of two slabs built into its fabric. Both slabs are of calcareous grit.

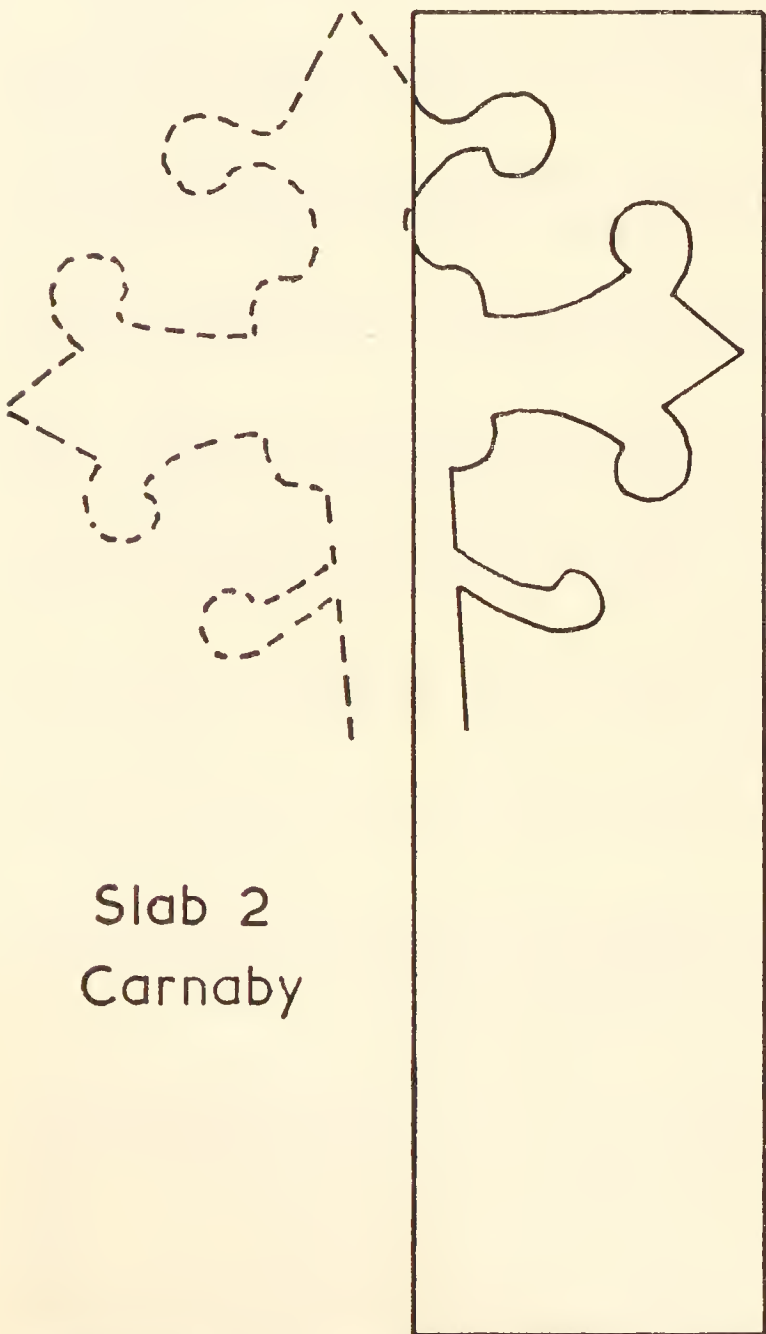
Slab 1 is to be found in the south nave wall. It is incised with a thirteenth century straight-armed cross with fleur-de-lys terminals. The design of the cross face is similar to slab 2 from Bridlington Priory.

Slab 2 probably dates from the thirteenth century. It is positioned in the west end of the nave and is incised with a cross arm with a terminal of round leaf and pointed bud design.

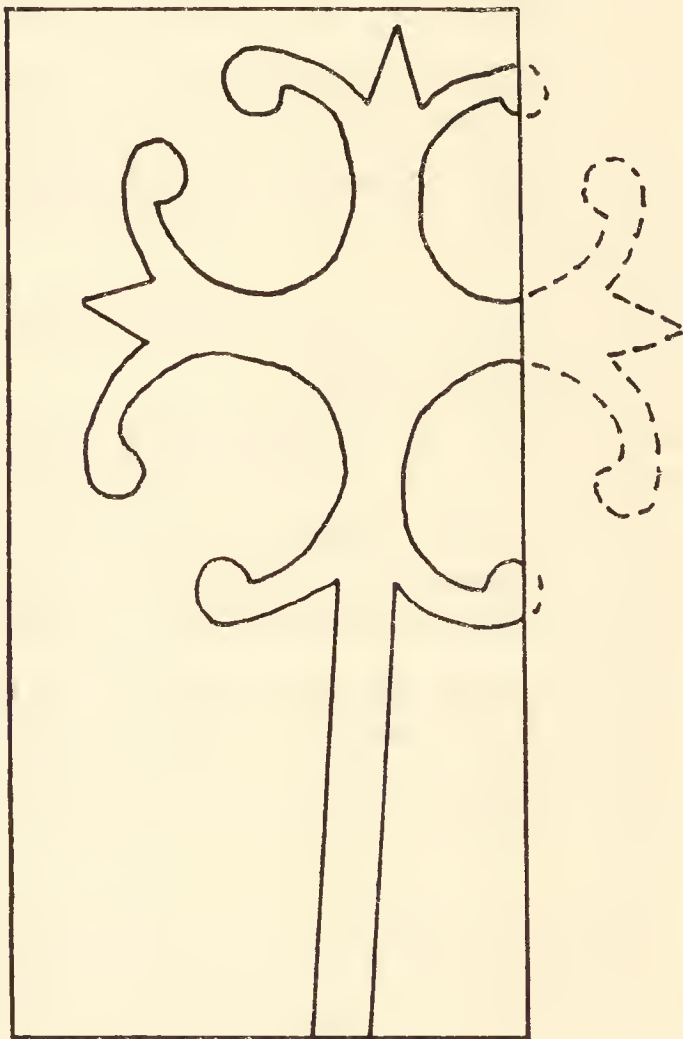
Sherburn Church is three miles east of West Heslerton and in the churchyard near the end of the chancel is a slab and stone coffin of coralline limestone. The upper surface of the slab is very worn and only part of a stepped base, cross arm and one terminal are to be seen. The terminal is a trefoil and the cross arm seems to have been concave in shape.

The cross may have looked similar to that found on the small headstone from Thwing Church. The cross face, shaft and stepped calvary are carved in relief and the sides of the slab are double-hollow-moulded.

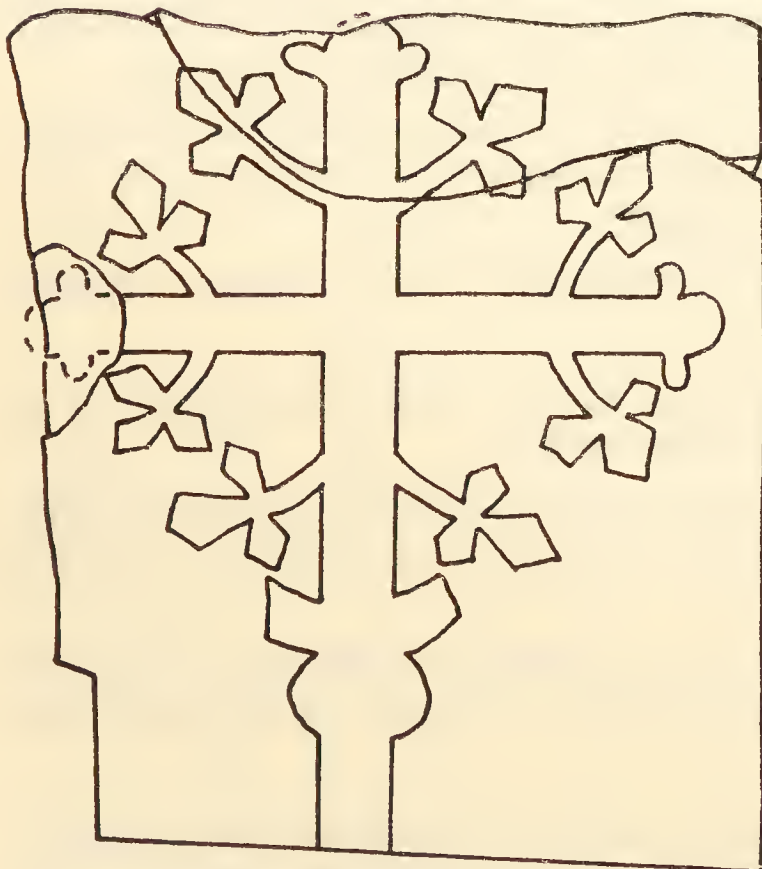
The dimensions of the slab are 6 ft. 5 ins. long \times 2 ft. at the top \times 1 ft. 6 ins. at the base.



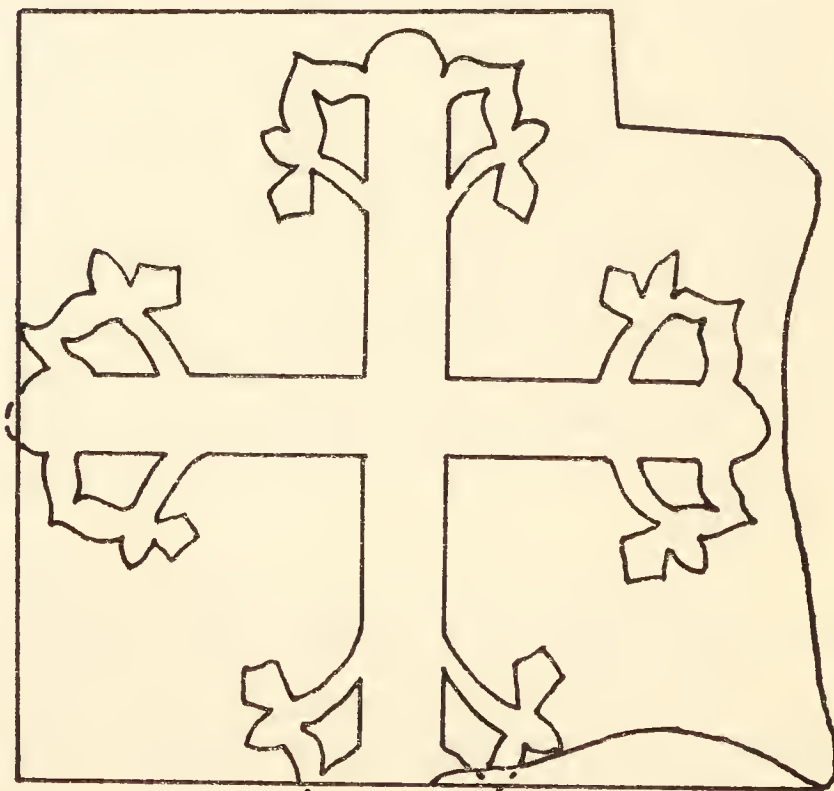
Slab 2
Carnaby



Slab 1, Bainton



Slab 3, Bainton



Slab 4, Bainton

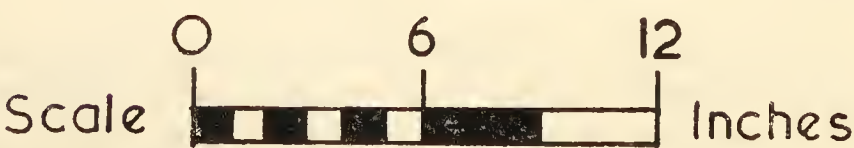


FIG. 4.

Four and a half miles south-east of Sherburn is *Butterwick Church* which has a complete slab of the late thirteenth century on the floor of the chancel near the altar. The slab (Fig. 1) is of calcareous grit with a sword, shield and vine carved in relief upon it. One side of the slab is covered by floor tiles, but the other side, which is convex in section, is decorated with beading around its edge and ornamented with dog-tooth decoration.

Langtoft Church, about five miles to the south of Butterwick, has in the north nave aisle an almost complete slab of calcareous grit (Fig. 1). The slab dates from the middle of the thirteenth century and has a bracelet type cross incised. Inside the bracelets are trefoils and the centre of the cross face is decorated with four pointed leaves. On the left of the cross shaft is a pair of shears and an inscription in round Gothic lettering which reads:

: HIC : IACET : ALINA : DE : VAL . . . :

The base of the slab is missing, but the remaining sides are hollow-moulded.

Thwing Church, a few miles north-east of Langtoft, has two re-used slabs and a headstone of calcareous grit built into the porch.

Slab 1 (Fig. 2) has part of a bracelet-type cross carved in relief within the circle. Each bracelet is joined by a bar and separated by a pointed bud. The slab dates from the early thirteenth century.

Slab 2 is incised with a shaft and the blade, quillon and handle of a sword. The style of the sword suggests an early fourteenth century date.

The Headstone (Fig. 2) which dates from the thirteenth century, has carved in relief a lozenge-shaped cross with trefoil terminals. The centre of the cross face is decorated with four pointed leaves.

At the foot of the tower in the graveyard of *Kilham Church*, a few miles south of Thwing, is a headstone of calcareous grit (Fig. 2). Carved in relief on both sides of the stone is a plain, early thirteenth century bracelet-type cross. Between each bracelet is a small boss.

About three miles north of Kilham is *Rudston Church*. On the floor near the font is a complete slab of calcareous grit (Fig. 1) with a fourteenth century cross elaborately carved in relief. The cross face is clustered with trefoil terminals. On each side of the cross are grooves running along the length of the slab.

Hunmanby Church, eight miles north of Rudston, has fragments of three slabs of calcareous grit built into the exterior wall of the north aisle.

Slab 1, which consists of two fragments, is incised with a circular twelfth century cross face, and also a shaft and stepped calvary.

Slab 2 is also twelfth century and has incised a circle and part of a shaft. Within the circle, carved in relief, is a cross paté.

Slab 3, is incised with a bracelet-type cross similar in design to slab 2 from Little Driffield Church, but without the small, straight-armed cross.

Slab 4 (Fig. 1) is to be found fixed upright against the interior wall of the north aisle. The slab is decorated with a circle and shaft. Within the circle is a debased bracelet-type cross with terminals of round leaf and pointed bud design. Two terminals are unfinished. In the centre of the cross is a small, plain, straight-armed cross. On the left of the shaft is incised a chalice and paten clearly indicating that the slab belonged to the grave of a priest. The sides of the slab are chamfered, except for a small platform near to the top right-hand side. The slab dates from the early thirteenth century. The base is missing.

Four miles east of Bridlington is *Flamborough Church*, where part of a weathered slab is built into a small wall near the main gate of the churchyard. The slab is of calcareous grit and is incised with a plain, straight-armed cross with fleur-de-lys terminals. The slab dates from about the middle of the thirteenth century.

The Dating of Slabs and their Evolution

It is difficult to date precisely the cross slabs as they usually have no inscriptions. Some slabs may be roughly dated by comparing their designs with architectural features

and others by symbols carved in relief or incised at the side of the cross shaft, as at Butterwick Church. Most of the dating for the slabs from the Bridlington district, however, is established by comparison with Lincolnshire slabs.¹

The cross design within a plain circle at the end of a cross shaft is found in large numbers within the district. They are all of early date and one slab of this type, slab 1, Kirby Grindalythe, has incised a sword of Norman type. Some of these circles contain a simple cross, in the form of either a cross paté, a straight-armed cross or a bracelet type. These designs made up the earliest form of ecclesiastical cross and can be compared with Anglian and Anglo-Danish types.² The bracelet designs, which may have evolved from the Norse wheel-headed cross,³ were being carved from the later part of the twelfth century and, in the East Riding, continued till at least A.D. 1260. A bracelet cross similar in design to slab 1 at Bainton was found at Howden Minster on the grave stone of Bishop Kirkham who died in 1260. The slab has hollow-moulding and lettering identical to that found at Langtoft.

Two slabs in York Minster showing bracelets with fleur-de-lys or trefoils terminals date also from about 1260.⁴ A slab showing some development of the same design was found at Wetwang, but it may be later and probably dates from c. 1300.

Slabs with a straight-armed cross and cross paté with terminals of either round-leaf and pointed bud design, fleur-de-lys or trefoil types (e.g., slab 2, Bridlington Priory; slab 2, Carnaby; and slab 2, Kirby Grindalythe), were being carved from the beginning to the middle of the thirteenth century.

The clustered straight-armed crosses (e.g., slab 5, Little Driffield and Rudston) resemble those from Lincolnshire and York⁵ and date from the first half of the fourteenth century.

The straight-armed crosses with terminals of upward turned outer leaves, e.g., Burton Agnes, date from about A.D. 1300 and become more elaborate around A.D. 1350–1400, like those found at Weaverthorpe (slab 3), and Bainton (slab 4). Slab 4 from Bainton was found in the parapet of the fifteenth century tower and it is probable that this was re-used when quite new.

Dating of Slabs by Symbols

Many slabs can be dated by symbols carved at the side of the cross shaft. The most common symbols are weapons, particularly swords. Other types of symbols, such as chalices and domestic objects, are rarely found.

Some of the slabs from the Bridlington district had swords incised, and such slabs were distributed in an approximate circle around Langtoft. There are two types of weapon symbols, firstly the Norman type, recognisable by a broad-bladed sword with circular pommel and secondly (characteristic of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) a sword with a much narrower blade and pommel, sometimes of trefoil shape with curved quillon. Chalices, however, did not change greatly in design throughout the medieval period and slabs that contain a symbol of this kind should be dated by comparing the accompanying cross with others of a similar design and more definite date.

Distribution (Fig. 5)

In the Bridlington district the grave slabs are concentrated over the whole of the Wolds and become less numerous in the Vale of Holderness. The tax returns and documentary evidence of markets suggests Holderness was the most prosperous part of the East Riding.

¹ Minor Medieval Monumental Sculpture in the East Midlands. L. A. S. Butler. *Arch. Journal* Vol. cxxi, (1964) p. 110.

² *Northumbrian Crosses of the Pre-Norman Age*. W. A. Collingwood. Published 1927.

³ Wheelheaded crosses from Burnsall and High Hoyland. W. A. Collingwood, *op. cit.* p. 89, Figs. 108 and 82, Fig. 99.

⁴ Tomb of Archbishop Sewall de Bovill, dated 1258 and tomb of Archbishop Godfrey de Ludham, died 1264.

⁵ *Ancient Memorial Cross Slabs from the city of York and Surrounding District*. D. Alleyne Walter. Published 1884.

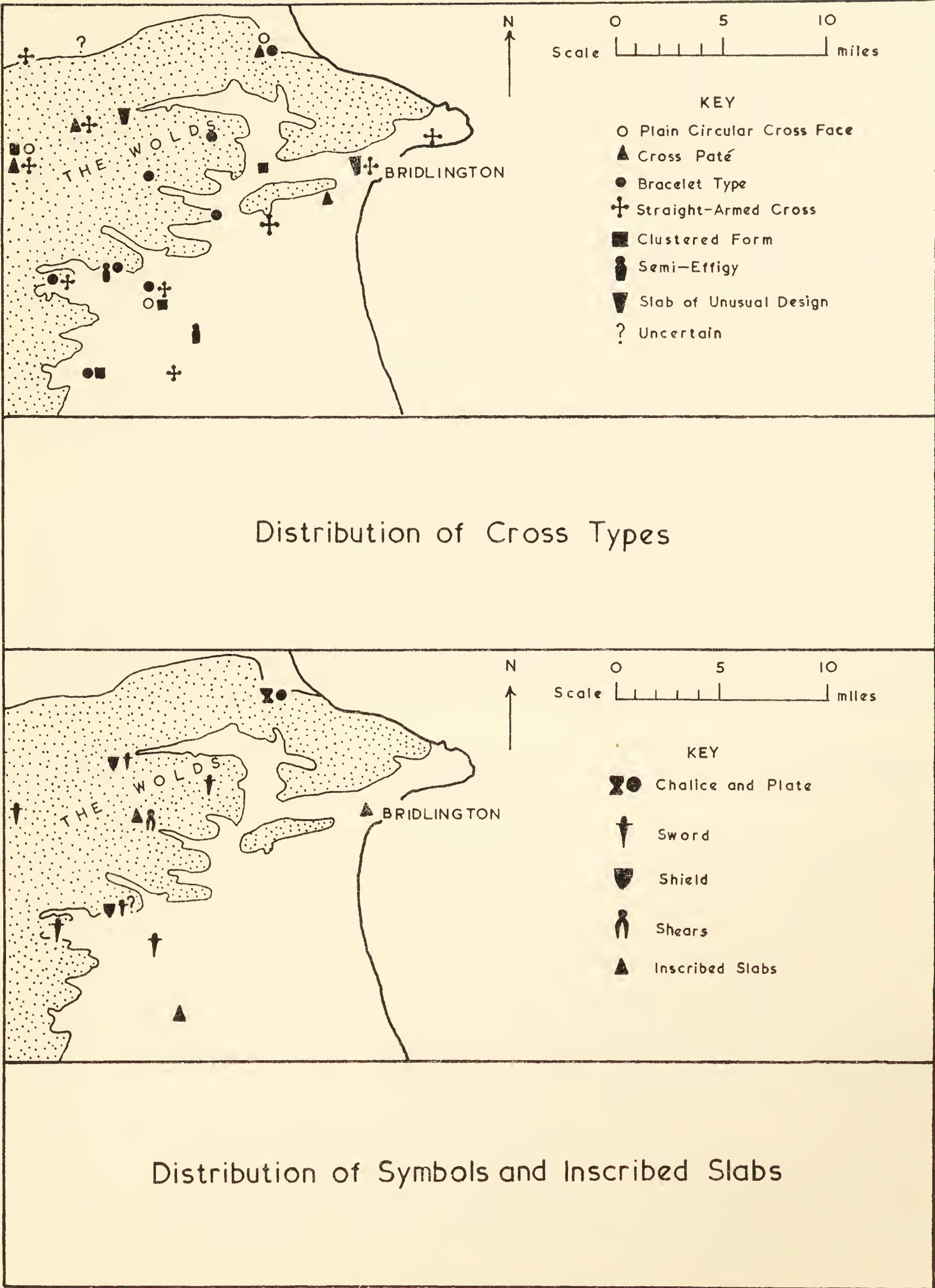


FIG. 5.

One reason for the shortage of grave slabs in the lower land, which is made up of glacial drift, may have been the scarcity of building stone during and after the medieval period. Any slabs that once existed in this area would, no doubt, have been more readily broken

up and the valuable stone re-used for building material. Most of the slabs from the Wolds were left untouched until the nineteenth century when they were used for restoration work. A good example of this is to be found at Kirby Grindalythe. The distribution of the various designs is interesting in that the bracelet forms were found running in a definite line in a north-east to south-west direction. No slabs of this kind were found east of Kilham and west of Wetwang and Thwing. The straight-armed cross is evenly distributed throughout the district, although the clustered forms are rare. The splayed armed cross or cross paté is localised and was only found at Hunmanby, Carnaby, Kirby Grindalythe and Weaverthorpe. The inscribed slab was only found in large numbers at Bridlington Priory, which is perhaps to be explained by the monastic tradition of culture and art. The other villages where inscribed slabs were found are Langtoft and Hutton Cranswick. The least common type of slab within the district is the demi-effigial type, though two were found at Skerne and Garton, in both cases symbolising women.

Types of Stone used for the Slabs

From the total of sixty-two grave slabs located in the Bridlington district it was found that fifty-two were of calcareous grit, three of coralline limestone, three of chalk, one of oolitic limestone, two of magnesian limestone and one of Tournai marble. The calcareous grit was the most common building material for the medieval churches in the district. It is a fine grained sandstone quarried on the north side of the Vale of Pickering.

Limestone was rarely employed for grave slabs and most of it was probably obtained from the Seamer area. This coralline limestone is brittle and has a rough surface due to geods or voids where fossils have rotted away or the penetration of mineral crystals. These factors are most likely responsible for the rarity of this stone being used for slabs. The magnesian limestone was imported, no doubt at great expense, from the West Riding and probably brought from the medieval quarries near Tadcaster. In the case of the oolitic limestone and chalk slabs found at Bridlington Priory, the stone is soft and has a tendency to disintegrate when subjected to a dry atmosphere. The chalk was possibly extracted from the cliffs at Sewerby.

One slab of Tournai marble was found at Bridlington Priory and can be compared with others of the same material located in Lincolnshire. It shows that the trade in these slabs from Tournai, Northern France, was continued northwards along the east coast.

The Rise and Decline in the use of the Slab

From the datable slabs found in the district a graph was constructed and from this there appears to have been a rise in numbers of the slab at the beginning of the thirteenth century. The rise continued to c. A.D. 1250 after which there was a rapid decline towards the middle of the fourteenth century. Throughout the fifteenth century the production seems to have been small and constant.

The graph mentioned above was comparative and intended only as a guide. The slabs with circular faces, such as those found at Little Driffield, had been omitted because, although they were all of twelfth century origin, they cannot be more precisely dated. In addition the slabs located in the survey must represent only a proportion of the medieval grave stones that once existed. Two factors which may have produced the decline in the use of the slab during the fourteenth and fifteen centuries were the Black Death, 1348–9, and the increase in the popularity of brasses. The brass was in competition with the slab and effigy, and, therefore, became one of three mediums in reliquary monuments. It seems as though the brass was popular in the district during this time but no definite evidence can be obtained to justify the theory that it was displacing the slab, since some brasses have been re-used or partly destroyed, leaving only the undatable matrices.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer wishes to thank many incumbents for permission to draw and publish the grave slabs found in the district, and Messrs. T. G. Manby, M.A., A.M.A., and J. Killeen, M.A., for their help and advice in writing this paper.

YORK MINSTER – NOTES ON THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE CHAPTER HOUSE AND ITS VESTIBULE

By the late SIDNEY MELMORE

The Chapter House. An examination of this octagonal building affords an excellent opportunity to determine the accuracy with which the medieval builders were able to carry out their work.

Consider first the length of the sides of the floor, i.e., the front of the half-pace of the stalls: the mean of the eight lengths is 22 ft. 11 ins., the side differing most from this has a length of 23 ft. 1 in. so the departure from the mean is 2 ins. in excess, which is equivalent to 1 part in 137.

The top of the canopy of the stalls is about $14\frac{1}{2}$ ft. above the level of the floor; at this height the distance between the mid rib of adjacent piers was measured. The mean of the eight distances is 23 ft. 3.4 ins. The distance differing most from this measures 23 ft. 1.5 ins., so the difference from the mean is 1.9 ins. in defect or 1 part in 147.

So even after the work had been carried up to a height of $14\frac{1}{2}$ ft. the accuracy was still of the same order.

These measurements were made to the nearest half inch; and as the lengths measured are comparatively small, the results do not do full justice to the builders. Consider therefore the distance across the floor of the Chapter House, that is to say the distance from the extremity of one side to the corresponding extremity of the opposite side. The mean of the eight distances is 55 ft. 2.5 ins. and the greatest deviation is 1.5 ins. in excess, or 1 part in 440.

The angle at the corners of a regular octagon is 135° . On calculating the value of each of the eight angles from the linear measurements, it was found that none of them differs by as much as one degree from this value.

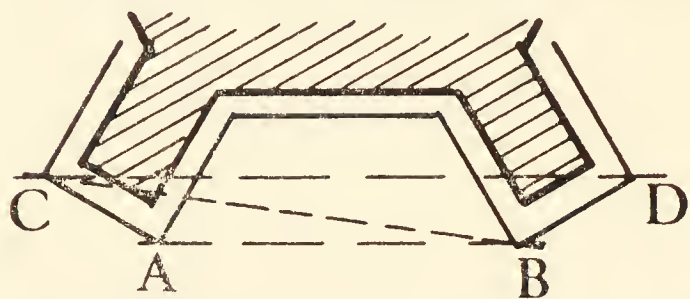
As an indication of the care which was bestowed upon the actual construction of the Chapter House attention may be drawn to the way in which the great buttresses are connected to the walls. In certain courses of the masonry key stones have been inserted: one half of each stone forms part of the buttress and the other half part of the wall.

Immediately to the west of the great buttress containing the spiral staircase giving access to the roof of the Chapter House is another buttress of slender proportions which now forms part of the Vestibule. It is significant (as will appear presently) that these two buttresses are joined in the same way, and that westward of this point the use of keystones is no longer found, the buttresses of the Vestibule being bonded to the wall merely by headers. This slender buttress is matched by a similar one on the south side of the entrance to the Chapter House; both of them are in contact throughout their whole height with the wall they support, and about half way up they carry a gabled ornament like that on the great buttresses of the Chapter House.

Although the Chapter House was constructed with such care and accuracy, the building as a whole is not accurately orientated; that is to say, the wall facing the North Choir Aisle and that facing the North Transept are not strictly parallel to them. This can be seen on taking up a position north of the building so that the line of sight just passes the edge of the buttresses on the east side; then, on looking onward it will be seen that we do not get an 'end on' view of a choir aisle buttress, but that its east side is also visible. But perhaps the nature of this fundamental error is most clearly and conveniently seen on examining the threshold of the Chapter House. Here the joints between the flagstones assist the eye in perceiving at once that the front of the half-pace of the stalls (which itself is parallel to the inner face of the wall) is not parallel to the edge of the flags of the

threshold – which run at right angles to the length of the Vestibule. On taking measurements, it is found that these lines are at an angle of $5\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ ($5^{\circ} 34'$) to one another.

It is, of course, impossible to say how this error came about, but it is possible to indicate how it could have happened. Imagine the



points A, B, C, and D to be pegged out so that AB and CD are parallel to one another and to the wall of the North Choir Aisle. Peg A is accidentally knocked out and the string is run from B to C instead of from B to A. Then the orientation will be altered by the amount observed; for the angle

ABC is equal to $5\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$.

There can be no doubt that the intention of the architects was to construct a rectangular L-shaped vestibule leading to a Chapter House having its axis colinear with that of the east-west limb of the vestibule: this is evident from the fact that an elaborate remedy was applied to correct the error of orientation. To this end the passage across the threshold of the Chapter House was made to run obliquely through the thickness of the wall instead of being at right angles to its length. Evidence of correction is also apparent on the outside of the building: the angle between the foot of the stairs buttress and that of its slender neighbour has been made equal to $116\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ instead of $112\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$.

The Vestibule. The buttresses of the vestibule are flying buttresses with plain set-offs and are thus markedly different from those flanking the entrance to the Chapter House. But the most startling features of the vestibule are to be seen from the outside at the corners. In the south-east corner one window enters into the thickness of the wall beyond it; at the north-west corner two windows are each placed asymmetrically in recesses topped by arches with arc of unequal radius. Before proceeding to consider these matters further, it may be pointed out that the outside of the north wall of the vestibule is not strictly at right angles to the wall running out from the North Transept. The angle where they meet is slightly acute, the wall from the transept being about a foot longer than is necessary to produce a right angle.

Turning now to the outside of the north-west corner of the vestibule: the error in building is less than the distressing aesthetic effect of the result would lead one to expect. In the case of each of the asymmetrically placed windows, one jamb lies close against a buttress, the other jamb is separated from its buttress by a distance of only $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft., so if each window were shifted only nine inches, it would then lie symmetrically between its buttresses. But these two windows next the north-west corner occupy important positions. To anyone entering the vestibule from the transept aisle, that in the north wall is the first to catch the eye; while that in the west wall is the first to meet the eye of an observer coming out of the Chapter House. It will be noticed that the centre of the window in the north wall, as it now stands, lies on the axis of the north-south limb of the vestibule, and the centre of the window in the west wall is already so placed as to lie on the axis of the east-west limb – it is the buttresses and not the windows that are misplaced.

Viewing the south-east corner of the vestibule from the outside, it will be seen that the window in the south wall enters into the thickness of the east wall, and in order to provide support for the superstructure at the corner one light of this window has had to be filled with masonry. The corner window in the east wall also has one blocked light. There is another anomaly, though it is not perhaps of much significance: the wall below the corner window in the east wall is a little over two feet thicker than all the rest of the wall to the south, so that this window is unlike the others in having a sloping sill of double the normal depth.

An important consequence of the error in orientation of the Chapter House is this: it brings the south side of the entrance a little over a foot nearer the transept and carries the north side a little over a foot further from it. Hence if the Chapter House had been properly aligned there would have been room for the window in the south wall.

But besides the error in orientation, there is reason to think that the position of the Chapter House is about a foot further south than was intended; for as we have seen the

north-west angle of the vestibule is slightly acute, the west wall being about a foot longer than is necessary for a rectangular bend. Conversely, a shift of the Chapter House by this amount would rectify the north-west angle *and at the same time would have made it unnecessary to block one of the lights of the window in the east wall.*

The longer one studies the dimensions and architectural features of these buildings the more certain it appears that the builders of the vestibule were following the original plan of the original architects of the whole scheme but were in ignorance of the errors of their predecessors. Evidence that the builders of the vestibule were not the builders of the Chapter House will be put forward presently.

A word may be added about the tracery of the four 5-light windows. Three (in the north and west walls) are identical in design, lanceolate-lobed trefoils alternating with circularly-lobed ones, the latter standing with one lobe above and two below; in the fourth window (south wall) they stand two above and one below.

The Chamber above the Vestibule. This extends over both limbs of the vestibule and is lit by rectangular windows each of two lights. Near the re-entrant corner of the room a small closet projects outward, bridging the space between the wall and a flying buttress into which its further end is built. This curious structure is taken to indicate that the upper room was built at the same time as the vestibule and not added later.¹ The room possesses some other features worthy of notice. The wall at the south end is the wall of the east aisle of the north transept, showing the ornamental roof course in a remarkably fresh state of preservation; while above it is a dog-tooth string course of a buttress to the clerestory, somewhat weathered. Perhaps the only conclusion to be safely drawn from this is that the roof leaks at the gable.

The wall at the east end of the room is a wall of the Chapter House. Near the roof it carries a deeply carved horizontal moulding; this – as will be seen on looking at the outside of the Chapter House – is part of the cornice at the base of the projecting parapet which runs round all eight sides. The piece inside the upper chamber is weathered, and one or two courses of masonry below it show a slight yellow colour such as magnesian limestone acquires on exposure: the rest of the wall is in a fresher state.

It may be remarked in passing that the design of this cornice moulding is almost identical to that of the north transept aisles, but the bosses in the lower border are slightly more massive and a little more widely spaced in the case of the Chapter House. The cornice of the vestibule is also of this design.

The Relative Ages of the Chapter House and Vestibule. If work had begun with the construction of the vestibule it is inconceivable that the errors to be found in it could have occurred; and the east end having been reached, the correct siting of the Chapter House would have followed almost as a necessary consequence. The fact that it is incorrect is in itself evidence that the Chapter House was built before the vestibule. The question then arises: How long a time elapsed before the construction of the vestibule was taken in hand? There is some reason for thinking that the builders of the Chapter House were aware that the idea of constructing a vestibule might be abandoned altogether. This conclusion is based on three considerations. Firstly: the west wall of the Chapter House was not built to receive the roof of the vestibule – there is no stone hood to protect the junction of the roof and wall; nor is the coping of the parapet of the wall carried up to form a gable, the space between the ridge of the roof and the parapet of the wall being merely covered with lead flashing; and, as we have already seen, the ornamental cornice at the base of the parapet is carried straight through into the room above the vestibule. Secondly: the slender buttresses were so placed as to provide the Chapter House with an entrance having its two sides equidistant from the North Aisle.² Thirdly: the slender buttress keyed to the staircase buttress has two narrow set-offs facing *west*, and none to

¹ [Evidence of other kinds, both stylistic and structural, indicates that the upper room was not actually built until some 30 or 40 years after the vestibule; but the deduction that it was intended from the first may well be correct. *J. H. H.*]

² It was probably this that caused the builders of the vestibule to assume that the Chapter House had been placed according to the plan.

the north. In short, the west face of the Chapter House was completed in such a way as to give it a finished appearance so that the building was fit to stand alone without any vestibule.

The vestibule cannot have been built by those who constructed the Chapter House and knew of the error in its orientation; and indeed the workmanship displayed in the vestibule is manifestly inferior to that in the Chapter House. This difference appears very markedly to anyone standing outside and viewing the buildings from the north: the tracery of the two windows of the vestibule is heavy and inelegant compared with that of the Chapter House windows.

In the interval of time between the completion of the Chapter House and the construction of the vestibule other craftsmen came upon the scene and the error in the construction of the Chapter House had passed out of memory.

A few other matters remain for consideration.

Evidently the error of orientation was discovered at a very early stage – soon enough for it still to be possible to build the passage through the west wall obliquely and to construct the short passage leading to the foot of the spiral staircase so that it was at right angles to the oblique passage.

Since the west wall runs obliquely across the axis of the east–west limb of the vestibule, this had to be rectified by refacing the wall on its west side up to the height of the ceiling. Whether this work belongs to the Chapter House period or to the vestibule period is uncertain, but probably it was done by the builders of the vestibule – the two piers supporting the wall are not symmetrically placed with respect to one another. On the other hand, the doors of the Chapter House do not fit the present doorway and it may be that more radical alterations were made than those indicated here.

Whether the blocked window in the west was ever glazed is a question difficult to answer; there is now no sign of tracery in the chamber above the vestibule.

MEDIEVAL POTTERY FROM YORK

By RAYMOND A. VARLEY

During 1967 a collection of archaeological objects of mixed origin was transferred from Bankfield Museum, Halifax, to the Tolson Memorial Museum, Huddersfield, where they are now on permanent loan. Amongst this collection was a group of important medieval pottery that have previously escaped the detailed publication they deserve: three jugs, a cooking-pot rim, a face-mask and a late medieval pipkin. These objects are part of the late S. T. Rigge's collection, and the information given on this pottery is that they were found at York and were deposited in Bankfield Museum by S. T. Rigge in the early part of the nineteenth century [1]. Unfortunately the details of the discovery of this collection of pottery are lacking. The cooking-pot rim and the face-mask were found at York Castle, but no place names or site references, other than 'York' accompany the three jugs and the pipkin. For permission to publish this pottery the writer wishes to record his indebtedness to Mr. R. A. Innes, Director of Bankfield Museum, and Mr. E. W. Aubrook, Director of the Tolson Memorial Museum, who afforded the writer facilities to study this medieval pottery in their keeping.

Three Medieval Jugs

These three jugs are in Humber-Basin ware, being made at West Cowick [2] and Holme-on-Spalding Moor [3], in the mid-fourteenth to the mid-fifteenth century. A small jug of these types was found at Skipton on Swale, N.R., in 1949 containing a hoard of 372 silver coins, the latest dated to 1399 [4], and they are now preserved in the Yorkshire Museum. Another small jug of these types was found in the churchyard at Riccall, E.R. [5]. The Yorkshire Museum has a series of these small jugs.

1. This jug, with missing rim, is unglazed and would be about $8\frac{1}{2}$ ins. high, with about a $2\frac{1}{8}$ ins. diameter rim, 3 ins. diameter base. It is in a hard sandy pinkish-buff ware with a reddish-buff core and buff inside surface. There is a certain amount of building mortar around the top of the plain rope handle, and where it has been broken, running inside the jug. Accession number A.P 195.
2. This jug is 8 ins. high, $2\frac{1}{8}$ ins. diameter rim, $2\frac{1}{4}$ ins. diameter base. It is unglazed in a hard sandy red-buff ware with a reddish-buff core and inside surface, with a plain rope handle. Accession number A.P 194.
3. This jug is the smallest and is also unglazed in a hard sandy reddish-buff ware with a red-buff core and inside surface. The jug is $7\frac{2}{5}$ ins. high, $2\frac{3}{8}$ ins. diameter rim, $2\frac{1}{4}$ ins. diameter base, with a plain rope handle. Accession number A.P 193.

A Cooking-Pot Rim and a Face-Mask from York Castle

The information given on this pottery is 'fragments of old pottery found at York Castle' [6]. Printed in black ink on the back of the cooking-pot rim, and on the back of the face-mask is 'York Castle BP 28'.

4. This is a rim of a large unglazed cooking-pot which has a certain amount of sooting from cooking-fires covering the reddish orange ware outside surface, with a pinkish-cream inside surface and a grey core. It has a $10\frac{1}{4}$ ins. diameter rim, with an angular rim. The fabric is fairly hard with coarse quartz grit which protrudes through the surface to give a distinctive pimply appearance. An identical cooking-pot rim of this type was found at Kirkstall Abbey and dated to the late twelfth century [7]. Another cooking-pot rim of this type was found at Knaresborough Castle, and dated to the twelfth century [8].
5. A face-mask in hard smooth buff ware with a pinkish buff core, which has about a 3 ins. diameter rim. The face is covered overall outside with a dark green glaze which has some yellow speckling. The anthropomorphic decoration is raised in

relief with a short rounded beard indicated by short incised lines. The eyes are indicated by motifs with a dot in the middle to represent the pupil. The eyebrows, the nostrils and the mouth are represented by incised lines. The part of the ear is raised and the ear drum is indicated by an incised line. Face-jugs with beards are frequent in Yorkshire. In the Yorkshire Museum are several examples of face-masks found in Yorkshire. Kilns known to have been making face-jugs with beards are Colstoun, Scarborough [9], Hallgate (Doncaster) [10], Nottingham [11], Grimston, kilns near York and Rievaulx, and Anlaby. A form of face-jug made in the middle of the fourteenth century at West Cowick could be a degenerate form of beard-jug, since simple face-jugs are otherwise unknown in Yorkshire [12]. It is uncertain where this face-mask was made, and it probably belongs to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century.

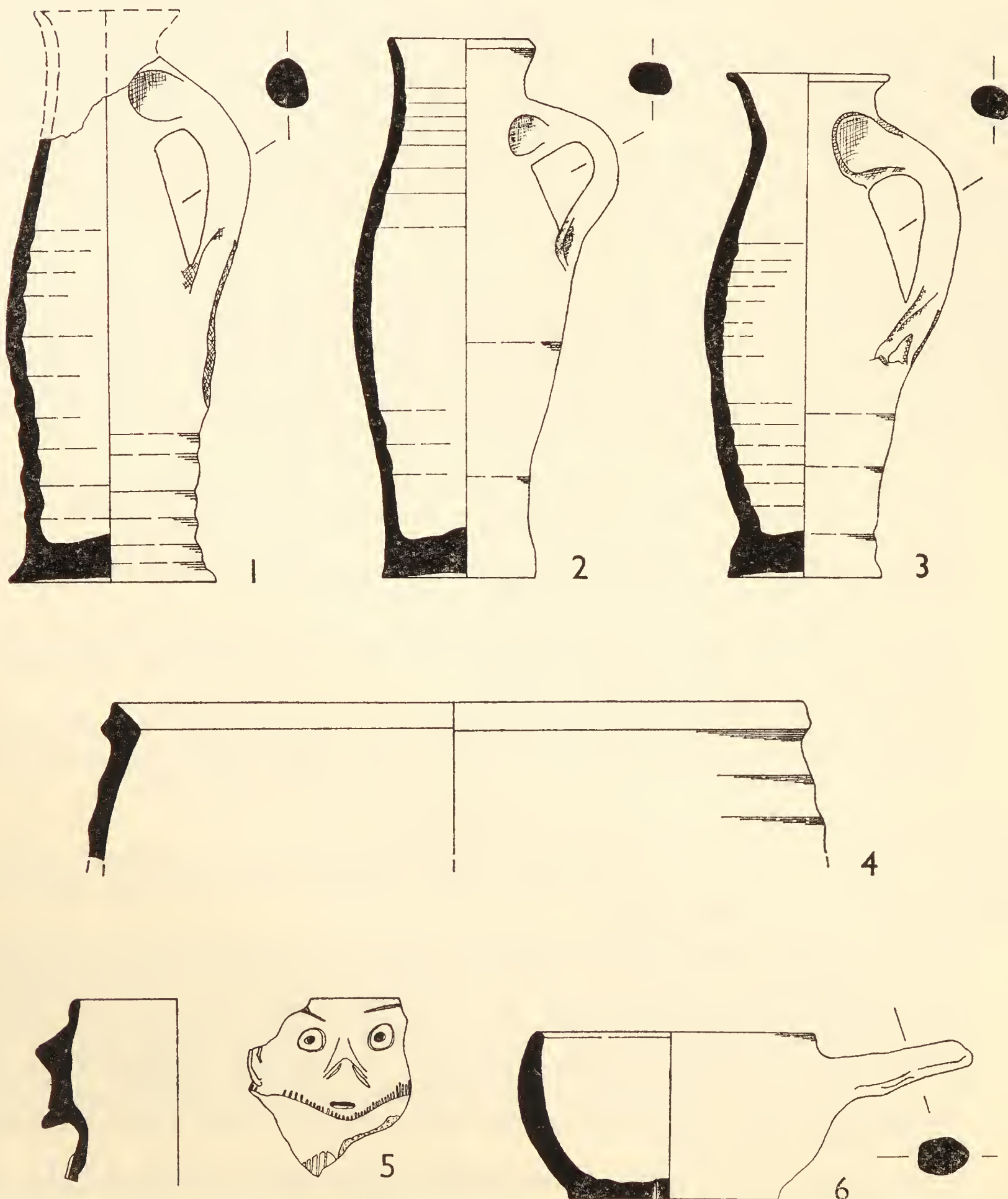


FIG. 1. Medieval Pottery from York. Nos. 1-3, Humber Basin Ware Jugs; no. 4, 12th cent. Cooking-Pot; no. 5, Medieval Face-Mask; no. 6, Late Medieval Pipkin. Scale $\frac{1}{3}$.

6. *A Late Medieval Pipkin*

The only information given on this pipkin is that it was found at York [13]. It is $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. high, $4\frac{1}{4}$ ins. diameter rim, 3 ins. diameter base. The fabric is in a medium hard sandy reddish-buff to fawn with a buff to fawn core. Most of the interior is covered with a light to dark apple green glaze which has some yellow mottling. On the upper part of the handle and on the side of the rim are spots of yellow orange glaze. This pipkin dates to the late sixteenth early seventeenth century. Accession number A.P 204.

REFERENCES

1. Information taken from the accession book and kindly supplied by Mr. R. A. Innes.
2. Mayes, Excavated 1963. Report forthcoming.
3. Mayes, 'A Late Medieval Kiln at Holme-on-Spalding Moor' in *Hull Museum Publications*, no. 216 (forthcoming).
4. Thompson, *Inventory of British Coin Hoards* (1956), Pl. IV.
5. Wenham, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, xl (1960), 300, Fig. 2.
6. Information taken from the accession book and kindly supplied by Mr. R. A. Innes.
7. Le Patourel, *Kirkstall Abbey Excavation*, 4th Report (1953), 66, Fig. 18, 2.
8. Le Patourel, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, xli (1966), 605, Fig. 7, 31.
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10. Le Patourel, *Medieval Archaeology*, x (1966), 164, Fig. 67, 2, 5.
11. Parker, *Trans. Thoroton Soc.*, xxxvi (1932), 79 ff.
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13. Information taken from the accession book and kindly supplied by Mr. R. A. Innes.

THE FAMILY OF TELFORD, NURSERYMEN OF YORK

By JOHN H. HARVEY

In 1736 there appeared the classic history of the City of York, *Eboracum*, by Francis Drake. In discussing the former Dominican Friary at Toft Green, between Tanner Row and the City Walls, Drake remarked: 'The site of this ancient monastery is now a spacious garden; at present occupied by Mr. *Tilford*, a worthy citizen, and whose knowledge in the mystery of gardening renders him of credit to his profession; being one of the first that brought our northern gentry into the method of planting and raising all kinds of forest trees, for use and ornament' [1]. This seems to be the first literary reference to a family of which this article gives a short account. It may first be as well to consider the background of Drake's statement. The York Black Friars had been granted a large site by Henry III in 1227, including the disused King's House in York, with its Royal Free Chapel of St. Mary Magdalene [2], and presumably with a garden. The site was enlarged by later grants; in 1380 the garden of the Friars Preachers was mentioned, and at the Dissolution in 1538 the area was described as one acre in orchard and garden [3]. Whether the friars had used the garden solely for their own subsistence, or whether they may have exploited it commercially by their own efforts or by leasing it to tenants, we do not know, but it is quite possible that by the early sixteenth century this area, sheltered by the city ramparts and the precinct walls of the friary, may already have been a nursery ground. York had been a centre of gardening from an early date: from 1334 onwards gardeners took up the freedom of the city [4] and in 1381 the Poll Tax returns show three gardeners as living in the city [5]. More specifically, the operations of a nurseryman are indicated in 1541 when, on 25 November, the York Corporation granted a 21-years lease to Robert Elden of a parcel of ground 'lying of the west syde' of his house 'without Mikellythe Barre' (Micklegate Bar), i.e., on the north-west side of Blossom Street, on condition that 'the said Robert promyseth to graft and set fruyt treys of the sayd ground and to leyff them growyng of the sayd grownd at the end' of his term [6]. So somewhere quite close to the site of the Friary, but a little outside the Walls, there were already nursery gardens before the middle of the sixteenth century. The friary site soon became known as 'The Friars' Gardens', and this name may itself be significant of long previous use; while the wording of Drake's statement, that in 1736 the garden was 'at present' occupied by Mr. *Tilford*, seems to imply that there had been earlier lessees of the ground who had used it as a commercial garden.

The Telfords (see Pedigree, opposite) had been in occupation some time when Drake wrote. When they sold the nursery to Thomas and James Backhouse on 1 May 1816, the land was said to have been in their occupation for 150 years, or since 1666. Though it has not been possible to substantiate this, it was in 1684 that George Telford (or Tilford, or Tillforth), gardener, took up the freedom of York [7], and from that time on the history of the family is on record. Nobody of this surname had appeared in York before, and there is no evidence to indicate George Telford's place of origin. Later distribution of the name (and notably of the variant Til(l)ford) shows a concentration in the centre and south-east of the West Riding, but it was never common. So far there is nothing at all to confirm the attractive hypothesis that George Tilford derived his surname from the Surrey hamlet only two miles from the famous early garden of Sir William Temple at Moor Park.

The Friars' Gardens were in the old parish of St. Gregory, united in 1586 to that of St. Martin, Micklegate. Assessments to poor rate for the combined parishes show that from 1665 until the last surviving assessment, for 1676, a rate of 8*d.* was levied on the 'Occupiers of ye Fryers' [8]. This may indicate that George Telford had already taken a lease of the gardens by 1665 and this would exactly agree with the age of the business stated in 1816. Nothing else is known of George apart from the baptisms of his children recorded in the

TELFORD OF YORK

Authorities: Parish Registers, St. Martin-cum-Gregory, York; York Wills (Borthwick Institute); Registers of Freemen and Apprentices (York City Archives); Index to Apprenticeships (Society of Genealogists); Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*; Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*.

GEORGE TILFORTH = ELLEN
(Tilford, Telford)
-b. 19/11/1704
St. Martin, Micklegate
Gardener, free of York 1684

Dates are of birth and death unless otherwise stated, Abbreviations: b.—buried; c.—christened; c.—*circa*; d.—daughter; m.—married. All persons were of the parish of St. Martin-cum-Gregory, Micklegate, York, unless otherwise stated.

ROBERT TELFORD = MARY GEORGE TELFORD
c. 26/10/1684 -b. 10/2/1716/7 of Folly Hall, 5/3/1686/7-b. 17/1/1710/11
Attorney, free of York Halifax, 1765 Gardener, free of York
1708; later of Leeds 1703

JOHN TILFORD =
(Telford)
c. .3/1688/9 - 12/11/1771
Gardener, free of York 1715
Sheriff of York 1751/2;
Alderman 20/7/1756, res.
18/12/1761, ill-health
Will 4/6/1756, pro. 10/1/1772
(York Wills, Reg. 116, f. 6)

HANNAH MILBURN* wid. of JOHN LUM
d. of JOHN MILBURN of Wighill
c. 1683 - b. 5/1/1755
Will 15/7/1752, pro. 27/5/1755
(York Wills, Reg. 99, f. 117)

CHARLES TELFORD
c. 11/8/1695-
Apprenticed to George Ogle of Leeds,
clothworker, 1712 (Apprenticeships 42/85)
clothdresser, free of York 1721

ELLINOR = JOHN GARFORTH
30/7/1711- of Horton, Yorks.
fl. 1765 fl. 1765
of Leeds

MARTHA = ABRAHAM HOLMES
c. 1/11/1713 of Halifax
dead by 1765 dead by 1765
of Leeds

* In 1713 a licence for marriage was issued for John Telford, gent., aged 24, of York, and Hannah Prince, spinster, aged 22, of Leeds; the marriage took place there on 11 May; Hannah, wife of Jn. Tilford, was buried at St. Martin-cum-Gregory, York, on 10 Sep. 1729; yet the will of Hannah Telford (née Milburn) implies that she was the mother of John Telford's children.

ANNE
(Hannah)
28/3/1714 - b. 21/1/1719/20

ELLEN = FRANCIS ARMSTRONG
(Ellinor) Gent., of Scampston,
19/7/1715- Yorks. E. Riding

JOHN TELFORD
13/9/1716 - 17/12/1770
Will 2/8/1770, cod. 6/11/,
pro. 19/1/1771 (York
Wills, Reg. 115, f. 5)
Estate at Wigginton

HANNAH AMBLER
d. of George Ambler,
sadle of York
c. 1719 - 5/11/1803
Will 9/7/1785, pro. 2/12/1803
(York Wills, Reg. 147, f. 415v)

ELIZABETH
c. 30/10/1721-
b. 15/1/1739/40

GEORGE TELFORD
c. 3/5/1727-
b. 23/10/1728

ELIZABETH FISHER (1)
d. of CHRISTOPHER &
ELIZ. FISHER of
Knaresbrough
c. 1746 - 5/6/1805
m. 29/5/1770,
Knaresbrough, Yorks.
W. Riding

JOHN TELFORD
c. 16/5/1744 - 12/10/1830
Seedsman, free of York 1776
Councillor, Micklegate Ward,
1777. Treasurer, York County
Hospital. Will 19/3/1827, pro.
29/10/1830 (York Wills, Reg. 182,
f. 252) Property at Eske, Yorks.
E.R.

(2) ELIZABETH HAILSTONE
c. 1770 - 2/12/1837
m. .10/1811
sister of SAMUEL
HAILSTONE (1768-1851)
of Bradford, botanist

HANNAH
c. 11/3/1745/6
- .4/1784
m. 2/12/1777

JOHN FRYER
merchant of
Blackwell Hall,
London

ISABELLA
c. 16/8/1747-
b. 25/1/1775

GEORGE TELFORD
c. 21/6/1749 - 27/12/1834
Living in Micklegate, York,
1786-1809; died at Widmore,
Bromley, Kent. Property at
Knapton & Eske, Will 23/2/1827,
pro. 5/3/1835 (York Wills, Reg.
191, f. 201)

SARAH DEAN
d. of DAVID DEAN,
cheesemonger, of
St. John Street, London
c. 1753 - 29/4/1791
m. .10/1779; then
of St. Albans

ELIZABETH = REVD. JOHN BENSON
c. 16/4/1771- 14/6/1773 - 7/6/1831
.6/1814 m. 4/12/1800; of
St. Helen's near
Cockermouth,
Cumberland

JOHN TELFORD
c. 28/4/1772-
Blackwell Hall
factor, of 15
Aldermanbury,
London
m. 1/3/1798

ANNE SALUSBURY
d. of REVD. THELWALL
SALUSBURY, Vicar
of Graveley, Herts.
29/7/1774 - .12/1846
died at Brighton

ANN
c. 31/1/1775-
12/6/1792

ISABELLA
4/12/1780-
.4/1843
died at
Cambridge

MARY = REVD. JOHN
25/3/1783- HAILSTONE
m. 21/5/1818 (1759-1847),
geologist, brother of
SAMUEL HAILSTONE;
of Trumpington,
Cambs.

(issue died in childhood)

GEORGE TELFORD
2/4/1784 - 12/9/1784

HANNAH
16/11/1786-
21/12/1786

HARRIOT
8/7/1788-
19/4/1789

SARAH
20/4/1781-
living 1827

MARY ANNE
3/12/1782-
living 1827

HANNAH
8/3/1784-
23/3/1784

GEORGE TELFORD
9/9/1785-
living 1827

SUSANNA
14/12/1786-
living 1827

THOMAS TELFORD
10/2/1789 - .6/1819
died at Widmore,
Bromley

HENRY JOHN TELFORD
20/1/1790-
living 1827

CHARLES TELFORD =
20/4/1791-
of Dulwich, Surrey
living 1827

CHARLES TELFORD
c. 1823 - 1894
of Tickton Hall, Beverley
and 61 Micklegate, York

B.A., Christ Church, Oxford, 1845, barrister-at-law, Inner Temple, called 1850;
J.P., East Riding of Yorkshire; Lieutenant-Colonel, East Yorks. Militia.

registers of St. Martin-cum-Gregory from 1684 to 1695, and the burials of himself on 19 November 1704 and of his widow Ellen on 30 July 1714. George's eldest son, Robert Telford, born in 1684, became an attorney, took up the freedom of York in 1708, and later moved to Leeds [9]. The second son, George, became a gardener but died at the age of 23 in 1711, so that it was to the third son, John Telford (1689–1771) that the nursery business descended. The youngest brother Charles, born in 1695, was apprenticed to a Leeds clothworker in 1712 [10], and took up the freedom of York as a cloth-dresser in 1721. It was John Telford, free of York in 1715, who achieved fame in Drake's book in 1736. He had a distinguished civic career, elected Commoner for Micklegate Ward on 4 February 1722/3, and serving as Chamberlain in 1723 and as Sheriff in 1751–52. He became an Alderman on 20 July 1756 but resigned his gown on 18 December 1761 on account of ill health, and apparently transferred the business to his son John (1716–1770) at that time [11]. Of the elder John's career as a plantsman we know that between 1729 and 1737 he was supplying seeds and plants for the gardens at Studley Royal [12], while in 1733–34 'Mr. J. Tilford nurseryman in York' was subscribing to Stephen Switzer's *Practical Husbandman and Planter* [13]. Of the second John Telford we know little beyond the fact that he was described at his death as 'an eminent Nurseryman and Seedsman' [14]. From his will it appears that he had an estate at Wigginton in the North Riding and also owned houses in Grape Lane in York [15]. The Grape Lane property consisted of two adjacent houses which had belonged to the original George Telford and had passed to his eldest son Robert, after whose death they were conveyed back to the York branch of the family in 1765 [16]. The estate at Wigginton may have been ground already required for the plantations of young forest trees in which the nursery specialised. On 19 April 1765 John Telford the younger of York, seedsman, bought 6 acres of land called Farther Moor Close in Wigginton, abutting on Aumbry Carr [16a].

Although the elder John Telford, the former alderman, did not die until nearly a year after his son [17], he had completely retired from the conduct of the business, which passed into the hands of the younger John's two sons John Telford (1744–1830) and George Telford (1749–1834) [18]. Both John and George were active in their profession and were among the first members of the Society of York Florists when it was founded on 20 April 1768 [19]. They both served on frequent occasions as stewards and judges at the regular meetings, when prizes were awarded for Auriculas, Carnations, Hyacinths, Polyanthus, Ranunculus and Tulips. John Telford had married, on 29 May 1770, Elizabeth daughter of Christopher Fisher of Knaresborough, and had at the same time been taken into partnership by his father [20]. The father's half-share in the business was left to George Telford.

By the time the nursery had passed to the brothers John and George Telford its business had expanded far beyond the forest trees for plantations – and doubtless fruit trees – with which it had started. As early as 1763 John Telford (which John Telford is not certain) had taken a lease from York Corporation of a property at Holgate including 6 acres of land alongside the Beck at Holgate Bridge, south of Holgate House and less than a mile west of the Friars' Gardens. This lease was renewed in 1783 and again in 1804 to run until 1816, and though all the leases were in the name of John Telford [21], it is clear from the Inclosure Award for Acomb and Holgate, of 1776 [22], and from a survey of city property made in 1810 [23], that in fact the lessees were Messrs. John and George Telford in their business capacity. After inclosure had added allotments of land to the original property it amounted to over 11 acres. Other land within the Manor of Acomb was held by Messrs. Telford as copyhold in 1797, when they paid a rent of 10s. [24]. The nurseries were evidently expanding, and this is confirmed by the evidence of a catalogue of 1775 [25].

This catalogue is of 'Forest-Trees, Fruit-Trees, and Ever-Green and Flowering Shrubs', but it mentions 'all Sorts of Seeds, with several curious Perennial Flower Roots, and a great Variety of Bulbous Flowers.' The forest trees and the shrubs are listed in full detail and priced, so that it is possible to form some impression of the contents of Yorkshire gardens at the time. An asterisk is placed against plants which require the shelter of greenhouse or stove, and these are relatively few in number, some thirty-five out of a total

list of shrubs and roses amounting to about 350. The great age of exotics was yet to come and two centuries ago England was, as it is once again, a country highly appreciative of hardy shrubs. In spite of the absence of the flood of later introductions the catalogue surprises by the very wide choice already available. There were nine varieties of Broom, Genista and Cytisus, fourteen different Honeysuckles, seven hardy and five greenhouse Jasmines, five hardy and three tender Phillyreas, and a list of forty-one Roses, at prices from 5s. down to 2d. To form some judgement on the significance of the prices we have first to reckon the general relationship between the cost of living in 1775 and that of today. In very rough terms values must be multiplied by about $\times 10$, so that one may say that £100 in 1775 would go as far as £1000 now [26]. The values of common plants, however, give a multiplier of between $\times 30$ and $\times 50$, so that where the owner of an estate spent only £100 in 1775 he would now have to spend from £3,000 to £5,000 [27]. This reflects the disproportionate rise in the cost of labour in modern times, as the major factor in the production of plants.

Much of the interest of Telfords' catalogue of 1775 is to be derived from the relative values of different shrubs when set against this double standard of prices. Recent introductions and difficult rarities were of course vastly more expensive in proportion, while common plants were extremely cheap. In 1775 a 'Large Laurel-leav'd Magnolia' (*M. grandiflora*) cost 7s. 6d.; now it costs only around 40s., the multiplier being about $\times 5$; on the other hand a Catalpa, now about the same price, then cost but 2s., a multiplier of $\times 20$; a Pyracantha cost 3d. as against present prices ranging between 10s. and 15s., giving an average factor of $\times 50$. Naturally the most recent introductions were expensive and yield the lowest factors of rise in price:— Catesby's Alspice (*Calycanthus floridus*), introduced 1726 but very rare until 1757, cost 7s. 6d., now 21s. – 25s., a factor of about $\times 3$; the Olive-leav'd Kalmia (*K. angustifolia*, 1736), has likewise a factor of about $\times 3$, while the Small or Swamp Magnolia (*M. virginiana*, 1688) was 15s., now only 35s. – 42s.; and the Rhododendron or Rose-Bay (*R. maximum*, 1736, but did not flower in Britain until 1756) cost 15s. On the other hand were the general run of shrubs and climbers, proportionately much cheaper than they are now: one could then get a honeysuckle or a periwinkle for 2d., a wide selection of shrubs including broom, buckthorn, white and yellow jasmine, laburnum, laurustinus, lilac, rosemary and syringa (*Philadelphus coronarius*) for 3d. each, and such items as an almond, a bay tree, a cornelian cherry (*Cornus mas*), or a purple mezereon for 6d. Taking a list of twenty-four of these low-priced items and comparing with the prices quoted for 1969 gives a factor of multiplication ranging from 20 up to 125 and averaging about $\times 54$. Set against the general factor of only $\times 10$ this means that the commoner plants were five times cheaper two hundred years ago [28].

Under John and George Telford the firm prospered and it was certainly the most important in the North when they sold it as a going concern to the brothers Thomas and James Backhouse in 1816. The Telfords had become wealthy and by 1787 had jointly invested in the Manor of Eske, close to Beverley [29]. Surviving correspondence shows that Telfords supplied the estate of the Grimston family at Kilnwick-on-the-Wolds, in 1778 returning to their client John Grimston a French catalogue of fruit trees, and in 1782 sending the gardener, William Pontey, a list of shrubs which they had available [30]. Business was so pressing that in 1780 John Telford paid a fine of £200 in lieu of serving the City of York as Sheriff and Alderman, though he had served as Councillor for Micklegate Ward from 1777 [31]. None the less, he became Treasurer of the York County Hospital and solicited benefactions and subscriptions for it [32]. The business included dealings in corn by 1792 [33].

Both of the Telfords had reached an advanced age by 1816 when they sold the nursery business as a going concern to the brothers Thomas and James Backhouse, Quakers from Darlington [34]. It was stated in 1890 that the reason why the Telfords sold out was in order to take up 'the (to them) more profitable occupation of whale fishery' [35]. George Telford left York, having given up the occupancy of what is now No. 61 Micklegate in 1809 [36]; he settled at Widmore near Bromley in Kent, but retained the freehold of No. 61, which his grandson Colonel Charles Telford (1823–1894) was to occupy from 1876

[37]. The house had probably been rebuilt in its present form at about the time that George Telford first occupied it in 1786 [38]. The house occupied by John Telford, and by the earlier generations of the family, stood in the Friars' Gardens and was demolished when the area was taken over by the York and North Midland Railway to form the original York Station [39]. Along with the nursery ground itself this house had always been leased by the Telford family, the freeholders being the Trustees of Lady Hewley's Charity [39a].

No attempt will be made here to discuss the precise horticultural significance of the work of the Telfords. In general terms it is clear that they played an outstanding part in producing the enormous stocks of young trees required by the great age of northern planting [40]. The creation of a new kind of wooded landscape for landowners such as John Aislabie and in accordance with designs by Switzer, Kent or Bridgeman, demanded that a wide variety of trees should be available; and that the young trees should be growing near enough to enable them to survive the risks of slow transport. It was also necessary to keep down expense on transportation. The very large estates of Yorkshire, for example Bramham, Castle Howard, Duncombe Park, Londesbrough, Studley Royal, Swinton, or Temple Newsam, raised these problems in an acute form. That a solution was satisfactorily provided, from the opening of the eighteenth century, seems to have been due in the first place to the enterprise of George Telford and, after him, to the energy of his son, grandson, and great-grandsons in building on the foundations which he had laid.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the preparation of this paper I have received much help for which I here record my warm thanks: to the York Public Library and to its Reference Librarian, Mr. Maurice Smith, as well as to successive City Archivists, Mrs. Percy and Miss Tanner; to York Minster Library, the Revd. Canon R. Cant, and Mr. C. B. L. Barr; to the Borthwick Institute and Mrs. N. Gurney; as well as to many individuals including Dr. Keith Allison; Mr. H. M. G. Baillie of the Historical Manuscripts Commission; Mr. Geoffrey Beard; Mr. William Brogden; Mr. R. G. C. Desmond; Mr. Leonard K. Elmhirst; Dr. E. A. Gee; Mr. Norman Higson; Mr. Kenneth Lemmon; Mrs. E. A. Mann of the Business Archives Council; Miss Mary Mauchline; Miss Priscilla Minay; Mr. M. J. Naish; Mr. C. N. Wilmot Smith; and Mr. Anthony Yates. In connection with early nurserymen's catalogues I have also been helped by Mr. Hugh Bilbrough; Mr. T. Cawley, Librarian of Rothamsted Experimental Station; Mr. P. R. Colegate, Librarian of the National Institute of Agricultural Botany; Mr. Ronald Hall, Librarian of the John Rylands Library; the Secretary of the Royal Horticultural Society; and Mr. Henry G. Wendler of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society.

REFERENCES

1. F. Drake, *Eboracum*, folio, 1736, p. 274. The importance of John Telford in the development of gardening in the North does not seem to have been adequately recognised, though R. H. Skaife included his life in the 'Biographical Sketches of Eminent Citizens' which he contributed to *A Handbook to York and District*, ed. G. A. Auden, for the 75th Meeting of the British Association, 1906, p. 239.
2. *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, 1224-27, p. 181; cf. C. F. R. Palmer, 'The Friar Preachers, or Black Friars of York', in *Y.A.J.*, vi, pt. 23/24, pp. 396-419.
3. *Y.A.J.*, xxxii, pt. 128, 1936, p. 387.
4. *Register of the Freeman of the City of York*, ed. F. Collins (Surtees Society, xcvi for 1896), 1897, p. 29. Gilbert de Ilkeley, 'garthener', seems to have been the first to take up the freedom in this capacity in 1334. Fruiterers in former times commonly produced their own fruit, and Gerard 'le fruter' occurs taking up the freedom of York as early as 1322 (p. 21) and Philip 'le fruter de London' in 1336 (p. 32). The first occurrence of 'Gardener' as a surname among York freemen was not until 1377 (p. 75).
5. N. Bartlett, *The Lay Poll Tax Returns for the City of York in 1381*, 1953, pp. 53, 54, 65.
6. *York Civic Records*, ed. A. Raine, 4 (Y.A.S. Record Series, cviii), p. 72.
7. *Register of the Freeman of . . . York*, vol. ii (Surtees Soc., cii), p. 161.
8. York City Archives (York Public Library), E.73, E.74, part of a series of books containing assessments for the whole city by parishes, from 1632.
9. *Register of the Freeman*; deed of 12 Sept. 1765 enrolled in York City Register of Deeds, York City Archives, E.94, f. 73v.
10. Society of Genealogists, Indexes to Apprenticeships (Appr. 42/85); *Freemen*. The Indexes also show that John Telford took four apprentices, James Parker in 1713, John Todd and Francis Lucas in 1718, and John Tate in 1729.

11. R. H. Skaife, MS. 'York Civic Officials', York Public Library. In the York City election of 1741 John Telford, gardiner, was qualified by his abode in Tanner Row (Poll Book, York Minster Library), while in the County election of the same year he voted in right of freeholds at Kirk Fenton in the West Riding (Poll Book, York Public Library). It is a striking fact that of some 2,600 qualified parliamentary voters in York in 1741, no fewer than fifty-two were gardeners, while in the ten years 1731–40 the freedom of the city was taken up by thirty-four gardeners. The property in Kirk Fenton was bought by John Telford, 'of the City of York, Gardener' in 1732 and comprised a house with barn, orchard and garth, Darn Croft, Rancar Patch Close and East Field, comprising 24 acres, and 1½ acres in five parcels dispersed in the open field. Telford, apparently in contemplation of his second marriage, to Hannah daughter of John Milburn (see Pedigree), settled the property on 24 April 1740 upon Hannah Lum, widow of John Lum, late of York, cordwainer, and Marmaduke Milburn and Samuel Ascough as Trustees (West Riding Registry of Deeds, Wakefield, EE 78.122; NN 282.386).
12. Bills in Studley Royal MSS. deposited at Leeds Reference Library, Archives Department, Parcel 286; I am greatly indebted to Mr. Geoffrey Beard for this information. The accounts include a long priced list of vegetable and herb seeds of 1730. Also of value for prices of the period is an account of 12 December 1764, when the Revd. Mr. [Thomas] Metcalf, rector of Kirkby Overblows, bought of John Telford senior 5 Dwarf Apples on Dutch stocks (2 Nonparells, 2 Ribston Pippins, 1 Piles Russet) for 3s. 4d., 4 Dwarf Codling Apples on Crab stocks for 2s., a Magdalen Peach and a Roman Nectarine, each at 1s. 6d., an Orange Apricot for 1s., 2 Syringas for 3d., each, a Cytisus for 3d., a Persian Jasmine for 4d., 2 Mezereons for 8d., a Hypericum Frutex, a 'Gelderose', a Purple and a White Lilac, all at 3d., and two Double Flowering Thorns at 6d. each; Double Violet roots were included free of charge. To the account John Telford junior added: 'The Trees you gave me orders for the last week I have now sent by John Wharton the Skipton Carrier, & hope all may be Agreeable . . . P.S. I saw Mr. Ewbank yesterday who was very well and desir'd his Compliments.' (Borthwick Institute, York, Sequestration Papers 1768, R.VII.1.1483/69. I am indebted to Mrs Ann Rycraft for kindly informing me of her discovery of this interesting account).
13. Information kindly sent by Mr. William Brogden.
14. *York Courant*, 18 Dec. 1770.
15. Borthwick Institute, York Wills, Reg. 115, f. 5.
16. York City Archives, Register of Deeds, E.94, ff. 73v, 146.
- 16a. North Riding Registry of Deeds, Northallerton, AQ 101.143.
17. *York Courant*, 19 Nov. 1771, referring to him as 'a Gentleman, whose humane Disposition, social Temper, and obliging Behaviour endeared him to all his Acquaintance.' His will of 4 June 1756, proved 10 Jan. 1772, is in York Wills, Reg. 116, f. 6.
18. *York Courant*, 18 Dec. 1770: 'He (John Telford junior) is succeeded in the Business by his Sons John and George Telford, who purpose to carry it on in all its Branches as formerly.'
19. York Public Library, Minute Books of the Ancient Society of York Florists, vol. i (1768–1803).
20. Will of John Telford the younger, above note [15]; parish registers of St. Martin-cum-Gregory (Borthwick Institute), entries of baptism of children of John Telford, 1783–1788; York Public Library, Skaife MS. as above, note [11]; cf. W. J. Kaye, *Records of Harrogate*, 1922, p. xiiin.
21. York City Archives, Register of City Leases, E.101, part 1, pp. 195, 199; part 2, ff. 27, 101. These lands were later leased by the Backhouses, and it is of interest that James Backhouse the elder and his sister Sarah lived at Holgate House from 1859 (*Yorkshire Evening Press*, 26 July 1955, article by I[sabel] P[ressly], 'Passing of a well known York Nursery').
22. H. Richardson, *A History of Acomb*, 1963, p. 54.
23. York City Archives, M.10.D, survey of City Properties in Micklegate Ward, made January 1810 by Peter Atkinson, Architect and City Steward.
24. York City Archives, transcript of Acomb Manor Rental of Copyhold Rents due 1797.
25. Printed by Ann Ward, York, 1775; British Museum, bound in 'Tracts on Agriculture', 1508/960(2); the next item in the same volume is a copy of the closely similar catalogue issued by William and John Perfect of Pontefract, 17 . . . , the date being filled in in ink as 1777, printed by C. Etherington, York. A copy of this Pontefract catalogue is in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, with the date filled in as 1776. It seems clear from internal evidence that the Perfect catalogue is based on that of Telfords of York, and therefore cannot be earlier than 1775–76.
26. For the changing values of commodities see E. V. Morgan, *The Study of Prices and the Value of Money* (Historical Association, Helps for Students of History, No. 53), 1950; articles in *The Amateur Historian*, vol. 2, nos. 8, 9 and 10, pp. 238–44; 271–3; 304–8.
27. The total price of one each of a selection of 16 common fruit trees in 1775 was 16s. 3d., or roughly 1s. each; at the 1968–69 prices charged by Messrs. Notcutt of Woodbridge the same selection would cost 460s., or over 28s. each. The prices of forest trees, 2 ft. high, have to be multiplied by about x 25 to x 35 to reach the modern price.
28. From a catalogue of Messrs. Cheals of Crawley, of 1935–36, it is possible to calculate the factor of rise in price 1775–1935 as x 6½, while a factor of x 8 is needed to bring the 1935 prices to the 1969 level of x 54.
29. Deed of 10 Oct. 1787 referred to in will of John Telford (York Wills, Reg. 182, f. 252); Land Tax Return, 1793, showing that Eske was in the hands of two proprietors, John and George Telford, assessed at £10 each. In 1828 the Population Return shows them as Lords of the Manor, which comprised 1050 acres. I am greatly obliged to Dr. Keith Allison for this information.

30. I am indebted to Dr. Allison for notes of these letters deposited in the East Riding County Record Office at Beverley. 'Mess. Telfords, Nurserymen' subscribed in 1776 to John Kennedy, *A Treatise upon Planting, Gardening, and the Management of the Hot-House*, and in 1779 to William Speechly, *A Treatise on the Culture of the Pine-Apple*, both books printed at York by Ann Ward.
31. R. H. Skaife, MS. 'York Civic Officials', see note [11] above.
32. *York Courant*, 13 Feb. 1804; 9 Feb. 1807.
33. *York Herald*, 14 April 1792. An advertisement for Friesland Oats which 'may be seen at the warehouse of J. and G. Telford in Tanner Row, York.'
34. Advertisements in *York Courant*, 6 May 1816, where it is stated that Messrs. Backhouse had 'engaged the same Assistants for the purpose of carrying on the Business'; there was complete horticultural continuity notwithstanding the change of proprietors.
35. F. J. Hanbury, 'The late James Backhouse' (junior), in *Journal of Botany*, Dec. 1890. This curious point is not mentioned in the earlier account, by James Backhouse senior, of the acquisition of the nursery, quoted in S. Backhouse, *Memoir of James Backhouse*, York and London, 1870, pp. 18-19.
36. *York Courant*, 13 March 1809; advertisement of sale of the household furniture on 28 and 29 March by Auction; and of 'a fine-ton'd Grand PianoForte . . . by Broadwood by private Contract, Price 45 gs.'
37. York Directories; the house was formerly No. 24. After the death of Colonel Telford the house became for 15 years the home of Dr. W. A. Evelyn, who formed the important Evelyn Collection on the local history of York, now in the City Art Gallery and York Public Library.
38. I am indebted to Dr. E. A. Gee for information on the house, which is typical of the restrained Georgian style of the late eighteenth century. A slightly later example of this style, on the opposite side of Micklegate, is No. 92, rebuilt c. 1797, and occupied by the Backhouse family from 1817 (Rate Books of the parishes of St. Martin-cum-Gregory and Holy Trinity, Micklegate, now deposited in the Borthwick Institute).
39. In the Poll Book for York City, 1741, the abode of John Telford is given as Tanner Row (see note [11] above).
- 39a. The original trust deeds of Lady Hewley's Charity, dated 25 April 1707, describe the Friars' Gardens as 'all that Garden or Garden place as the same is bounded and limited with walls and other fences and Boundarys with all the fruit trees and other trees therein . . . heretofore in the tenure or occupation of Matthew Wharton and now or late . . . of George Telford. And also all that Tenement or Dwelling House . . . in or near to the said Garden and now or late inhabited by the said George Telford', as well as a Barn and a parcel of ground adjoining the Garden with a Stable and Dovecote. I am greatly obliged to Mr. MacGregor of Messrs. Chalmers, Impey & Co. of Liverpool, custodians of the deeds (Box 2, bundle 1), for allowing me to inspect them and for much assistance. Matthew Wharton, or Quarton, who may have been a nurseryman tenant before Telford, was buried at St. Martin-cum-Gregory on 7 April 1695 (E. Bulmer, ed., *The Parish Registers of St. Martin-cum-Gregory, York*, 1897, p. 112); in 1696 the rate books show an assessment on 'George Tilfor for house and ground, 18s. 6d.' (George Benson in *Associated Architectural Societies' Reports and Papers*, xxxi, pt. ii, 1912, p. 622).
40. Forest trees quoted by the thousand in the catalogue of 1775 include Ash, Beech, Witch Elm, Scotch Fir, Spruce Fir, Silver Fir, Holly, Hornbeam, Larch, English Oak, Sycamore, and Thorn.



St. Mary's Tower, from Henry Cave, *Antiquities of York*, 1813

And smoothly shaven walks extend,
Where once St. Mary's towers arose,
And gardens their soft fragrance blend,
With the still air – when summer glows.
Yet still one lonely tower doth stand,
Fit monument to mark the spot . . .
The wreck of proud St. Mary's tower,
When in her best and palmiest days.

J. Tindal, *The Monk of St. Mary's Abbey* (York, 1851)

THE RECORDS FORMERLY IN ST. MARY'S TOWER, YORK — PART II

By B. A. ENGLISH AND C. B. L. BARR

APPENDICES I-III¹

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APPENDIX I

KEEPERS OF THE RECORDS OF THE AUGMENTATIONS IN LONDON, 1536-1659, INCLUDING CLERKS OF THE PIPE, 1548-1659²

By C. B. L. BARR

1536-54 Richard Duke, clerk of the Augmentations

Appointed clerk of the Augmentations on 24 April 1536, at a salary of £10, subsequently increased to £40 and again to £53 6s. 8d., plus fees (*L.P.Hen.VIII*, XIII, 1538, i, p. 572; ii, p. 178; Richardson, pp. 45, 244, 256, 493); his pension of £133 6s. 8d. granted on the dissolution of the court in 1554 suggests that the fees cannot have amounted to less than £80 or £95 p.a. (*id.* pp. 254-6); some special fees are recorded (*id.* pp. 244-5). He received several annuities paid from the revenues of ex-monastic lands, and made enough from the clerkship to invest heavily in the lands (*id.* p. 244, n. 83): he was grantee of considerable estates in Devon (*L.P.Hen.VIII*, XIII, 1538, i, p. 578; XV, 1540, p. 105; XVIII, 1543, i, p. 539) and various small properties in Essex (*id.* XIV, 1539, i, pp. 423, 588, 606), London (*id.* XV, 1540, pp. 479, 559), and Somerset (*id.* XVII, 1542, p. 263; XVIII, 1543, i, p. 285). He appears to have been a dutiful official, to judge by his award in 1544 of a special fee of £46 13s. 4d. for his 'pains and great charges' in collecting arrears and other debts due to the crown (Richardson, p. 341). He was probably Richard Duke of Ottery St. Mary, Devon, sheriff of Devonshire 1563-4, died 8 September 1572 (F. T. Colby (ed.), *The visitation of the county of Devon . . . 1630* (Harl. Soc. vi, 1872), p. 342; *List of sheriffs* (Lists and indexes, ix, 1898), p. 36; i.p.m., P.R.O. C 142/163/13: *Index of inquisitions*, ii (Lists and Indexes, xxvi), p. 119); for the family see also Colby, *op. cit.*, p. 98; *Collectanea topographica & genealogica*, iii (1836), p. 155; W. B. Bannerman (ed.), *The visitations of . . . Surrey* (Harl. Soc. xliii, 1899), pp. 167-8, cp. also pp. 70-71; Sir George J. Armytage (ed.), *A visitation of . . . Surrey* (Harl. Soc. lx, 1910), p. 37; Manning & Bray, *Surrey*, iii, p. 416.

1537-46 Walter Farr, assistant to Duke

Otherwise Pharr, Ferror, Ferrers, Gillingham, Gyllyngham.³ The clerical work having quickly become too much for Duke alone, on 26 September 1537 Walter Farr was appointed as his assistant, in charge jointly with Duke of the 'charters and evidences of religious houses suppressed' at a fee of 4d. per diem, i.e. £6 1s. 8d. p.a. (*L.P.Hen.VIII*, XIII, 1538, i, p. 582; ii, p. 178; Richardson, pp. 45, 110, 493, giving the date 1538). In 1543 he was also appointed to the new office of receiver general of the profits of all woods within the survey of the Augmentations (*L.P.Hen.VIII*, XVIII, 1543, i, p. 546; Richardson, p. 494). He held office as keeper of the records until shortly before the dissolution of the first court in 1546

¹ Mrs. English essayed a first outline list of the officials in appendix III B; Mr. Barr is responsible for the completion of this list and for the remaining appendices in this part. Part I was published in *Y.A.J.*, part 166 (vol. xlii, 2), 1968, pp. 198-235; part III, comprising appendices IV-XIII and completing the article, is to appear in the next issue. For abbreviations used in this part additional to those employed in part I (above, pp. 234-5), see below at the end of part III.

² The account of the first four holders of this office, 1536-54, is founded on Walter C. Richardson, *History of the Court of Augmentations, 1536-54* (1961); further details of the remainder will be found in a forthcoming article by Mr. Barr on the Clerks of the Pipe.

³ Farr(e) alias Gyllyngham in *L.P.Hen.VIII*, XV, 1540, pp. 404, 411; XVI, 1540-41, pp. 140, 423; XVIII, 1543, i, p. 453; Ferrers alias Gyllyngham in *id.* XVI, p. 281.

(Richardson, p. 153). He was grantee of a number of small properties in Essex and Dorset, Berkshire and Oxfordshire (*L.P.Hen.VIII*, XII, 1537, ii, p. 256; XIII, 1538, i, p. 134; XIV, 1539, i, p. 423; XV, 1540, pp. 290, 404, 411; XVI, 1540–41, pp. 140–141, 281, 423; XVII, 1542, p. 58; XVIII, 1543, i, p. 453). He married Frideswide, daughter of John Sleffeld (Slyfeld, Sliffeld) of Slyfield, Surrey (*L.P.Hen.VIII*, XVII, 1542 p. 58, and XVIII, 1543, i, p. 453; not mentioned in the Sliffeld pedigree in W. B. Bannerman (ed.), *The visitations of the county of Surrey* (Harl. Soc. xliii, 1899), p. 224), and in February 1540 is said to have purchased the manor of West House at Great Burstead, Essex, formerly belonging to Stratford Abbey, from Sir Richard Rich (P. Morant, *The history and antiquities of the county of Essex* (1768), i, p. 197); as 'Walter Farr of Greate Bursted' he appears at the head of the pedigree of Farr of Essex registered in 1634 (Walter C. Metcalfe (ed.), *The visitations of Essex* (Harl. Soc. xiii, 1878), pp. 395–6).

1546–53 Edward Stradbury, keeper of the records of the Augmentations

Appointed in place of Farr as assistant to Duke shortly before the dissolution of the first court in 1546, at Farr's salary of £6 1s. 8d. p.a. After the creation of the second court on 1 January 1547 he was appointed on 10 May following to the new distinct post of keeper of the records at an increased salary of £10, and continued to hold it until 1553 (Richardson, pp. 153, 155, 256, 493).

1553–4 Christopher Skevington, keeper of the records of the Augmentations

Or Skeffington. Appointed in 1553 in place of Stradbury (Richardson, pp. 153, 155).¹ He is not recorded as receiving a pension after the dissolution of the court in 1554, perhaps because of the shortness of his tenure of office (Richardson, p. 256). In 1558 he was granted the reversion of the lease of some small properties near Reading (*C.S.P.Dom.* 1547–80, p. 107).

1554–c. 1589 Christopher Smyth, clerk of the Pipe

Or Smith. As clerk of the Pipe since 7 June 1548 (*C.Pat.R.* 1548–9, pp. 8–9), he came to have charge of the Augmentations archives under the regulations for the incorporation of the Augmentations into the Exchequer, effected between 24 January and 12 February 1553/4, though 'without any [specific] grant or patent' for the keeping of the records (*C.S.P.Dom.* 1595–7, p. 184); the archives were kept in a special 'Tresourie House' so as to remain 'severed from thauncient Records of the exchequier'. Apparently assisted in his custodianship of the archives by a deputy appointed by himself, probably from among his junior colleagues in the Exchequer, who doubtless performed the routine duties of the office; no formal appointments are recorded. On 21 January 1558/9 Smyth's colleague as keeper of the records of the late court of Augmentations is named as Thomas Reve (*A.P.C.* 1558–70, p. 48; Richardson, pp. 436–440 for all the above, where at p. 440 the last occurrence is dated to 'the beginning of 1558'). Smyth continued as clerk of the Pipe until his death c. 1589 ('? in 1588' according to Bowler, p. lx, n. 226; c. 1590 according to Richardson, p. 440; his successor appears to have been in office by January/February 1590 [below, Moryson]).

1557 (?) – 1569/70 Thomas Reve, ? keeper of the Augmentations records

Or Reave. On 10/17 May 1557 appointed a deputy of Henry Lord Stafford, chamberlain of the Exchequer, from the preceding Annunciation (P.R.O. E 403/2451, f. 160v, 10 May; E 36/266, f. 71r, 17 May). Officiating jointly with Smyth as keeper of the records of the late court of Augmentations, 21 January 1558/9 (*A.P.C.* 1558–70, p. 48; cp. Richardson, p. 440, 'the beginning of 1558'). Apparently died in 1569/70, being succeeded as deputy chamberlain of the Exchequer by Arthur Agarde (1540–1615: *D.N.B.*; Agarde's appointment, 6/8 February 1569/70, E 403/2452, f. 230v, and E 36/266, f. 73v).

(1567–) 1589 (?) – 1592 Thomas Moryson, clerk of the Pipe

Or Morrison. 'After this [Smyth's death], Mr. Morrison, deputy to Mr. Smith, procured the reversion of the office of the Pipe, and added thereto in express words, the making of the aforesaid patents [of offices], and in general words, the keeping of the records of the Augmentations which before that time was never granted by patent to any' (*C.S.P.Dom.* 1595–7, p. 184). On 14 March 1566/7, described as a clerk of the Exchequer, he was granted a life patent of the office of clerk of the Pipe in reversion after the then holder Smyth and his predecessors, Edward Vaughan, John Darnall, etc., now dead (*C.Pat.R.* 1566–9, p. 26), and this grant was repeated on 21 January 1577/8 (P.R.O. C 66/1178, and E 403/2453, f. 169r–v). In 1569 described as deputy of Christopher Smyth, ingrosser of the great roll (*C.Pat.R.* 1566–9, p. 362), and in 1585 as 'of the Pipe Office' (*C.S.P.Dom.* 1581–90, p. 249) and as performing the duties of the clerk of the Pipe, to whom he was a secondary (E 403/2271, cited by Bowler, p. lx, n. 226); paid as a secondary in the Pipe Office from at least 1576–7 to at least 1579–80 (E 403/2265–2268); succeeded Smyth on his death c. 1589, and in January/February 1590 described as clerk of the Pipe (E 13, 32 Eliz. Hil. m. 21d).² Apparently granted several pieces of land, mainly ex-monastic, in Lincolnshire and Leicestershire (*C.Pat.*

¹ An undated list of officials (unnamed) and salaries of 'the courte of Augmentations', which on internal evidence may be assigned to the period 1551–4, shows *two* 'Keepers of the Recordes' being each paid £10; possibly this may relate to the year in which Stradbury handed over to Skevington (Society of Antiquaries, MS. 205–7, f. 17/15v).

² This and other references to the Plea Rolls of the Exchequer (P.R.O. E 13) are made not directly from the originals but on the authority of the index of names in IND. 10727.

R. 1566–9, pp. 5, 75, 182, 390; C 66/1315). He was regularly paid £10 p.a. for an unspecified office in the Exchequer on the authority of a Treasury warrant of Michaelmas 1567 (perhaps a deputyship in the Pipe Office consequent on his reversion of that year), from at least 1571–2 until 1591–2 (E 403/2262–2277), and until 1587–8 received an additional £10 p.a. as a secondary in the Pipe Office (E 403/2274). His final salary was paid to Edward Moryson, and in the margin of the account is the note 'objt 19 ffebr. 1591' (E 403/2277): 'Thomas Moryson of Cadeby [Lincs.], Clerk of the Pipe, Mayor of Grimsby 1576; died at St. Botolph, Aldersgate, 19 Feb. 1591–2' (A. R. Madison (ed.), *Lincolnshire pedigrees*, ii (Harl. Soc. li, 1903), p. 693), and in the same month he is mentioned as 'the late Thos. Morrison, clerk of the Pipe' (*C.S.P.Dom.* 1591–4, pp. 193–4); Edward is his eldest son (c. 1557–98: Madison, *loc. cit.*). His second son, Thomas, is described as clerk of the Pipe (*ibid.*), but can hardly have been more than assistant to his father.

[John Morley]

'Since that time [Moryson's], Mr. Morley . . . procured [a reversion] of the said office of the Pipe, including the making of the said patents and the keeping of the Augmentations records' (*C.S.P.Dom.* 1595–7, p. 184). As Wolley was appointed clerk of the Pipe on 20 February 1591/2, the day following Moryson's death, Morley cannot have held more than the reversion and can never have actually held the clerkship. A John Morley was paid as foreign apposer in the Upper Exchequer from 1578–9 to 1579–80 or later (E 403/2267–8). Mr. Morley of the Exchequer is mentioned on 2 November 1587 (*C.S.P.Dom.* 1581–90, p. 435), and is perhaps the John Morley who conducted transactions concerning crown leases in August–October 1587, when he describes himself as 'weak by reason of a late sudden sickness' (H.M.C. *Cecil*, iii, pp. 277, 287). If he is the John Morley, armiger, who died 20 November 1587 (John Stow, *The survey of London* (1633), p. 333), it is clear why he never succeeded to the office.

1592–6 Sir John Wolley, clerk of the Pipe

' . . . lastly [after Morley] Sir John Wolley procured [a reversion] of the said office of the Pipe, including the making of the said patents and the keeping of the Augmentations records' (*C.S.P.Dom.* 1595–7, p. 184). Wolley (*D.N.B.*) had been in the Queen's service as a diplomat since 1563, in 1568 succeeded Roger Ascham as Latin secretary, from 1571 was M.P. for various constituencies, in 1589 became chancellor of the Order of the Garter, and was knighted in 1592; he held a number of other appointments, and his tenure of the clerkship marks the advancement of the office from a routine administrative post to a position of honour, regularly held by a knight or nobleman, with its duties generally performed by a deputy. Wolley obtained a life patent of the clerkship on 8 March 1587/8, while Smyth was still in office, and on Moryson's death his appointment was confirmed on 20 February 1591/2 (Bowler, p. liv, citing C 66/1320 and E 403/2277; add E 403/2453, ff. 194v–195r). He occurs in office in April/May 1592, when he and Sir John Fortescue, chancellor and sub-treasurer of the Exchequer, instructed a Surrey landowner 'immediately to return to the Exchequer, safe and undefaced, all books and evidences of the possessions of the late dissolved monastery of Chertsey' (*C.S.P.Dom.* 1591–4, p. 213, quoted more fully above, p. 212, n. 4);¹ Wolley himself had in 1590 received a royal grant of the manor of Thorpe, Surrey, formerly a possession of Chertsey Abbey (E. W. Brayley, *A topographical history of Surrey* (1850), ii, p. 248; V.C.H. *Surrey*, iii (1911), p. 438), and probably owned the site of the abbey itself, so the demand for the evidences was more personal than official. He is described as clerk of the Pipe in the Exchequer plea rolls at various dates from 1593 to 1595 (E 13: 35 Eliz. Trin. m. 16d, 36 Eliz. Hil. m. 17, 37 Eliz. Trin. m. 21, 38 Eliz. Pasch. m. 27), received the salary of £47 4s. 2d. from 1592 to 1595–6 (E 403/2277–8), and retained the clerkship until his death on 28 February 1595/6. His deputies with responsibility for the records were Edward Vaughan and William Mintern.

1592 (?) – 1607+ Edward Vaughan, junior, deputy clerk of the Pipe

Or Vaghan. Perhaps son of Edward Vaughan, senior, who had received a survivorship in the clerkship of the Pipe at the time of Smyth's appointment in 1548, but did not live to enjoy it (*C.Pat.R.* 1548–9, pp. 8–9; dead before 1567: *C.Pat.R.* 1566–9, p. 26, appointment of Moryson). Edward Vaughan, armiger, was appointed deputy of Thomas Randolph (died 1590: *D.N.B.*), chamberlain of the Exchequer, 16 February 1578/9 (E 403/2453, f. 51v); he was paid £5 for this position from 1578–9 to 1590–91 (E 403/2267–2276), and similarly as deputy of Sir Thomas West (from 1597 2nd/11th baron De La Warr, died 1602), chamberlain, 1591–2 (E 403/2277). In the same year he also received Sir John Wolley's salary as clerk of the Pipe (*ibid.*), and he is mentioned as deputy clerk of the Pipe to Wolley in 1592 (apparently with responsibility for the records, *C.S.P.Dom.* 1591–4, p. 213), to Sir Edward Stafford in 1598–9 and 1600 (Bowler, p. lxi, n. 232, citing E 403/2283; *C.S.P.Dom.* 1598–1601, p. 458), and to Sir Francis Wolley in 1605 and 1607 (E 13, 3 Jac. I Mich. m. 36d, 5 Jac. I Mich. m. 20d).

1592 (?) – 1627 William Mintern(e), keeper of the Augmentations records

Or Myntern(e). 'Mr. Mintern held under Sir John Wolley . . . the keeping of the records of the late Court of Augmentation, and the making of patents of offices' (*C.S.P.Dom.* 1595–7, p. 184, 1596). William Mintern is described as in charge of 'the Records of the Augmentation Court of the Exchequer in Westminster', 1602–1619 (Richardson, p. 440), and these dates can be extended in both directions on the

¹ The landowner, Robert Gaffell or Gavell of Cobham, delivered to deputy Vaughan 'a torn book of enrolments, and certain indentures' (*C.S.P.*, *loc. cit.*). Another Chertsey cartulary was delivered into the Exchequer in 1637 by Sir Henry Spiller of Laleham (Davis, p. 27, no. 225).

authority of the passage quoted above and others. Mintern's mother Margaret was sister of Sir John Wolley (V.C.H. *Surrey*, iii (1911), p. 348, n. 18), Sir John's son, Sir Francis, left a bequest to his 'cousin' William Mintern, William's grandson was given the forename Wolley (*op. cit.*, pp. 53–54, 438; Manning & Bray, *Surrey*, iii, pp. 243, 246, 248), and Mintern began his career as protégé of his uncle, Sir John. In 1590–91 for the first time Wolley's two salaries as Latin secretary and chancellor of the Order of the Garter were paid by the hand of William 'Mynterne', and so again in 1591–2 (E 403/2276–7). He occurs, apparently in the present office, in 1602–3, 1620 (above, p. 205), and 1625 (below, p. 381), and, in a different crown employment, in 1627 (*C.S.P.Dom.* 1627–8, p. 197). In 1612 'William Mynterne, armiger', is described as one of the clerks in the office of Sir Arthur Manwaring, ingrosser of the great roll of the Pipe (E 13, 10 Jac. I Pasch. m. 34), and in 1619 he is doubtless the 'Mr. Wintern' [*sic*] who is calendared as being sued in Chancery jointly with Manwaring in regard to a legacy left by Sir Francis Wolley (*C.S.P.Dom.* 1619–23, pp. 85, 313). In '37 Eliz. [1595] William Mintern, and John Mintern, jun. gents. were appointed to the office of Woodward and Custos of all the woods in Dorset, to be held by them, or their deputy, during pleasure, in as ample a manner as John Toppe, gent. or any other that had held this office; and a salary of 60*l.* per annum was assigned them' (Hutchins, *Dorset*, 1st ed. ii, p. 456 = 2nd ed. iv, p. 245 = 3rd ed. iv, p. 422). In 1599 William Mintern was joint purchaser of Trotsworth manor in Surrey (*C.S.P.Dom.* 1598–1601, p. 360), in March 1609/10 he received a 60-year lease of the manor of Thorpe, Surrey, where he already lived at Hall Place House, in accordance with Sir F. Wolley's will (P.R.O., ND. 6803; E. W. Brayley, *A topographical history of Surrey* (1850), ii, p. 245; V.C.H. *Surrey*, iii (1911), p. 438), and in 1625 he received from his son-in-law Sir Francis Leigh both moieties of the manor of Puttenham (*op. cit.* pp. 53–54; Brayley, v, p. 240). Mintern was a J.P. for Surrey (W. B. Bannerman (ed.), *The visitations of . . . Surrey* (Harl. Soc. xliii, 1899), p. 164, cp. p. 14), and died in 1627 (i.p.m., C 142/438/125, cited by V.C.H. *Surrey*, iii, pp. 54, 438; *Index of inquisitions*, iv (Lists and indexes, xxxiii), p. 233).¹

1596–1605 Sir Edward Stafford, clerk of the Pipe

Stafford (*D.N.B.*), a prominent diplomat, was appointed to the office of clerk of the Pipe in succession to Wolley by letters patent on 24 April 1596 (C 66/1444 and E 403/2453, ff. 240v–241v; Bowler, p. li, n. 2, but the authority there cited, E 407/175, is the same IND. 10727 here used for references to E 13), was paid for the office from 1596–7 (E 403/2280–2281), and retained it until his own death, despite expectations, never fulfilled, of the secretaryship of state and the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster. He defended his running of the office in July 1596 (*C.S.P.Dom.* 1595–7, pp. 254–5), in 1596/7 delivered an Augmentations record out of official custody to the purchaser of the property to which it related (E 324/1; above, p. 205), and is mentioned as clerk of the Pipe in the Exchequer plea rolls in the years 1596–1605 (E 13: 38 Eliz. Pasch. m. 26d, 40 Eliz. Hil. m. 35, 41 Eliz. Trin. m. 61, 43 Eliz. Hil. m. 14d, 45 Eliz. Hil. m. 23, 3 Jac. I Pasch. m. 3, 5 Jac. I Hil. m. 3). On the Queen's visit to Lord Keeper Ellesmere at Harefield in 1602, the 'Clerke of the Pype' received a present of six gulls and twelve 'puetts' worth 2*s.* 6*d.* (J. Payne Collier (ed.), *The Egerton papers* (Camden Soc. xii, 1840), p. 353). Stafford died on 5 February 1604/5.

1605 (?) – 1609 Sir Francis Wolley, clerk of the Pipe

Son and heir of Sir John Wolley (above and *D.N.B.*); born 1583/4; knighted together with Arthur Manwaring (below) on 11 May 1603 (Metcalf, p. 142; John Nichols, *The progresses . . . of King James I*, i (1828), p. 115; Shaw, ii, p. 106). Received a grant of the clerkship of the Pipe for life in 1607 (*C.S.P.Dom.* 1603–10, p. 369), but already in 1605 he is described as holding the office (E 13, 3 Jac. I Mich. m. 36d), and in 1606–7 he received the salary of £47 4*s.* 2*d.* as clerk of the Pipe (E 403/2366), so presumably he took it over on Stafford's death. Wolley died in November/December 1609 (Manning & Bray, *Surrey*, iii, p. 243, and *Herald and genealogist*, i (1862), pp. 325–6, 339; not 1611, as stated in *D.N.B.*). He married in 1594 Mary Hawtrey, whose sister Bridget was wife of Sir Henry Croke, clerk of the Pipe 1616–59, and one of the witnesses at the wedding was George 'Mainwaringe', clerk of the Pipe 1610–16; when Mary died 1637–8, childless, one of her executors was her nephew Robert 'Crooke' (Florence M. Hawtrey, *The history of the Hawtrey family* (1903), i, pp. 31–32). By his will, 1 November 1609, he left his estates in Egham, Thorpe, and Chertsey, Surrey, to his cousin William Mintern, residing at Hall Place House in Thorpe, for his life, and after his death to his cousin Elizabeth Mintern [William's daughter] and the heirs of her body, in default to (Sir) Arthur Manwaring [his cousin], and in default to Sir George Moore [his uncle] (Manning & Bray, *loc. cit.*; E. W. Brayley, *A topographical history of Surrey* (1850), ii, p. 248).

1609–1610 Arthur Jarvis, clerk of the Pipe

Apparently succeeded Wolley on his death: he occurs as clerk of the Pipe in the Easter term, 1610 (E 13, 8 Jac. I Pasch. m. 2), and on 2 May, as clerk of the Pipe, he offered conditions for the settlement of a suit in the Exchequer between himself and Wolley's executors (*C.S.P.Dom.* 1603–10, p. 606); on 24 July he complained that hard measures were being used against him by Manwaring (below), to whom he had surrendered an office – evidently the clerkship – and who now refused him the deputyship (*id.* p. 625). In 1614, however, he is described as deputy to the clerk (E 13, 11 Jac. I Hil. m. 17), and a document of 1624 describing him as clerk of the Pipe must be interpreted as meaning that he was then deputy or acting clerk (*C.S.P.Dom.* 1623–5, p. 285).

¹ In 1653 John Minterne of Thorpe possessed a Chertsey Abbey cartulary (see on Wolley, above), now lost (Davis, p. 27, no. 227).

1610-16 Sir Arthur Manwaring and George Manwaring, clerks of the Pipe

Otherwise Maynwaring or Mainwaring. Jarvis apparently surrendered the office to Sir Arthur by 24 July 1610 (*C.S.P.Dom.* 1603-10, p. 625), and Sir Arthur and his younger brother George were appointed to it on 1 August (E 403/2692/39). Sir Arthur, who was evidently the dominant partner, occurs as 'ingrossator magni rotuli sive clericus pipae scaccarii' at various dates from November 1610 to 1615 (*C.S.P.Dom.* 1603-10, p. 648; 1611-18, p. 44 [1611]; E 13, 9 Jac. I Trin. m. 34, 10 Jac. I Pasch. m. 34 [his clerk, William Mynterne], 11 Jac. I Trin. m. 41 [George Bayly, clerk of Sir 'Francis' Manwaring, ingrosser of the great roll of the Pipe], 12 Jac. I Mich. m. 45 [his secondary, George Alington], 13 Jac. I Mich. m. 56 [his clerk, Alexander Williams]). Before 20 July 1616 Sir Arthur and George sold the office to Sir Henry Croke and Anthony Rous (*C.S.P.Dom.* 1611-18, p. 385; for the price see below, Croke), who shortly afterwards claimed to find irregularities in the way the Pipe Office had been run (below). The Manwarings were of a Cheshire family. Sir Arthur was of Ightfield, Shropshire, and Seale, Surrey (W. Harry Rylands (ed.), *The four visitations of Berkshire*, i (Harl. Soc. lvi, 1907), p. 245; G. Grazebrook & J. P. Rylands (ed.), *The visitation of Shropshire*, ii (Harl. Soc. xxix, 1889), p. 349), and was lord of the manor of Wisley, Surrey, in succession to Sir Francis Wolley, from 1609/10 to 1639 or later (Manning & Bray, *Surrey*, iii, p. 119). He is described as a well-known figure at the court of James I, by whom he was knighted at the same time as Sir Francis Wolley in 1603 (Metcalf, p. 142; John Nichols, *The progresses . . . of King James I*, i (1828), p. 115; Shaw, ii, p. 106), and a favourite of Prince Henry, whose carver he was in 1615 (*C.S.P.Dom.* 1611-18, p. 324; John Oldmixon, *Life . . . of Arthur Maynwaring* [his grandson] (1715), p. 2; *Biographia Britannia*, v (1760), p. 3075). George 'Mainwaring' was a witness of the wedding in 1594 of (Sir) Francis Wolley, clerk of the Pipe 1605-9, and Mary Hawtrey (Florence M. Hawtrey, *The history of the Hawtrey family* (1903), i, p. 31). The father of the joint clerks, Sir George Manwaring, had married Ann, daughter of Sir William More (died 1600) of Loseley, Surrey, and sister of Sir George More (1553-1632: *D.N.B.*) and of Elizabeth, wife of Sir John Wolley and mother of Sir Francis, who appointed Sir Arthur his residual legatee (Manning & Bray, *Surrey*, iii, pp. 119, 243, 246); in 1619 Sir Arthur and 'Mr. Wintern', doubtless William Mintern, were sued in Chancery by Henry Wroth regarding a legacy left by Sir Francis (*C.S.P.Dom.* 1619-23, pp. 85, 313). Before and during his tenure of the clerkship of the Pipe he appears to have served the crown (*C.S.P.Dom.* 1603-10, p. 500, 1609) and Lord Keeper Ellesmere (J. P. Collier (ed.), *The Egerton papers* (Camden Soc. xii, 1840), pp. 342-4, 481-2: 1602 and 1616), and after his resignation from the Pipe he was in March 1617 granted the reversion of the office of constable of the castle and captain of the town of Beaumaris, Anglesey (*C.S.P. Dom.* 1611-18, p. 443). In 1628, described as a gentleman of the privy chamber, he was made lieutenant of Windsor Castle (*id.* 1628-9, pp. 387, 396), having previously had some jurisdiction in Windsor Forest in 1624 and 1627 (*id.* 1623-5, p. 374; 1627-8, p. 485), and continuing to exercise it until 1640 (*id.* 1629-31, pp. 247-8; 1637-8, p. 320; 1639-40, pp. 418-419; 1640, p. 31; 1640-41, p. 262). He disappears from record after 1641, and probably died about this time.

1616-59 Sir Henry Croke, clerk of the Pipe

Or Crook(e). On 20/29 July 1616 a grant of the office of clerk of the Pipe, on the surrender of Sir Arthur and George 'Mainwaring', was made to Sir Henry 'Crook' and Anthony Rous (E 403/2697/95; *C.S.P.Dom.* 1611-18, p. 385), who purchased it for a sum stated, by a hostile witness, to be £3600, equivalent to twelve years' value at an estimated return of £300 p.a. (Gerald E. Aylmer, *The King's servants* (1961), p. 222, cp. p. 274; *id.* p. 187 dates the purchase to 1615), and after Rous's death in 1621 (below), Croke continued in office alone. He is mentioned as holding it in the years 1626-52 (*C.S.P.Dom.* 1625-49, pp. 554, 740, 741; *id.* 1639, p. 542; *Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding, &c.* (5 vols., 1889-92), i, pp. 351, 609, 611; iii, p. 2249; iv, p. 2843; P.R.O. E 13, 2 Car. I Pasch. m. 42, 3 Car. I Trin. m. 55d, 7 Car. I Mich. m. 6, 18 Car. I m. 84, 22 Car. I m. 38, 33 Car. I m. 5, 1650 Mich. m. 31, 1651 Hil. m. 25, 1652 Hil. m. 45). The salary of £47 4s. 2d. is recorded as paid to Croke and Rous jointly in 1616-24 [*sic*] (E 403/2371/3 ii, f. 2r; E 403/2371/4), and in 1632-7 to Croke alone (E 403/2371/5). He was born in 1588, second son of Sir John Croke, a judge of the King's Bench (1553-1620: *D.N.B.*), entered St. John's College, Oxford, in 1605 and the Inner Temple in 1607 (Foster, *Al. Oxon.* I, i, p. 352), and was knighted in 1615 (Metcalf, p. 166; Shaw, ii, p. 157). Through his wife Bridget Hawtrey (died 1638) he succeeded to Chequers, Bucks., where there remain portraits of him (reproduced as plate 6, facing p. 192, in Aylmer, *op. cit.*), of Bridget and her parents, and of Sir Robert Croke (Florence M. Hawtrey, *op. cit.*, i, p. 33), and to Hampton Poyle, Oxon. Not only his father but also his uncle, Sir George Croke (1560-1642: *D.N.B.*) served on the bench, and while it may have been partly through their influence as judges that Henry obtained the clerkship (Aylmer, *op. cit.* p. 91; but Sir George did not become a judge until 1625), the main influence to back up the purchase money is likely to have come through his wife and her elder sister Mary, widow of Sir Francis Wolley, clerk of the Pipe 1605-9 (George Lipscomb, *The history and antiquities of the county of Buckingham* (1847), ii, pp. 189, 193; W. H. Rylands (ed.), *The visitation of the county of Buckingham made in 1634*, etc. (Harl. Soc. lviii, 1909), p. 32; B. W. Greenfield, 'The descent of the manor and advowson of Hampton Poyle', in *Herald and genealogist*, i (1862), pp. 326-9, 331-2, 339, 344); Sir Alexander Croke, *The genealogical history of the Croke family* (1823), i, 498-500). He was M.P. for Shaftesbury, Dorset, in 1614 and for Christ Church, Hants., in 1628-9 (*Return*, i, 477). Immediately on Croke and Rous's appointment there began a series of disputes which went on for twenty-six years with their subordinates in the Pipe and colleagues in the Exchequer. Croke and Rous maintained that they had to make reforms to remove abuses formerly committed in the Pipe (*C.S.P.Dom.* 1611-18, pp. 486, 507), and that the profits of the office were much reduced by the sale of crown lands (*id.* 1635-6, p. 433), but it seems clear that Croke, at first together with Rous, failed to collect debts due to the crown where fees to others were involved, and sharply raised fees due to himself;

the effect was that Croke's income rose perhaps five-fold in eight years and the crown and the junior officials of the Pipe lost heavily, while the sheriffs did not complain about paying higher fees to Croke because they were let off rents and fees to other officials (Aylmer, pp. 187–200, etc.). At one time, 1637–8, Croke was prosecuted in the Star Chamber, pardoned, the pardon was withdrawn and regranted, and Croke had to pay £4300 composition. But he was never found guilty in a court of any offence, and he retained the clerkship not only through these personal difficulties but also through the troubled times of the Long Parliament and the Protectorate; his careful political neutrality even enabled his son, Sir Robert, an active royalist, to take over his office after his death from the stone on 1 January 1659, and to keep it at the restoration (Aylmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 391, 411, 418).

1616–21 Sir Anthony Rous, joint clerk of the Pipe

Or Rouse, Rows(e). Succeeded to the office by purchase (and influence) jointly with Sir Henry Croke; engaged with Croke in reforming the office in 1617, though more for their own benefit than that of the crown, and in the subsequent disputes (above). In 1618 described as 'unus ingrossatorum magni rotuli sive clericorum pipae scaccarii' (E 13, 15 Jac. I Pasch. m. 37); recorded as receiving payment jointly with Croke at £47 4s. 2d. p.a. in the years 1616–24 [*sic*] (E 403/2371/3 ii, f. 2r; E 403/2371/4). Of Halton St. Dominick on the R. Tamar, Cornwall, where he had a 'commodious and pleasant dwelling' (Richard Carew, *The survey of Cornwall* [1st ed. 1602], ed. by F. E. Halliday (1953), p. 55). He was a strict puritan, and put pressure on recusants when he was sheriff of Cornwall in 1587–8 and 1602–3 (*List of sheriffs* (Lists and indexes, ix, 1898), p. 23; A. L. Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall* (1941), pp. 377, 395); he occurs as a J.P. in 1595 and 1602 (Rowse, p. 404; *C.S.P.Dom.* 1595–7, p. 59; Carew (1723), f. 88r = (1953), p. 159) and as commander of a regiment c. 1599 (Carew (1723), f. 83v = (1953), p. 155), was hereditary bailiff of Trematon Castle (Carew (1723), f. 112r = (1953), p. 181), and was knighted in 1603 (Metcalf, p. 148; Shaw, ii, p. 123). A friend of Sir Francis Drake, whose executor he was in 1596, Richard Carew, the poet and antiquary (1555–1620: *D.N.B.*; Carew (1953), pp. 55, 182–3), and the poet Charles Fitzgeffrey (1575 ? – 1638: *D.N.B.*), who was presented by Rous to the living of Halton and published funeral sermons on Rous's wife and on Rous himself in 1620 and 1622 respectively (Rowse, pp. 395, 425–6; *S.T.C.* 10940–42). His fourth son was Francis Rous the puritan (1579–1659: *D.N.B.*), and Anthony died apparently in 1621 (pedigree in J. L. Vivian & H. H. Drake (ed.), *The visitation of the county of Cornwall . . . 1620* (Harl. Soc. ix, 1874), p. 195).

APPENDIX II A

AUDITORS FOR YORKSHIRE IN THE AUGMENTATIONS, 1536–1625

By C. B. L. BARR

1536–1549/54 Hugh Fuller

Appointed auditor for Yorkshire in the Court of Augmentations, 24 April 1536 (*L.P.Hen.VIII*, XIII, 1538, i, p. 573; Richardson, p. 55); reappointed 26 June 1 Edw. VI [1547], and confirmed 12 January 2 Edw. VI [1548/9] (P.R.O. E 403/2451, ff. 60v–62v; Richardson, p. 280). He had been a crown auditor since as early as 1523, when he was appointed auditor of the lands of the duke of Buckingham (attainted only in that year, two years after his execution), in seven counties, including Yorkshire (*L.P.Hen.VIII*, III, ii, 1519–23, p. 1337),¹ and he is mentioned as receiver of 'Bukkynghamslandes' as late as 1544 (*id.* XIX, 1544, ii, p. 177). In 1526 archbishop Wolsey appointed him as his auditor for life with a fee of £10 p.a. (Y.M.L., D. & C. muniments, Register of leases, &c., 1508–1543, Wa, f. 38r–v); in 1530 he recurs as Wolsey's auditor, and in 1531/2 he is described as the king's auditor of the archbishopric of York void by Wolsey's death (*L.P.Hen.VIII*, IV, iii, 1529–30, p. 2909; V, 1531–2, pp. 387–8); in 1543 archbishop Lee appointed Fuller and Richard Ascoughe² jointly to his auditorship, and the next appointment to the office, in 1558, is in favour of William Calverd (Y.M.L., D. & C. muniments, Register of leases, &c., 1543–87, Wb, ff. 2v–3r, 108r–v). Later in 1532 he recurs as king's auditor, bearing money to Cromwell and Lawson (*L.P.Hen.VIII*, V, 1531–2, pp. 672, 698), and in 1533 he was auditing accounts at York (*id.* VI, 1533, p. 572). In 1534–5 he was one of several commissioners appointed by the crown to audit accounts in a dispute between the abbot and the steward of Abingdon (*id.* VII, 1534, p. 466; VIII, 1535, p. 50; IX, 1535, pp. 12, 32, 45), and in the latter year he was made a commissioner for tithes of spiritualities in Hertfordshire (*id.* VIII, 1535, p. 50). On 24 April 1536, the same day on which he was made Augmentations auditor for Yorkshire, Fuller, together with Beckwith and Lawson, was among commissioners appointed to make enquiry in York and Hull concerning the suppression of the monasteries (*id.* X, 1536, p. 304; David Knowles, *The religious orders in England*, iii (1959), p. 479). On 28 May the commissioners reported from Swine Priory on their visit to Hull Charterhouse the day before (*L.P.Hen.VIII*, X, 1536, pp. 408–9). In 1537 Fuller's presence in York was important enough to make Beckwith stay there and risk incurring Cromwell's displeasure by his absence from other business (*id.* XII, 1537, i, p. 535), and Fuller surveyed Bridlington, Jervaulx, and Furness lands in Yorkshire (*id.* XII, 1537, i, pp. 559, 593; ii,

¹ This was probably a post in the Court of General Surveyors, which Fuller is recorded as serving as auditor (Richardson, p. 221, probably from *L.P.Hen.VIII*, XX, 1545, ii, p. 554).

² Perhaps related to Henry Ascough and his wife Barbara, daughter of Henry Osbaston and Barbara née Fuller, mentioned in the will of Francis Fuller of Barking, Essex, 1634–6; Francis appears to have been related to 'Mr. Auditor Fuller', either William or Nathaniel Fuller (*Miscellanea genealogica et heraldica*, N.S. i (1874), p. 328).

p. 89); in 1539 he likewise surveyed the Friars Minors and Carmelites at Scarborough, the Hull Dominicans, St. Mary's, York, and Guisborough (*id.* XIV, 1539, i, pp. 188, 193; ii, pp. 260, 264). In 1540 Fuller and Beckwith arranged pensions for the nuns of nine Yorkshire priories, and in 1541 he had dealings with Philip Lenthall, the auditor of attainted lands (*id.* XV, 1540, p. 165; XVI, 1541, p. 710). In more general contexts he occurs as Augmentations auditor in 1541, 1540–43, and 1544, on the last occasion being exempted from attending the king in the war (*id.* XVI, 1541, p. 314; XVIII, 1543, i, p. 263; XIX, 1544, ii, p. 177). Augmentations records enrolled by 'Hugh Fuller Auditor' include the letters patent granting the site, etc., of Old Malton Priory to Robert Holgate, afterwards archbishop of York, 26 June 1540 (*id.* XV, 1540, p. 410; Fuller's name given in Y.M.L. MS Add. 244, p. 25), and the patent granting certain lands and manorial rights at Skelton to Philip and Thomas Lovell, 14 May 1545 (*L.P.Hen.VIII*, XX, 1545, i, p. 419; V.C.H. *Yorkshire*, N.R. ii, p. 169; Fuller's name given in Borthwick Institute, PL 13). In 1545 he was appointed a commissioner of sewers in the counties of York, Lincoln, and Nottingham (*L.P.Hen.VIII*, II, 1545, i, p. 324), and in 1546 a chantry commissioner for Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire (*id.* XXI, 1546, i, p. 146). In the same year his accounts showed that debts in respect of ex-monastic property were owed to the crown by the commonalty of Scarborough (in respect of the Grey, Black and White Friars there), John Lambert (Bolton Priory), the executors of William Maunsell (St. Leonard's and St. Mary's, York), and others (*id.* XXI, 1546, i, pp. 562, 606, 633). In 1545 he had a deputy auditor named Martin Eyre (*id.* XX, 1545, i, p. 158), and in 1543 one William Notte,¹ described as a King's servant, was granted an auditorship in the Augmentations in reversion after Fuller (*id.* XIX, 1544, i, p. 642).

1547/54 William Fuller, deputy auditor

Doubtless a relative of Hugh Fuller. Mentioned as deputy auditor to Hugh at some date between 1547 and 1554 (Richardson, p. 280). In 1545 he is mentioned as tenant of property in Clerkenwell, Middlesex, and as receiving a grant of 'Vynton' (i.e. Linton) Grange in the parish of Wintringham, and the tithes of Newton and Thirkleby, E.R., formerly the property of Old Malton Priory (*L.P.Hen.VIII*, XX, 1545, i, pp. 311, 682; XXI, 1546, ii, pp. 243, 248; *C.Pat.R.* 1563–6, p. 265). In 1549–51, together with John Bellowe, he paid into the Augmentations the sum of £1684 7s. 3d. (*id.* 1549–51, p. 253). On 13 October 1565 he was granted the office of auditor in the Exchequer in place of Valentine Brome at a fee of £20 p.a. in consideration for his service to Edward VI, and he occurs in the office in that year and in 1571 (*id.* 1563–6, pp. 302–3; 1569–72, p. 290; P.R.O. E 403/2452, ff. 128v–129v), and in 1568 he is described as auditor of Suffolk (*C.Pat.R.* 1566–9, p. 185); he is recorded as receiving his fee as auditor in 1571–2 (P.R.O. E 403/2261). In 1566 he was appointed a commissioner for sewers in Middlesex, Essex and Hertfordshire (*C.Pat.R.* 1569–72, p. 218), and was granted a 21-year lease of a quantity of wheat payable in Middlesex (*id.* 1563–6, p. 432). In 1547 he is mentioned as tenant of the former Hanningfield Temple in Essex (*id.* 1547–8, p. 185), and in 1553, as William Fuller the younger, as tenant of a meadow in Sandon, Essex, now granted to Walter Mildmay, surveyor in the Augmentations (*id.* 1553, p. 225). He may be the 'Auditor Fuller' whose widow Mary is mentioned in the will of Francis Fuller of Barking, Essex, 1634–6 (*Miscellanea genealogica et heraldica*, N.S. i (1874), p. 328), but this may refer to Nathaniel Fuller (below, under John Stanley).

after 1547 to 1554/77 (?) Anthony Rone

Otherwise Rouen, Roue, Row(e). Appointed successor to Hugh Fuller (Richardson, p. 280); he was also auditor of the circuit of Cumberland, Lancashire, Northumberland, Westmorland, Durham, Richmond, and the Isle of Man, jointly with John Swift, in succession to Richard Hutchinson, in the second Court of Augmentations, 1547–54 (*ibid.*). On the dissolution of the Court in 1554 he probably received a pension of between £50 and £200 in respect of each of these auditorships (*id.* p. 257). In 1557 he was granted a close in Topcliffe, Yorkshire (*C.Pat.R.* 1557–8, p. 184). In 1558 he was granted a survivorship in Francis Southwell's office as auditor in the Exchequer (*C.S.P.Dom.* 1547–80, p. 109; *C.Pat.R.* 1557–8, p. 419; Richardson, pp. 462–3, n. 62; cited in Spencer's patent, E 403/2453, ff. 59v–61r), and this was still regarded as effective in 1564, 1565 and 1571 (*C.Pat.R.* 1563–6, pp. 185, 302–3; 1569–72, p. 290). In 1546 he received a grant in Caermarthenshire (D.K. xxv (1864), p. 19). In 1564 he received a grant of lands in Cottingham, E.R. (*C.Pat.R.* 1563–6, p. 159). In 1568–9 he occurs as churchwarden of St. Botolph without Aldersgate, London (*C.S.P.Dom. Add.* 1566–79, pp. 62, 76). In March 1569 he received a grant of salmon paid as a rent on the river Tweed, formerly the property of the bishopric of Durham (*C.Pat.R.* 1566–9, p. 381), and later in the same year he received a commission of the peace for Middlesex (*id.* 1569–72, p. 226). In November 1569 he was in York as royal auditor with the earl of Essex, and the following day reported to Sir Ralph Sadler that the city was short of victuals; a few days later Sadler found that this was untrue and described Rone as 'a fearful man' (*id.* pp. 115–116, 124). In 1612 he is described as son of Humfrey Rone of Whiston near Rotherham, gent.; Anthony, an esquire and auditor to Queen Elizabeth, resided at Hounslow, Middlesex, and his son and heir Edward at Stambourne Hall, Essex (Walter C. Metcalfe (ed.), *The visitations of Essex* (Harl. Soc. xiii, 1878), p. 281).

1577–1609 Sir William Spencer

William Spencer, second son of John Spencer of 'Althrop', was appointed by letters patent to be one of the seven auditors of the Exchequer in place of Anthony Rone, 18 September 19 Eliz. [1577] (P.R.O. E 403/2453, ff. 59v–61r); paid £20 as an auditor of the Exchequer in 1587–8 to 1595–6 (E 403/2274–2278);

¹ Doubtless related to Thomas Notte, an auditor in the Augmentations and the Court of Survey (Richardson, p. 221), pensioned off in 1554 (*id.* p. 258, n. 37).

occurs as an auditor of the Exchequer in 1585–6 and in 1606–8 (P.R.O. E 13: 27 & 28 Eliz. Mich. m. 12, 28 Eliz. Trin. m. 23, 3 Jac. I Hil. m. 3, 6 Jac. I Pasch. m. 43d and Mich. m. 10), and as auditor for Yorkshire in 1602–3 (E 324/49) and 1604 (*C.S.P.Dom.* 1603–1610, p. 120); in 1609/10 described as ‘late auditor’, represented by his executor, his son and heir, Thomas Spencer (E 324/62). He was of Claverdon, Warwickshire, and of Yarnton, Oxon., where the church contains his splendid monument. His father was Sir John Spencer, of Althorp and Wormleighton, Northants, who died in 1586, and he was related by marriage to two senior financial officers of the crown: of his younger sisters, Anne was married thirdly to Robert Sackville, son and heir of Sir Thomas Sackville, baron Buckhurst (earl of Dorset, 1604), who was chancellor and sub-treasurer of the Exchequer, 1599–1608, and Alice was married secondly to Sir Thomas Egerton, baron Ellesmere and viscount Brackley, lord chancellor 1596–1617 and first lord of the Treasury 1613–14. He was knighted in 1592 (Metcalf, p. 222; Shaw, ii, p. 90), served as deputy lieutenant of Oxfordshire, and died 18 December 1609 (J. & J. B. Burke, *A genealogical and heraldic history of the extinct and dormant baronetcies of England* (1838), pp. 498–9; W. Dugdale, *The antiquities of Warwickshire* (1656), pp. 497, 583; John Fetherston (ed.), *The visitation of the county of Warwick . . . 1619* (Harl. Soc. xii, 1877), p. 285).

? – 1617 John Stanley (?)

Apparently acting as auditor for Yorkshire c. 1598 (H.M.C., *Various collections*, ii (1903), p. 110); occurs as deputy to Spencer in 1602–3 (P.R.O., E 324/49) and 1608 (P.R.O., E 13, 6 Jac. I Pasch. m. 43d), and to auditor Nathaniel Fulwer (Fuller: *C.S.P.Dom.* 1581–90, p. 702) in 1612 (E 13, 10 Jac. I Trin. m. 34d); described as auditor in the years 1608–9 (*C.S.P.Dom.* 1603–10, pp. 450, 502, 564, 574); ‘auditor Stanley’ is reported as recently dead, 5 April 1617 (*id.* 1611–18, p. 458). Probably never in fact auditor for Yorkshire.

1609–1613/14 Robert Paddon

Or Padden. In July 1587 he re-applied for the reversion of an auditorship in the Exchequer, offering £300 instead of £200 as previously (*C.S.P.Dom.* 1581–90, p. 420); in June 1602 he was granted the reversion of one of the seven auditorships of the Exchequer (P.R.O. IND. 6744), and in 1604 this was still regarded as effective (*C.S.P.Dom.* 1603–10, p. 120); on Spencer’s death in December 1609 he succeeded him as auditor for Yorkshire (P.R.O. E 324/62), being appointed one of the seven auditors of the Exchequer on 27 June 1610 (E 403/2692/9, 403/2695/52); in 1613/14 his executrix Elianor handed over to his successor (E 324/52; cp. also *C.S.P.Dom.* 1611–18, p. 72).

In May 1585 he obtained the reversion of the lease of the parsonage of Catherington, Hants, and certain rents and services in Shoreham, Butterhurst, ‘Dichening’, and ‘Deching’, Suffolk (Sussex?), for 30 years, at a rent of £10 8s. p.a.; in May 1590, together with John Mowlesworth, he paid a fine of £1857 15s. 3½d. for the purchase of lands worth £61 13s. 9½d. p.a.; in January 1596/7, in partnership with John Worke and Thomas Eskchurch, he purchased a lease of the parsonages of Tywardreath, St. Sampson, St. Blazey, and Landavery, Cornwall (IND. 6800).

1613/14 – after 1625 Thomas Hutton

In December 1603 he was granted the reversion of one of the seven auditorships of the Exchequer after Robert Paddon and William Hill (*C.S.P.Dom.* 1603–10, p. 58; P.R.O. IND. 6801), and in 1604 this was still regarded as effective (*C.S.P.Dom.* 1603–10, p. 210); in 1607 he occurs as an auditor (*id.* 1623–5, p. 539); on Paddon’s death in 1613/14 he succeeded him as auditor for Yorkshire (P.R.O., E 324/52); in 1614 he is mentioned as an auditor of the Exchequer, with a clerk named Nicholas Paddon (P.R.O., E 13, 13 Jac. I Trin. m. 11); in 1617 he occurs, apparently as auditor responsible for Cambridgeshire (*C.S.P.Dom.* 1611–18, p. 465); still an auditor in 1625 (*id.* 1625–6, p. 536).

In November 1601, in partnership with one Richard Cartwright, he leased Southfrith Park, Kent, and the site of the priory of Tonbridge, etc., for a fine of £2526 15s. and a rent of £63 3s. 4d. p.a. (IND. 6744); the two properties were owned by the widow and daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham (*C.S.P.Dom.*, 1598–1601, p. 425; *Archaeologia Cantiana*, xvi (1886), p. 56). No connection with the Yorkshire Huttons (below, p. 384) can be traced.

APPENDIX II B

RECEIVERS GENERAL FOR YORKSHIRE IN THE AUGMENTATIONS, 1536–1621

By C. B. L. BARR

1536–46 Sir Leonard Beckwith¹

Appointed particular receiver for Yorkshire in the first Court of Augmentations, 24 April 1536 (*L.P.Hen.VIII*, XIII, 1538, i, p. 573, from P.R.O. E 315/232, ff. 2v–7v; Richardson, p. 50), re-appointed 8 August 1544 (*L.P.Hen.VIII*, XIX, 1544, ii, p. 71), until August 1546. In 1544 thirty-four allegations of embezzlement, etc., were brought against him, but he seems to have been acquitted of all the charges (Richardson, pp. 58–60). His accounts as receiver survive for the following years (Michaelmas to Michaelmas): 1535–6 (*L.P.Hen.VIII*, XI, 1536, p. 594); 1539–40 (P.R.O. LR 6/121/1), and arrears, claimed Sept./Oct. 1541 (*L.P.Hen.VIII*, XVI, 1540–41, p. 29); 1540–41, 1542–3, 1543–4 (LR 6/121/2–4).

¹ W. W. Morrell, *The history and antiquities of Selby* (1867), pp. 134–6, mainly from J. R. Walbran (ed.), *Memorials of . . . Fountains*, i (S.S. xlii, 1863), pp. 307–8, n. 3; Foster, *Visitations*, pp. 101, 280, 494; Dugdale-Clay, i, p. 269; F. W. Dendy (ed.), *Visitations of the north*, ii (S.S. cxxxiii, 1921), pp. 25–26; Foster, *Yorkshire pedigrees*, iii, N.R. & E.R.; Skaife, *Corpus Christi Guild*, pp. 214, etc.; Cliffe, p. 15, with n. 2. Robert Beckwith, one of the former monks of St. Mary’s granted a pension in February 1539/40, was probably a relative (*L.P.Hen.VIII*, XV, 1540, p. 552).

His family was of Aikton or Aketon near Spofforth, W.R., and of Stillingfleet, E.R. In 1522 he was escheator in the county of York (D.K. x (1849), p. 38). About 1528 he acted as attorney for Thomas Stevenson of London, 'pasteler' (pastry-cook), to collect rents of the manors of Howden, Clifford, and Denton, held under Sir William Fairfax (*Yorkshire Star Chamber*, ii, p. 38, and iv, pp. 6–8). Twice he complained to the Star Chamber of rioters attacking his property, in 1520–21 at Acaster Selby (*id.* i, pp. 29–31), and in 1535 at Stillingfleet, South Cave, and York; on the latter occasion he reported the loss of evidences of property at Stillingfleet which was his by purchase, at Sheriff Hutton and Sutton in Galtres, both royal possessions, and two patents for fees from monasteries, 40s. from St. Mary's Abbey, York, and 20s. from Spalding Priory, Lincs. (*id.* ii, pp. 124–133; he is not named as an official of Spalding Priory in *Val. eccl.* iv, pp. 97–98, where fees of 20s. are recorded as paid to a bailiff at Weston 'Greves', the steward of Alkborough, and the bailiff of pensions and portions). Before the dissolution he was steward of the liberty of St. Mary's Abbey, York, at a fee of 40s. p.a., and of Acaster and Stillingfleet for Selby Abbey (*Val. eccl.* v, pp. 8, 13; the appointment to St. Mary's was made, or more probably renewed, 4 November 1539: P.R.O. LR 1/172, f. 165, and below, appx IV), and subsequently, 1548–57, of York Minster (Y.M.L., D. & C. muniments, Register of leases, etc., 1543–87, Wb, f. 39v, appointment, at a fee of 5 marks p.a., 4 Feb. 1547/8, and ff. 86v–87r, appointment of his successor, Sir Thomas Gargrave, 9 June 1557). He was one of the royal commissioners for the survey of the lesser religious houses of Yorkshire in 1536 (*L.P.Hen. VIII*, X, 1536, p. 304; D. Knowles, *The religious orders in England*, iii (1959), p. 479). He received grants of Holy Trinity Priory and the Grey Friars, York (*L.P.Hen. VIII*, XVIII, 1543, i, pp. 195–6; Lawton, pp. 49, 119; D.K. ix (1848), appx ii, p. 166; 'The Trynyteis' is named as his York residence on 20 November 1535: *Yorkshire Star Chamber*, ii, p. 124), and purchased Selby Abbey (below, Appendix VIII. m) and a number of smaller pieces of ex-monastic property. In 1539 he purchased the manor of Catfoss in Holderness from Sir Richard Gresham, and in 1543 he occurs as keeper of the courts of Fountains, then owned by Gresham (Walbran, *loc. cit.*). In 1544 he was knighted for services in Scotland (Richardson, p. 60, with n. 76; Metcalfe, p. 76; Shaw, ii, p. 55), and in February 1545/6 was appointed to the Council of the North (Richardson, p. 60, with n. 77; Reid, p. 492, with n. 31) and to the commission to survey the chantries, etc., in Yorkshire (Page, *Chantry certificates*, i, p. 1, and ii, p. 370), in the latter capacity reporting, *inter alia*, on the Corpus Christi Guild of York, to which he himself had been admitted in 1539 (Skaife, *Corpus Christi Guild*, pp. 214, 284–5). In the same year he refused an offer of the chancellorship of Ireland, and in the autumn he was appointed controller of Boulogne (Richardson, p. 60, with notes 77 and 79). In 1550–51 he was high sheriff of Yorkshire (Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 353; *List of sheriffs*, p. 163; Cooper, p. 353), and he was one of Edward VI's commissioners 'for ordering of bells, chalices, and other church goods' in the county (Walbran, *loc. cit.*, and Morrell, *loc. cit.*). About 1533 he had a connection with the Guild of St. Christopher and St. George in York (*Yorkshire Star Chamber*, ii, p. 20). He continued to be paid a fee of £4 p.a. for an unspecified office in the payment of the receiver for Yorkshire until an undated account belonging to a year shortly before his death (LR 6/122/5; possibly his pre-dissolution fees from St. Mary's Abbey and Spalding Priory). He died on 7 May 1557,¹ and was buried in York Minster.²

1546–52 Richard Whalley

Richard Whalley,³ having held a survivorship in the office since December 1545, succeeded Beckwith as particular receiver for Yorkshire in the first Court of Augmentations, about September 1546, until the

¹ *C.Pat.R.* 1555–7, p. 97; Richardson, p. 60; Dugdale-Clay, *loc. cit.*; his will, dated 15 April and proved 27 September 1557, is in the Borthwick Institute (Wills, XV, i, f. 336; *Index of York wills*, 1554–68, p. 13), and is summarised by Walbran and Morrell; cp. also John Browne, *The history of the metropolitan church of St. Peter, York* (1847), pp. 187, 189; his i.p.m. is in the P.R.O., C 142/109/55: *Index of inquisitions*, i, p. 226.

² The site of his grave is not directly recorded but can be deduced: in his will he asks to be buried 'in the Cathedral Church of York in our Lady Quere, where they sing Masse before the High Altar'; his widow's grave in the Lady Chapel is known (Drake, pp. 493, 514) and Sir Leonard's tomb is presumably under one of the unidentified slabs adjoining hers. The regular situation for the husband, space permitting, would be to the south of the wife, which would place him at the north end of the row of six early archbishops, a position of ostentation, obtainable through his position as Minster steward, fully in character with this unscrupulous and successful self-made man of affairs. His wife was Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Richard Cholmley, Lord Chief Justice; on 19 April 1559 she married as her second husband Christopher Kenne, esq., of Kenne, Somerset; she died on 24 November 1583, aged about 60, and on the following day was buried 'in York Mynster, before the chappell their, wher S^r Leonard Beckwith' her first husband was buried (Skaife, *op. cit.* p. 214).

³ Richardson, pp. 50, 60, 232–3, 281; A. F. Pollard in *D.N.B.*; Mark Noble, *Memoirs of the protectoral house of Cromwell* (1787), ii, pp. 136–9; A. S. Turberville, *A history of Welbeck Abbey and its owners*, i (1938), pp. 3–11; Joseph Jackson Howard (ed.), *Miscellanea genealogica et heraldica*, ii (1876), p. 322; Sir Henry Ellis (ed.), *The visitation of the county of Huntingdon . . . 1613* (Camden Soc. xliii, 1849), p. 35; Venn, I, iv, p. 376; Robert Thoroton, *The antiquities of Nottinghamshire* (1677), pp. 129–132 = (1790), i, pp. 248–251, each with an engraving of his monument. Edmund Whalley, abbot of St. Mary's, 1521–30, was of a collateral branch: Skaife, *Corpus Christi Guild*, p. 198; J. Solloway in *V.C.H. Yorkshire*, iii, p. 111; Foster, *Visitations*, p. 218. Abbot Edmund's nephew Thomas Whalley was second husband of Elizabeth, sister of Edward Beseley, first recorded keeper of the house of evidences (below). In the 1590's a Thomas Whalley was appointed bailiff of Clementhorpe (IND. 7637, referring to a lost enrolment book 9, f. 286).

dissolution of the Court at the end of that year, and continued in office in the second Court until dismissed in 1552 on his conviction for serious charges of embezzlement. He received lenient treatment in return for giving evidence against Lord Protector Somerset, whose steward he had been; he was imprisoned, first in the Fleet, then in the Tower, but released immediately on Queen Mary's accession in 1553. In 1555–6 he instituted a suit in the exchequer court for restoration to the receivership, but the privy council decided against him.

He was of Darlaston, Staffs., and Screveton and Sibthorpe, Notts., born in 1499, educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, St. Mary's bailiff of Spaunton, N.R., c. 1535 at a fee of £6 (*Val. eccl.* v, p. 6), one of the visitors of the lesser monasteries of Leicestershire in 1536, and grantee of Welbeck Abbey on 26 February 1538/9 (*L.P.Hen.VIII*, XIV, 1539, i, pp. 164–5; Robert Thoroton, *The antiquities of Nottinghamshire* (1677), p. 452 = (1797), iii, p. 382; Turberville, *op. cit.* pp. 3–4). In 1539 he was a commissioner for musters and a commissioner for the peace in the North Riding (*L.P.Hen.VIII*, XIV, 1539, i, pp. 311, 314–315, 586), and he owed money to the crown (*id.* p. 457). He was appointed a chantry commissioner by Henry VIII in 1546, together with Beckwith, and by Edward VI in 1548 (Skaife, *Corpus Christi Guild*, p. 285; Page, *Chantry certificates*, i, p. 1, and ii, p. 371). He was returned to parliament as member for Scarborough (1547), East Grinstead, Sussex (1554), and Nottinghamshire (1554 and 1555) (*Return*, i, pp. 377, 387, 390, 394; Smith, p. 44; Park, p. 187; Hinderwell, (1798) p. 135 = (1811) p. 157; Baker, p. 245). In 1559 he sold Welbeck in order to discharge a debt of £48,866 13s. 4d. to the crown (Noble, *loc. cit.*), and he was appointed attorney general in the north parts under the Council of the North, and in a letter of 21 September 1560 he was described as having been 'too ill to account' in this capacity and (prematurely) 'now dead' (Reid, pp. 256, 489). He purchased properties in Yorkshire in 1551, and sold others in 1543, 1555, and 1559–60 (Collins, *Tudor fines*, i, pp. 105, 160, 185, 232–7). He died in 1583, and is buried at Screveton. Whalley's accounts survive for the years 1545–6, 1546–7, 1547–8, 1548–9, 1549–50 (LR 6/121/5–7, 6/122/1, 2).

1552–8 John Fisher

John Fisher (Fyssher) began by holding the office of particular receiver for Yorkshire jointly with Whalley, and on the latter's enforced surrender he was immediately appointed to the 'office of receiver general of the revenues of the Court of Augmentations . . . in the county and city of York and the archdeaconry of Richmond' by letters patent dated 21 June 1552 (LR 1/170, ff. 60v–61v; Richardson, pp. 232, 281; his appointment is mentioned as a fact already on 1 June: *C.S.P.Dom.* 1547–80, p. 39, citing SP 10/14, f. 85r–v). His fee is given as £100, plus portage of 20s. per £100 delivered to the Treasurer of the Augmentations. Four of Fisher's accounts survive: 1552–3, two undated, 1556–7 (LR 6/122/3–6). On 17 October 1558 Fisher was given licence to sell the office of receiver to William Patten (*C.Pat.R.* 1557–8, p. 427). He may be the 'John Fyssher, one of thattornayes of the Shireffs Court apon Ouse brigg', York, who was discharged from the office of attorney in February 1554/5 for a wide variety of misdemeanors (Raine, *York civic records*, v, p. 116).

1558 John Herbert and William Patten

John Herbert and William Patten are described as successively receivers general of the Augmentations in the account for 1557–8 (LR 6/122/7). Herbert's inclusion seems to be a stop-gap, Herbert assisting in the change-over between the official office-holders, Fisher and Patten.

1558 John Herbert

John Herbert (Harbert, Harbart, Harbard) appears in the accounts as deputy to Sir Thomas Heneage, collector of rents of St. Mary's (below, appendix IV) in the years 1542–3 and 1543–4 (LR 6/121/3, 4). Although Heneage continued to hold the office in some form until his death in 1553, on 2 February 1545/6 Herbert was appointed bailiff and collector of the possessions of the late monastery of St. Mary's (LR 1/170, f. 7), and is regularly described as collector in the eleven surviving rolls for years between 1545–6 and 1563–4 (LR 6/121/5–7, 6/122/1–8). Herbert was also keeper of the palace or manor of St. Mary's from March 1542/3 until his death (below, appendix IV).

In 1541–2 Herbert was a witness and executor of the will of William Maunsell, clerk of the castle and county court of York (below, p. 374). On 21 November 1553 Herbert was granted a pardon for all offences committed before 1 October 1 Mary (1553) (*C.Pat.R.* 1553–4, p. 433). He received commissions as a justice of the peace for the North Riding on 11 February 1561/2 and 1 June 1564 (*C.Pat.R.* 1560–63, p. 437; 1563–6, p. 22). In 1562/3 he received a grant of arms from William Flower, Norroy King of Arms (*Y.A.J.* xviii (1905), pp. 351–2; cp. *C.S.P.Dom.* 1547–80, p. 247). In spring 1568 he was appointed one of the commissioners or enquirers in the province of York touching offences against the Act of Uniformity (*C.Pat.R.* 1566–9, p. 172). Until his death he was particular surveyor of lands in the North Riding jointly with Matthew White (below, appendix IV).

Herbert was the holder of several properties: (i) Overton Hall, a former residence of the abbots of St. Mary's,¹ granted by the crown to Sir Thomas Heneage, bailiff and collector of St. Mary's, 17 April 1540; leased by Heneage and his wife Catherine to Herbert by indenture, 27 October 1546; sold by Heneage back to the crown, 1549; leased by the crown to Herbert, 2 July 1563; this was Herbert's principal residence; after his death in 1569 it was regranted to his widow Elizabeth Herbert, despite a fruitless attempt by York corporation to procure the lordship of Overton from the crown

¹ On 9 November 1539 abbot William Dent asked to be allowed to keep Overton: Clay, *Suppression*, p. 72; evidently his request was not granted.

(Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 578; *C.Pat.R.* 1560–63, p. 570; *V.C.H. Yorkshire, N.R.* ii, p. 168; *L.P.Hen. VIII*, XV, 1540, p. 289; Collins, *Tudor fines*, i, p. 143; Raine, *York civic records*, vii, p. 22); (ii) a close called 'Wygenholmes' at Wheldrake, formerly the property of Fountains Abbey, leased to Nicholas Herbert by indenture of 20 April 1546, and to Rowland, John and Richard Herbert on 27 July 1557 (*C.Pat.R.* 1557–8, p. 24); (iii) lands and tithes at Ellerton and other places, formerly the property of Ellerton Priory, and lands at Clifton, formerly the property of St. Mary's Abbey, leased to John Herbert, 17 February 1560/61 (*C.Pat.R.* 1560–63, p. 181; Clay, *Suppression*, pp. 106–7); (iv) the manor of Sutton-upon-Derwent was purchased by John Herbert and others from John Eglisfield, the grantee from the crown, on 2 February 1562/3 (*C.Pat.R.* 1560–63, p. 581); (v) the manor of Belthorpe, leased by Sir Thomas Heneage to Rowland Herbert of Skipwith, yeoman, and William Herbert his son, by indenture of 6 December 1546; returned to the crown by Heneage in exchange; leased to John Herbert by the crown on 19 March 1562/3;¹ (vi) the tithes of Kneeton and Middleton Tyas, archdeaconry of Richmond, and of Moulton, formerly the property of St. Mary's Abbey, leased to Herbert on 8 July 1566 (*C.Pat.R.* 1563–6, p. 374); (vii) Myton Close, formerly the property of St. Mary's Abbey, first held by Sir Thomas Heneage, then leased to Herbert on 17 June 1568 (*C.Pat.R.* 1566–9, pp. 183–4); (viii) a messuage and a cottage with lands at 'Lytell Danby, Yarfurthe, South Cowlton, Atley Cowlton, and Huton', were purchased by John Herbert and John Redman from Hugh Donyngton, son and heir apparent of John Donyngton, in 1554 (Collins, *Tudor fines*, i, p. 177). The last property evidently belonged to the family of Herbert's wife, who was born Elizabeth Donyngton (Flower-Norcliffe, p. 101), and the will of John Harbert of Overton, gent., made on 10 June 1569 and proved on 17 February 1569/70, includes a bequest to a John Donyngton, son of Thomas Donyngton, deceased.²

We may tentatively connect with the various offices held by John Herbert at St. Mary's a pair of documents in the Dodsworth collection (MS Dods. 50, ff. 7r–v, 8r–9r; below, Appendix VI (i) and (ii)). They are concerned with relations between St. Mary's Abbey and St. Olave's church, and the originals date from 1390/91 and 1398. Dodsworth has transcribed copies 'penes Johannem Belwood vicarium ecclesie sancti Olai', who belongs to the period 1622–55/8.³ Each copy is subscribed, with slight variation, 'Examinatur et concordat cum originali. Thomas Herbert, James Herbert.' If these certified copies were

¹ *C.Pat.R.* 1560–63, p. 514; land at Belthorpe in the tenure of Alexander Herbert is left in the will of receiver Jenkins in 1595 (below, p. 371, n. 3).

² Borthwick Institute, Wills, vol. xviii, f. 163r; *Index of York wills*, 1568–85, p. 69. This John Herbert and his wife Elizabeth appear not to fit into the pedigrees of Herbert of York printed by Robert Davies, 'A memoir of Sir Thomas Herbert', in *Y.A.J.* i (1870), facing p. 214; Dugdale-Davies, pp. 148, 165; Dugdale-Clay i, pp. 291–4; Foster, *Visitations*, p. 530.

³ In a law-suit concerning tithes heard in 1653–5 between John Belwood of York, clerk, 'vicar and curate of the rectory of St. Olive's parish', and Sir William Robinson of Clifton, Belwood produced documents showing that he had been admitted vicar of St. Olave's by archbishop Tobie Matthew thirty-two years previously and inducted on 22 June 1622 (York City archives, Clifton estate papers, M 31: 461–9, spec. 464); Belwood's signature appears on surviving parish register transcripts in the Borthwick Institute for 1634–41; on 29 April 1644 he was cited by the archbishop's vicar general for celebrating a marriage without dispensations or banns (W. Brown, 'Royalist clergy in Yorkshire, 1642–5', in *Miscellanea*, i (Y.A.S. R.S. lxi, 1920), p. 167); he was still at St. Olave's in 1655 when the above-mentioned law-suit was in progress, and during the course of it he produced certified extracts made in 1653 from the accounts of William Patten, receiver general, 1563–4 (M 31: 465–6), and mentioned Thomas Scudamore (M 31: 469). He was a vicar choral of York Minster from 1619 (admitted 11 Nov.: Y.M.L. D. & C. muniments, Chapter acts, 1565–1634, f. 567r) to 1649 and probably later (Y.M.L. Vicars choral muniments, Chamberlains' rolls, Vn 89a (1620–21) to Vn 95 (1641–2), and Subchanters' books, i, 1628–97 (occurs 1628–49)), acting as chamberlain in 1624–5 (Vn 91) and repairer in 1634–5 (Vq 19), and being admonished by the Chapter for bad behaviour and irregular attendance at divine service, 5 February 1639/40 (Y.M.L. D. & C. muniments, Chapter acts, 1634–1700, i, f. 22v); his house was still called by his name in 1662 (Borthwick Institute, R.VI.B.1, Archbishop Frewen's visitation of the Dean and Chapter, 1662, 'An account of the Vicars and Singingmens houses leased in time of Rebellion'); cp. also Frederick Harrison, *Life in a medieval college* (1952), pp. 150, 241, 252–3. He and his wife Margaret possessed a cottage and land at Pocklington (Brigg, *Stuart fines*, ii, pp. 16 (1614) and 178 (1621)). John Belwood of the Bederne, York, died in 1658, and administration of his estate was granted to his widow Margaret (Somerset House, Act book, 1658, f. 11; *Index of York wills*, Somerset House, 1649–60, p. 216). The vicar choral and incumbent of St. Olave's is to be distinguished from another John Belwood, M.A. (Emmanuel College, Cambridge; admitted 1611, B.A. 1615–16, M.A. 1619: Venn, I, i, p. 131), 'licensed to teache the Free Schole neare ye Minster in Yorke of Archebyshoppe Holgate' on 22 January 1616/17 (Borthwick Institute, R.IV.B.e, Subscription book, cited by E. N. Jewels, *A history of Archbishop Holgate's Grammar School, York, 1546–1946* (1962), p. 24, his successor being appointed 20 October 1632), and instituted rector of Dalby, N.R., on 18 August 1631 (Y.M.L. D. & C. muniments, Chapter acts, 1565–1634, f. 692r, and Subscription books, 1571–1679, p. 124, and 1605–1643, f. 27r), whose successor was appointed on 13 September 1633 after Belwood's death (Borthwick Institute, Institutions act book, 1632–68, p. 40). Administration of his estate was granted to his father, William Belwood of Burythorpe, yeoman, on 17 September 1633 (Borthwick Institute, Abp Neile's Register, f. 59v, and original bond: *Index of York wills*, Abps, p. 7, and Consistory, p. 3). His friend William Thorne of Trinity College, Cambridge, who died in 1617/18 (Venn, I, iv, p. 230), gave him a copy of Joannes Piscator, *Commentarii in omnes libros Novi Testamenti* (1613), now in York Minster Library (XIX. F. 14, with note by Belwood on title page).

made from originals among the abbey records in St. Mary's Tower, and the regular making of such copies by the later keepers of the records in the Tower makes this likely, then we may hazard the conjecture that Thomas and James are relatives of John Herbert, and that the copies were made during or about the time of his receivership.

1558–70 William Patten

William Patten (Paten, Paton), after producing the stop-gap receiver's account for the year 1557–8 jointly with John Herbert, obtained the receivership by purchase from John Fisher on 17 October 1558, and it was confirmed to him by a crown grant on the same date (*C.Pat.R.* 1557–8, p. 427). Patten's account for the year 1563–4 survives (LR 6/122/8; certified extracts from this account, made in 1653, are in York City archives, Clifton estate papers, M 31: 465–6). He surrendered the office in chancery on 29 March 1570 (*C.Pat.R.* 1557–8, p. 427), and is named as the previous holder of it in the patent appointing Jenkins the following day.

Patten,¹ (*fl.* 1528–91), was 'a man busily engaged in public affairs, a celebrated historian and antiquarian', 'one of those sixteenth-century humanist-scholars to whom antiquarian studies owe so much'. His father was a London cloth-worker, but his great-uncle was William Patten *alias* Waynflete, bishop of Winchester and lord chancellor (*STC* 19479 is attributed to the bishop under the name of Patten). He claims to have studied at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, and from 1528 to 1548 was connected with the church of St. Mary at Hill, Billingsgate, where he lived at the parsonage. In 1548 he accompanied Protector Somerset's expedition to Scotland, becoming friendly with William Cecil, the later Lord Burghley, and was appointed a judge of the Marshalsea. From 1550 to c. 1571 he was the first secular lord of the manor of Stoke Newington, where he repaired the parish church. On 4 October 1559 he was appointed a commissioner to survey the possessions of the bishopric of London, and he recurs in this capacity on 20 July 1560 and 10 February 1561/2 (*C.Pat.R.* 1558–60, pp. 30, 422; *id.* 1560–63, p. 307). In 1561, in his capacity as 'Receyvour generall to the Queenes majestie in Yorkshire', he delivered to the lord mayor and aldermen of York a bag of coining irons sent from the royal mint (Raine, *York civic records*, vi, p. 12). On 23 June 1562 he was granted the reversion of the office of a teller of the receipt of the exchequer, subsequently succeeded to the office, and this was regarded as forfeited on 13 July 1568 (P.R.O. E 403/2452, f. 84v; *C.Pat.R.* 1560–63, p. 340; *id.* 1566–9, p. 318); he occurs in this office in 1563 (*C.S.P.Dom.* 1601–3, *Add.* 1547–65, p. 539) and 1565 (B.M., MS Add. 24127, noted by Hill, p. 197), and on 13 January 1567/8 appointed Richard Chandler his deputy (P.R.O. E 403/2452, ff. 201v–202r). On 28 May 1568 he was appointed an assistant and one of the commonalty for the mines royal, and an assistant and one of the laity of the mineral and battery works (*C.Pat.R.* 1566–9, pp. 211, 274); he was active in the former capacity in 1580 (*C.S.P.Dom.* 1547–80, p. 688, noted in another connection by Hill, p. 196, n. 3). He was also a customer of London outward, and a justice of the peace for Middlesex (J. Stow, *A survey of London* (1633), p. 92).

He was the first known English student of Armenian, and occurs as a member of the Society of Antiquaries in 1590 and 1591, and possibly as late as 1598–9. He was the author of *The expedition into Scotlāde of . . . prince Edward, duke of Somerset*, 1548 (*STC* 19479), an alphabet and vocabulary for reading the Armenian Psalter, 1570 (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Small Parker 281, item 4), a Latin poem *Supplicio Patteni* addressed to Queen Elizabeth, 1572 (B.M., MS Lansdowne 739, partly printed under 'Elizabeth' in the following work), *The Calender of Scripture, whearin the Hebru, Chaldean, Arabian, Phenician, Syrian, Persian, Greek, and Latin names . . . is . . . turned into oour English tounge*, 1575 (*STC* 19476), *Names expounded of certein regions and places*, 1584 (Cambridge University Library, MS Dd. 11. 40), *In mortem W. Wynter, monumentum diutinæ mutuæq; amicitiae ergo*, 1589 (*STC* 19477), *Of sterling money*, 1590 (summary in Thomas Hearne, *A collection of curious discourses written by eminent antiquaries*, ii (1771, 2nd ed. 1775), p. 317), and (perhaps) a book on purprestures or encroachments in the city of London (Stow, *A survey of London*, p. 70).

1570–91 John Jenkins

John Jenkins² (Jenkin, Jenkins, Genkins, Genkyns) was appointed receiver general for Yorkshire in Patten's stead by letters patent of 30 March 1570 (referred to in P.R.O. LR 1/198, f. 158r–v, and LR 1/200, ff. 60v–66v). His account for the year 1581–2 survives (LR 6/122/9). He is named as predecessor of Scudamore in the latter's patent of appointment in 1591, so he may be assumed to have resigned the office shortly before.

On 18 March 1570 Jenkins was one of those commissioned to survey for the exchequer the lands of the earls of Northumberland and Westmorland 'and all others engaged in the late rebellion in the north' (*C.S.P.Dom. Add.* 1566–79, p. 260; cp. also p. 307). In 1595 he was given a life interest in Overton Hall by his son-in-law and successor as receiver, Thomas Scudamore (see below), who witnessed Jenkins's pedigree at the visitation of 1585 (Foster, *Visitations*, p. 371). In his will he leaves to his wife Margaret 'my now dwellinge house in the parsonage lane within the minster yarde and my garthen or orchard adioyninge the same'; this is probably one of the seven tenements in Camhall Garth (in College Street,

¹ *D.N.B.*, much corrected and supplemented by Betty Hill, 'Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. B.14.52, and William Patten', in *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, IV, iii (1966), pp. 192–200; some additional facts are now supplied; the quotations immediately following are from Hill, pp. 198, 196.

² Pedigrees in Foster, *Visitations*, p. 371; Dugdale-Davies, p. 363; Dugdale-Clay, i, pp. 143–5; Charles Jackson in J. J. Howard (ed.), *Miscellanea genealogica et heraldica*, 2nd series, i (1874), pp. 122–3; Joseph Hunter, *Familiae minorum gentium*, iii (Harl. Soc. xxxix, 1895), pp. 929–930.

formerly Vicar Lane or Parsonage Lane, adjoining St. William's College towards Goodramgate), which Jenkins rented from the vicars choral of York Minster from a date between 1557–8 and 1567–8 until his death, the property being still described as 'in tenura m^{ri} Jenkinges' in 1597–8.¹ He died 2 October 1595, aged 63, in the parish of Holy Trinity, Goodramgate,² and was buried in York Minster.³

1591–1621 Thomas Scudamore

Jenkins' daughter Mary married Thomas Scudamore⁴ at Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York, on 15 December 1585,⁵ bringing as her dowry an estate at Temple Newsam (Atkinson, *loc. cit.* (n. 1), p. 157; after Thomas's death the Temple Newsam estate reverted to Mary, and in 1623 she made it over to her son William), and on Jenkins's resignation Scudamore was appointed to succeed him as receiver by letters patent dated 10 September 1591 (P.R.O. LR 1/198, f. 158r–v). He probably owed the appointment not entirely to his marriage but in part to his own name: an earlier receiver had been Sir John Scudamore (below, n. 6), but any relationship there may have been can only have been a distant one.⁶ Scudamore's

¹ Y.M.L. Vicars choral muniments, Chamberlains' rolls: Vn 66 (1557–8), 67 (1567–8) to 76 (1597–8). Margaret lived till 1615, but by 1601–2 (Vn 77) the tenant was her and John's eldest son, Sir Henry Jenkins, and he remained in occupation until at least 1641–2 (Vn 95); he died in 1646. Sir Henry also owned the neighbouring St. William's College (Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 571; William Hargrove, *History and description of . . . York*, II, i (1818), p. 142; Robert Davies, *A memoir of the York press* (1868), pp. 38–39), and possibly John Jenkins too had held this jointly with the Camhall Garth tenements. The College had been granted on 2 April 1549 to Sir Michael Stanhope and John Bellowe (*C.Pat.R.* 1548–9, p. 205); Stanhope served as a chantry commissioner in York in 1545/6 (Skaife, *Corpus Christi Guild*, p. 284), was paid an annuity by the city of York in 1548–9 (Raine, *York civic records*, iv, pp. 174–6, and v, pp. 1, 18), and is linked with his solicitor 'Maister John Belloo' in procuring the sale of the lands and tenements of the former Guild of St. Christopher and St. George in York to the city in 1549 (*id.* v, pp. 17–18; *C.Pat.R.* 1549–51, p. 31; V.C.H. *York*, pp. 147–8); Stanhope and Bellowe were joint grantees of most of the prebendal houses of Beverley Minster in 1548 (Lawton, p. 107; *C.Pat.R.* 1548–9, pp. 37–39); Bellowe and one John Broxholme were grantees of St. Andrew's, Fishergate, and various ex-monastic properties in 1545 (Lawton, p. 99; *L.P.Hen.VIII*, XX, 1545, ii, pp. 535–8); Stanhope, as a supporter of his step-brother-in-law, Protector Somerset, was attainted and executed in 1552 (*D.N.B.*; Richardson, pp. 52–53, n. 53; Cornelius Brown, *Lives of Nottinghamshire worthies* (1882), pp. 108–9; A. P. Purey-Cust, *Picturesque old York* (1909), p. 52, confuses him with his grandson, also Michael; Dugdale-Davies, p. 294; Dugdale-Clay, i, pp. 219–224; Joseph Hunter, *Familiae minorum gentium*, iii (Harl. Soc. xxxix, 1895), pp. 986–990), and Bellowe died as particular surveyor of the East Riding in the Court of Augmentations in 1559 (*C.Pat.R.* 1558–60, p. 48). Camhall Garth passed from the Jenkins family in 1672, if not earlier, but by a lease of 20 August 1700, renewed on 7 July 1701, it came to Sir Henry's grandson Toby Jenkins, lord mayor and M.P. for York, who in 1721 gave it up to Lord Bingley (Y.M.L. Vicars choral muniments, Subchanters' books, i, 1628–97, and ii, 1697–1751), who held St. William's College too.

² Charles Jackson in J. J. Howard (ed.), *Miscellanea genealogica et heraldica*, 2nd series, i (1874), pp. 122–3.

³ Dugdale-Clay, i, pp. 143–4; Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 512 (wrongly giving 1596). Thomas Gent, *The antient and modern history . . . of York* (1730), p. 135, has a letterpress representation of the memorial slab, with the date of death given as 22 October 1596. His will, dated 16 July 1595, was proved on 19 (not 29) December the same year: Borthwick Institute, Wills, xxvi, ff. 207r–208r; *Index of York wills*, 1594–1602, p. 41. The names mentioned in the will suggest connections with other officials: an Alexander Herbert is named as tenant of his lands at Belthorpe (cp. above, p. 369), and one of the legatees is a William Fysher of London, gent.

⁴ Dugdale-Davies, pp. 25, 154; Dugdale-Clay, iii, pp. 55–56; Foster, *Visitations*, p. 573; Ralph Thoresby, *Ducatus Leodiensis*, 2nd ed., by T. D. Whitaker (1816), p. 36; J. C. Atkinson (ed.), *Quarter sessions records* (North Riding Record Soc. iv, 1886), pp. 156–7, notes. There appears to be nothing relating to Thomas Scudamore in the Scudamore papers in the British Museum (MSS Add. 11041–59 and 11689); MS 11041 contains letters to Sir John Scudamore, receiver 1536–46, relative to the dissolution of the monasteries (below, n. 6).

⁵ Robert Beilby Cook (ed.), *The parish registers of Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York, 1577–1812* (Y.P.R.S. xli, 1911), p. 34. The marriage is noted in the pedigrees of Scudamore (above, n. 1) and Jenkins (above, p. 344, n. 1); Hunter's pedigree of Jenkins describes Scudamore as 'Recorder' instead of receiver 'of York'. In his will Jenkins asks his son-in-law Scudamore to bring up his son Raufe. Another connection between the two families is apparent from the appointments to the rectory of Skelton: in 1610 Thomas Scudamore of Overton, the patron, presented George Jenkins, M.A., and Jenkins' successor after his death in 1619 was Hugh Scudamore, on the presentation of Sir Henry Francklyn of 'Awdwarke': Y.M.L. D. & C. muniments, Chapter acts, 1565–1634, ff. 447r, 566r–v; *Index of York wills*, D. & C., 1321–1636, p. 35; *id.* Consistory, p. 14. To judge by the spelling it was probably one of these early seventeenth-century members of the family who left the sum of £2 to found 'Mr. Skidmore's charity' at Skelton (*Reports of the Commissioners . . . concerning charities*, vol. xxxix, *York, N.R.* (1815–39), p. 719/273).

⁶ Sir John, of Herefordshire, was receiver for the circuit of Herefordshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, and Worcestershire, 1536–47 (Richardson, p. 49), and is probably the one of the name who died in 1571 (H[udson] G[urney], 'Sepulchral monuments of the Scudamore family at Holme-Lacy, co. Hereford', in *Collectanea topographica et genealogica*, iv (1837), p. 256). The two receivers Scudamore are confused by Richardson, p. 238, n. 62, and the editors of H.M.C. *Cecil*, xix (1965), pp. 86, 617, 638.

accounts survive for 1601–2, 1604–5, 1605–6, 1608–9, 1610–11, 1613–14, 1614–15, 1617–18, and 1619–20 (LR 6/122/10; LR 7/67/1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 10, 11, 16).

As early as March 1588/9 Scudamore had been appointed collector of privy seals (forced loans) in Yorkshire (H.M.C. *Various collections*, ii (1903), pp. 105–6); in (probably) 1597–8 Scudamore claimed arrears due from Thomas, son and heir of Sir William Fairfax the late collector of St. Mary's (*op. cit.* pp. 109–110). In 1609–10 Scudamore joined two members of the Council of the North in certifying a survey of repairs made to the manor of St. Mary's (Davies, *King's Manor* (1869), pp. 258–9 = (1883), pp. 18–19; for the two Council members see Reid, p. 497).

In 1595 Scudamore obtained a crown lease of Overton Hall (V.C.H. *Yorkshire, N.R.*, ii (1923), p. 163, citing B.M. Add. Chart. 25601 b), and he immediately gave a life interest to Jenkins (V.C.H. *loc. cit.*, citing Scudamore's i.p.m., P.R.O. C 142/391/63: *Index of inquisitions*, iii, p. 317); in 1598 he purchased the windmill, tithes and other properties in Overton from receiver Jenkins' son (Sir) Henry and others (Collins, *Tudor fines*, iv, p. 93); and in 1605 Scudamore received a grant of the manor in fee (V.C.H. *loc. cit.*, citing Pat. 3 Jac. I, part i; on 1 February 1623/4 Scudamore's son William conveyed the manor to his mother Mary, one of the witnesses being 'H. Jenkyns': Atkinson, *op. cit.* (p. 371, n.4), p. 129, n.1). The Scudamore family figures frequently in the parish register of Overton. In 1591 Thomas purchased the rectory with its advowson and other property at neighbouring Skelton jointly with (Sir) Henry Jenkins, in 1597 Jenkins made it over to Scudamore alone, and in 1607 the new crown grantee made a fresh sale to him (Atkinson, *op. cit.* p. 158; in 1623 Scudamore's widow Mary and son William sold Overton to Sir William Ingram and his son Arthur). From a date between 1592–3 and 1597–8 Scudamore rented from the vicars choral of York Minster four tenements 'Within the close' (probably the Minster close rather than the vicars' Bedern close), and he is given as tenant until 1623–4; in the following year 1624–5 the tenant is given as 'mistres Scudamore', and by 1628–9 the lease had passed out of the family (Y.M.L., Vicars choral muniments, Chamberlains' rolls, Vn 75 (1592–3), 76 (1597–8, 'Mr. Skidimore') to 90 (1623–4), 91 (1624–5), 93 (1628–9)). Scudamore purchased other properties in Yorkshire in 1590 and 1591, and sold some in 1593 (Collins, *Tudor fines*, iii, pp. 134, 152, 195). He died in April 1621,¹ and within a short period no fewer than seventeen persons claimed or exercised the receivership in competition:

1. John Scudamore, son of Thomas, reversion after (6) and (7), 1606: P.R.O. IND. 6802; *C.S.P.Dom.* 1603–10, p. 327, and *Add.* 1580–1625, pp. 481–2.
2. William Scudamore, brother of (1), jointly with (3), June and July 1621: P.R.O. LR 1/200, ff. 5v–6r.
3. James Jackson: (a) jointly with (4), October 1621: LR 1/200, f. 5r, and E 403/2455, f. 85r; (b) jointly with (2), June and July 1621: LR 1/200, ff. 5v–6r; (c) May 1621: *id.* ff. 71v–72r; (d) with deputy (5), May 1622: *id.* f. 75r; (e) March 1623/4: *id.* ff. 180v–182r.
4. George Lowe, jointly with (3), October 1621: LR 1/200, f. 5r.
5. Charles Radcliffe, deputy of (3), May 1622: LR 1/200, f. 75r.
6. Edward Lascelles: (a) reversion, 1604: *C.S.P.Dom.* 1603–10, p. 78, and *Add.* 1580–1625, pp. 481–2; (b) April 1621: LR 1/200, ff. 60v–66v.
7. John Lepton: (a) reversion after (6), March 1605/6: IND. 6802; (b) jointly with (8) as deputies of (2), 1608: *C.S.P.Dom.* 1603–10, p. 300; (c) January 1623/4: LR 1/200, f. 38r.
8. James Lepton, jointly with (7) as deputies of (2), 1608: *C.S.P.Dom.* 1603–10, p. 300.
9. George Wetheryd, July 1623: LR 1/200, ff. 85v–86r.
10. Robert Edwards, jointly with (11): (a) February 1624/5: LR 1/200, ff. 242r–v; (b) May 1625: *id.* ff. 205v–206r; (c) 1628: *C.S.P.Dom.* 1628–9, p. 209.
11. John Bland: (a) March 1625/6: LR 1/201, f. 338r; (b) jointly with (10), 1628: *C.S.P.Dom.* 1628–9, p. 209; (c) with reversion after his death to (12), 1632: LR 1/201, f. 338r.
12. Thomas Bland, son of (11): (a) jointly with (11), with reversion after (11)'s death, 1632: LR 1/201, f. 338r; (b) succeeding (13), June 1640: LR 1/204, ff. 450r–452v; (c) jointly with (11), *ibid.*
13. Richard Oliver, jointly with (14) in (a) 1627: LR 1/201, f. 338r, and (b) 1628: D.K. xliii (1882), p. 100; (c) with deputies (15) and (16), March 1628/9: LR 1/201, f. 186r–v; (d) held till June 1640, when superseded by (11) and (12): LR 1/204, ff. 450r–452v.
14. Nicholas Crispe: (a) jointly with (13) in 1627: LR 1/201, f. 338r, and (b) 1628: D.K. xliii (1882), p. 100; (c) with deputies (15) and (16), March 1628/9: LR 1/201, f. 186r–v; (d) held till June 1640, when superseded by (11) and (12): LR 1/204, ff. 450r–452v.
- 15 and 16. Thomas and Allen Talbott, deputies of (13) and (14), March 1628/9: LR 1/201, f. 186r–v.
17. Sir Thomas Wentworth, bart., April 1622: LR 1/200, f. 7r–v (see below, appendix IV).
18. Francis Godolphin, probably in error, 1613: *C.S.P.Dom.* 1611–18, p. 201 ('Devon, Cornwall and York': for 'Ebor' read 'Exon'?).

¹ The date is given as 'about Aprill' in LR 1/200, f. 5v; administration of the estate of Thomas Scudamore of Overton and the Cathedral Close, York, was granted on 10 May (*Index of York wills*, 1620–27, p. 164). The Overton parish register has these entries: 'Mr. Tho: Scudamore buried vnder the great blewstone in the chancell betwene two coffins yt was laid there aboue 20 yeres before he was buried 1621', and '1621 Aprill Thomas Scudamore Esquier buried ye xxijth day'. The financial difficulties in which Thomas's death left his son William are outlined in Cliffe, pp. 150, 302.

APPENDIX III A

CLERKS OF THE CASTLE AND OF THE COUNTY COURT OF YORK, 1529-1605

By C. B. L. BARR

1529-41	William Maunsell
1542-55	Reynold Beseley
1555-63	Reynold Beseley and Edward Beseley
1563-89(?)	Edward Beseley
1589(?) - 1599	(Sir) Anthony Ashley
1599-1605	Sir Anthony Ashley and (Sir) Thomas Lake

1529-41 William Maunsell

William Maunsell (Maunsel, Mansell, Mansel, Mansfield) first occurs¹ in 1522/3, when he was given crown protection on a vessel called *The Criste*; he is described as of 'Gaytford, York' (*L.P.Hen.VIII*, III, 1519-23, ii, p. 1204), i.e. Gateforth in the parish of Drayton near Selby, the home of the Darcy family, to whom Maunsell appears to have been related or otherwise closely connected (*id.* XII, 1537, i, p. 117; Clay, *Suppression*, p. 25; Maunsell & Statham, *op. cit.* ii, pp. 369, 384). In 1524/5 'Willelmus Mawnesell, gentylman', became a freeman of York (Collins, *York freemen*, i, p. 246; Maunsell & Statham, ii, p. 390). He is perhaps the 'Magister Mansell' who in 1528-9 was paid 8s. for legal expenses at Lincoln on behalf of St. Mary's Abbey (Charles Wellbeloved (ed.), 'The compotus or yearly-account roll of Thomas Syngeleton . . . Chamberlain of the Monastery of St. Mary, York, from . . . 1528, to . . . 1529', in *Proceedings of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society*, 1847-54 [1850] (1855), pp. 122-155 at p. 139). In February 1528/9 he was first made a trustee of lands of Leonard Beckwith (*L.P.Hen.VIII*, IV, iii, 1529-30, p. 2349), and on the 12th of the month he received a patent to be clerk of York castle, bailiff of the wapontake of Harthill (E.R.), clerk of the county courts within the said castle, and clerk of the hundreds, wapontakes and sheriff's turns within the same county for life (*ibid.*; P.R.O. C 82/611, f. 232; Maunsell & Statham, ii, p. 369). In 1531/2 he bought a bovate of land at Fitling in Holderness, granting half a bovate there to a local man in the same year (Poulson, ii, p. 78). In 1532 he was escheator for the county of York (D.K. x (1849), p. 40). In 1533 he occurs repeatedly as a trusted bearer of letters and messages from Thomas Cromwell and Sir George and Lady Elizabeth Lawson (*L.P.Hen.VIII*, VI, 1533, pp. 347-8, 389, 462-3, 542-4), and he continued to act in this role until his death. The clerkship of the county court seems to have carried with it the position of undersheriff of the county, and in this capacity Maunsell wrote a letter to Cromwell in 1534 (*id.* VII, 1534, p. 637) and was arrested at the castle in March 1535 (*id.* VIII, 1535, pp. 127-8, 477). Both Maunsell, using Lawson as bearer of his letter, and abbot Edmund Whalley of St. Mary's, immediately wrote to Cromwell, saying that he had been arrested not for any offence but through the machinations of enemies, and a month later he was released and energetically pursuing his duties as undersheriff (*ibid.* pp. 197-8; Reid, p. 117). Maunsell occurs c. 1535 as St. Mary's steward of Grimston, Kirkby, and Uncleby at a fee of £5, St. Mary's steward of the courts of Marshland at a fee of £1 6s. 8d. (*Val. eccl.* v, pp. 6-7), bailiff of St. Leonard's Hospital at a fee of £4 6s. 8d. and the same hospital's bailiff of Escrick at a fee of £1 6s. 8d. (*id.* p. 18), and bailiff of Hovingham for Newburgh Priory at a fee of 6s. 8d. (*id.* p. 93). He was wealthy enough to be fined for knighthood in 1536 (*L.P.Hen.VIII*, X, 1536, p. 532), and in the same year he complained to Sir Arthur Darcy that 'proclamation has been made that, if [Maunsell] may be gotten in Richmondshire, he is to be beheaded', and that he had escaped being 'despoiled of goods worth 100 marks' (*id.* XI, 1536, pp. 421-2). William's brother Thomas, vicar of Brayton, was involved in the Pilgrimage of Grace, and when he tried to swear in William too the latter 'on seeing him smote at him and drove him from his house' (*op. cit.* pp. 555-6; Dodds, i, p. 180; Maunsell & Statham, ii, p. 378). William's loyalty, like that of Sir Arthur Darcy and his brother George, was with the king, and not with their father Lord Darcy, who was beheaded for his part in the Pilgrimage. The Earl of Huntingdon, as President of the Council of the North, sought Maunsell's assistance at Darcy's trial, and Maunsell served as a juror at the trial of 'the Northern men' in May 1537 (*L.P.Hen.VIII*, XII, 1537, i, pp. 392, 551, 564-5). Later in the same year Maunsell, described as a gentleman usher of the chamber, and Sir Arthur Darcy were jointly granted the survivorship of the office of steward of Galtres Forest, formerly granted to Darcy alone (*id.* ii, p. 353; Maunsell & Statham, ii, p. 371). In the previous year 1536 Maunsell, described as of Huntingdon, had first farmed the site of Clementhorpe Nunnery, York, and bought its goods and chattels, and then took out a lease of it, which remained his until his death (*L.P.Hen.VIII*, XIII, 1538, i, p. 582, and XVII, 1542, p. 211; Clay, *Suppression*, p. 173; Maunsell & Statham, ii, p. 386; *Mon. Angl.*, new ed. iv, p. 327). In 1537 he had a servant named John Joyce (*Yorkshire Star Chamber*, i, p. 164). In 1538 he received a commission of the peace for the liberty of St. Peter, York (*L.P.Hen.VIII*, XIII, 1538, i, p. 485; Maunsell & Statham, ii, p. 385), and in the following year he acted as constable of St. Clement's parish in raising a muster (*L.P.Hen.VIII*, XIV, 1539, i, p. 307) and as a clerk of Cromwell's in the latter's capacity as chief justice of the forests north of the Trent (*id.* ii, pp. 35, 38, 321, 328; Maunsell & Statham, ii, p. 385). In December 1539 the Chancellor of the Augmentations appointed Maunsell to be receiver of St. Mary's Abbey, then recently dissolved; Leonard Beckwith 'declares he intends to stop his [Maunsell's] pro-

¹ A Henry Maunsell, possibly an ancestor, described as king's esquire, was 'gaoler, keeper, and porter of the castle of York' from 1400/1 to 1402: *C.Pat.R.* 1399-1401, p. 192; Cooper, p. 301; C. A. Maunsell & E. P. Statham, *History of the family of Maunsell, Mansell, Mansel* (2 vols, 1917-20), ii, pp. 351-3. The last book attempts, surely wrongly, to distinguish two William Maunsells, ii, pp. 369, 371, 386-7.

ceedings', but Maunsell complained to Cromwell and evidently succeeded in holding on to the office (*L.P.Hen.VIII*, XIV, 1539, ii, p. 244; Maunsell & Statham, ii, pp. 385–6). In Beckwith's account as receiver for the year 1539–40 Maunsell is paid for repairs in the city of York and named as collector of some outlying revenues, and in the account for the following year 1540–41 he is described as collector of revenues within the city of York (LR 6/121/1–2). At St. Mary's, by virtue of his receivership he appears to have been regarded as holding every office, from February 1540/41 under a chief steward, Sir Thomas Heneage: he was appointed bailiff and collector of rents in October 1541 (E 315/235, f. 53r; *L.P.Hen.VIII*, XVII, 1542, p. 691), and he is named as predecessor of new holders of the posts of steward and keeper of the courts, understeward and clerk of the courts (probably the same pair of offices), and keeper of the palace or manor of St. Mary's (below, Appendix IV). As William Maunsell of York, gentleman, he made his will 23 November 1541, and it was proved 14 January following (Borthwick Institute, Wills, xi, f. 535; *Index of York wills*, 1514–53, p. 117; Maunsell & Statham, ii, pp. 369–371). From the will it appears that he had a wife, Anna, but no (surviving) children; besides Thomas, the vicar of Brayton, he had a brother Richard,¹ who had sons George and William, a sister who was married to Thomas Blaike and had children Richard and Margaret, and another sister, widow by 1541 of one 'Blauncherd' and mother of Thomas and James. In his will he claims that he was neither extreme nor rigorous in his clerkship, and desires pardon if he has unintentionally offended the common people; he loyally served the several sheriffs, especially Sir John Constable (1528–9, 1533–4), Sir George Darcy (1535–6), and Sir William Fairfax (1534–5, 1539–40), and insists that he owes not a penny to any of them, as witness a general acquittance made by Darcy's auditor Matthew Thompson remaining in Maunsell's wife's possession. In respect of his collectorship of St. Mary's he acknowledges a debt of £160 owing to the crown, and he details personal debts totalling under £36 besides. He details assets totalling £928 15s. 11d. in land and goods at Grimston (a farm), Hornsea (a farm, and a ship and fishing rights on Hornsea Mere), and Clementhorpe,² and makes a long series of meticulous bequests to his relatives, friends, and servants, making careful provision for annuities for his wife and his nephews and niece(s); the friends include John Herbert, who is also appointed one of his executors and is a witness of the will – doubtless the John Herbert who acted as receiver in 1557–8 and held several appointments at St. Mary's between 1542 and his death in 1569 (Appendices II B and IV). A long pious preamble in which concern is expressed for the welfare of his soul, together with the description in the dating clause of Henry VIII as 'in earthe supreme hede of the Church of Englande', shows Maunsell's loyalty to church and king. He died 11 December 1541 and was buried in the nave of York Minster (Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 500; Thomas Gent, *The antient and modern history of the famous city of York* (1730), p. 143; Maunsell & Statham, ii, p. 369); at some time between Dodsworth's note of this taken in 1618 and Torre's description made towards the end of the century, the coffin-plate was broken and placed in the vestry (Torre, *The antiquities of York Minster*, 1690–91, Y.M.L. D. & C. muniments, L 1 (7), p. 168). As late as 1546 his executor Richard Maunsell is named as a debtor to the crown on William's behalf in respect of St. Leonard's and St. Mary's (*L.P.Hen.VIII*, XXI, 1546, i, p. 633). William is named in 1551 as predecessor of William Holme as steward and keeper of the courts of St. Mary's, having apparently acted as steward concurrently with Heneage's tenure as chief steward and not being replaced for some years after his death.

1542–55 (–1563) Reynold Beseley

On 3 March 33 Hen. VIII (1541/2) 'Reginald Bieseley' was granted the offices of clerk of York castle and of the county court held therein for life by letters patent (P.R.O. C 66/704; *L.P.Hen.VIII*, XVII, 1542, p. 100), and on 1–2 June 1542 'Raynolde Beseley' maintained his rights to them before the Privy Council after being 'intercepted' by Sir Henry Saville, high sheriff of the county, who attempted to place one Marmaduke Fawkes³ in Beseley's stead; Beseley's rights were established, but Fawkes was to continue as his deputy or minister⁴ (*id.* p. 218; *A.P.C.* 1542–7, pp. 5–6; P.R.O. PC 2/1, pp. 344–6). Beseley was M.P.

¹ Richard was the king's chief steward of the lordship of Wakefield, and in the employ of Sir Richard Tempest, c. 1537: *Yorkshire Star Chamber*, ii, pp. 184–6; Maunsell & Statham, ii, pp. 356, 358; in 1545 he was granted the manor of Skirlington, Yorkshire, formerly a possession of Bridlington Priory (D.K. xxv (1864), p. 16).

² Maunsell's ownership of Clementhorpe since 1536 is mentioned above. Hornsea was a former possession of St. Mary's; Maunsell's holding in the brief interval between the surrender of the abbey in December 1539 and his death two years later is not mentioned in Poulson, *Holderness*, i, p. 315, or E. W. Bedell, *An account of Hornsea* (1848), p. 67; in June 1539 Sir Ralph Ellerker complained to Cromwell that abbot William Dent of St. Mary's refused to grant him Hornsea, despite a letter from Cromwell apparently instructing him to do so (Clay, *Suppression*, p. 71). There are several places in Yorkshire called Grimston: Clementhorpe held land at one (*E.Y.C.* i, pp. 279–280; *Val. eccl.* v, p. 2), and St. Mary's at others (*E.Y.C.* i, pp. 265–7, 270–271; V.C.H. *Yorkshire*, N.R. i, p. 484; Drake, p. 588), and Maunsell's holding was probably one of the latter, where he was steward before the dissolution (*Val. eccl.* v, p. 6).

³ Marmaduke Fawkes of South Duffield, Woodhall and Farnley, probably the elder of a father and son of the same name (Foster, *Visitations*, p. 100; Dugdale-Davies, p. 29; Dugdale-Clay, i, p. 206); also a recusant family, the son being presented in 1582 and 1604 (Hugh Aveling, *Post-reformation catholicism in East Yorkshire, 1558–1790* (East Yorkshire Local History Soc. xi, 1960), p. 63; Edward Peacock, *A list of Roman Catholics in the county of York in 1604* (1872), p. 140).

⁴ In the bailiwick of the wapentakes of Harthill, Dicker and Buckrose and that between Ouse and Derwent, E.R., Maunsell was succeeded on 28 January 33 Hen. VIII (1541/2) by Anthony Mawde, who protested to the Privy Council against interference by Saville at the same time as Beseley did (*loc. cit.*; *L.P.Hen.VIII*, XVII, 1542, p. 33; *id.* p. 218 gives the date as 28 February instead of January).

for several Yorkshire boroughs: for Scarborough in 1547, jointly with receiver Richard Whalley (*Return*, i, p. 377; Park, p. 187; Hinderwell (1798) p. 135 = (1811) p. 157; Baker, p. 245; Smith, p. 45), for Thirsk in 1552/3 (*Return*, i, p. 380; Park, p. 205; Smith, p. 48), for Knaresborough in 1553 (*Return*, i, p. 384; Park, p. 113; Smith, p. 24; M. Calvert, *The history of Knaresbrough* (1844), p. 87; William Wheeler, *Knaresburgh and its rulers* (1907), p. 206), for Thirsk again in 1554 (*Return*, i, p. 388; Park, p. 205; Smith, p. 48), for Scarborough again also in 1554 (*Return*, i, p. 391; Park, p. 188; Smith, p. 45; Hinderwell (1798) p. 135 = (1811) p. 157; Baker, p. 245), and for York in 1555 (*Return*, p. 395; Park, p. 49; Smith, p. 55; Drake, p. 357; Raine, *York civic records*, v, pp. 131–4). He was a freeman of York (more probably the 'gentleman' of the name admitted in 1554–5 than the 'vytteler' admitted in 1555–6: Collins, *York freemen*, i, pp. 275–6), a member of the Corpus Christi Guild (admitted in 1520 together with his wife Alice, who outlived him: Skaife, *Corpus Christi Guild*, p. 196, with note c), recorder of Scarborough (Park, p. 187; Hinderwell (1798) p. 135 = (1811) p. 157; Baker, p. 245), vice-admiral of the north parts (*A.P.C.* 1542–7, p. 513 (1546); *L.P.Hen.VIII*, XXI, 1546–7, i, p. 727; Park, p. 49, where 'bachelor of law' is probably an error for 'barrister at law'), and notary and advocate of the court of York. About the year 1557 he corresponded with the Earl of Shrewsbury, president of the Council of the North, about the Earl's wish to remove some names from the commission of peace for Yorkshire (H.M.C. (JP 6), *A calendar of the Shrewsbury and Talbot papers*, i (1966), p. 127); in 1561 he acted as advocate for Henry Babington in a suit against Henry Sacheverell and others (H.M.C. XII, iv (24.3), *The manuscripts of the Duke of Rutland*, i (1888), p. 72). Byland Abbey leased to him for eighty years land at Middlethorpe¹ and the lease was confirmed by him, jointly with William Edrington of Great Driffield, by the crown on 9 July 1558 (*C.Pat.R.* 1557–8, p. 390). He made his will 20 November 1562, and it was proved 26 January 1563/4 (Borthwick Institute, Wills, vol. xvii [not xviii, as stated in the printed *Index*], f. 311r–v; *Index of York wills*, 1554–68, p. 13). He died 13 January 1562/3 and on 19 January was buried at St. Martin's, Coney Street (Robert Beilby Cook (ed.), *The parish registers of St. Martin, Coney Street, York* (Y.P.R.S., xxxvi, 1909), p. 72; the date of death is incorrectly given as 13 June 1563 by Park, p. 49). His will shows that his property included a house in Coney Street, with a garth between St. Martin's churchyard and the river Ouse; an acre of land on Acaster Ings; and a house outside Micklegate Bar called Furness House.²

1555–63 Reynold and Edward Beseley

Jointly (as 'Beysley') granted the patent on 3 February 1 & 2 Ph. & M. (1554/5) to be held to the death of the survivor (P.R.O. C 66/891; *C.Pat.R.* 1554–5, p. 223). That Reynold and Edward should be associated in office is not surprising: not only were they distant relatives, but in addition Reynold's daughter Agnes was Edward's first wife. On the same day that Reynold's lease of Middlethorpe jointly with William Edrington was confirmed, Edward too received a grant of land jointly with the same William Edrington (*C.Pat.R.* 1557–8, p. 390). Edward's sister Elizabeth³ married as her second husband Thomas Whalley of Dalby, nephew to Edmund Whalley, abbot of St. Mary's 1521–30, and a collateral of Richard Whalley, receiver for Yorkshire 1546–52, and Reynold's colleague as M.P. for Scarborough in 1547 (for the Beseley family see Foster, *Visitations*, p. 218; for the Whalleys, Skaife, *Corpus Christi Guild*, p. 236, with note w).

(1555–) 1563–1589 (?) Edward Beseley

Appointed jointly with Reynold Beseley in 1555, succeeding as sole clerk on Reynold's death in 1563. On 20 April 1589 Edward defended his rights to the clerkship before the Privy Council against William and 'Gylfford Slingsby'⁴ (P.R.O. PC 2/15; *A.P.C.* 1588–9, p. 139), but appears to have lost his case,

¹ For the Byland holding at Middlethorpe see R. H. Skaife (ed.), *Kirkby's inquest*, etc. (S.S. xlix, 1867), pp. 216–217, 516, etc., and Burton, *Mon.Ebor.* pp. 334 (as Middlethorpe) and 337 (as Thorp-Maltby, the same place).

² This was the former York residence of the abbots of Furness, acquired by the abbey in 1234 (Thomas Alcock Beck, *Annales Furnesienses* (1844), pp. 197, lxxxiv; J. Raine (ed.), *The register . . . of Walter Gray* (S.S. lvi, 1872), pp. 232–3; John Brownbill (ed.), *The coucher book of Furness Abbey*, II, ii (Chetham Soc. N.S. lxxvi, 1916), pp. 488–493, 502–4). Though held by Furness of the archbishop of York the property appears to have passed to the crown, who on 16 August 1566 made a grant of it (*C.Pat.R.* 1563–6, p. 475).

³ Her first husband was Alderman John Dyneley, who died Jan./Feb. 1578/9: *Index of York wills*, 1568–85, p. 50; Dyneley's will (Borthwick Institute, Wills, vol. xxi, f. 272r–v) includes bequests to Edward's children, Reynold and Elizabeth. An inventory of 'heyerlomes' bequeathed by him to the city is in York City records, E 30 (William Giles, *Catalogue of the charters . . . belonging to the Corporation of York* (1909), p. 67). In 1577 Elizabeth the elder was returned as a recusant, and her husband 'Dineleye L. Maior of the Cittie of York' described as worth £200 in goods (James J. Cartwright, *Chapters in the history of Yorkshire* (1872), p. 151; Patrick Ryan (ed.), with J. S. Hansom, 'Diocesan returns of recusants for England and Wales, 1577', in *Miscellanea*, xii (Catholic Record Soc. xxii, 1921), p. 23). 'Elizabeth Dyneley, wyff to one Whawley, a recusant, was buried the xxiiij of May', 1599 (Francis Collins (ed.), *The registers of St. Michael le Belfrey, York*, i, 1565–1653 (Y.P.R.S. i, 1899), p. 84).

⁴ William and Guildford Slingsby, both afterwards knighted, were younger sons of Francis Slingsby of Scriven (c. 1525–1600), M.P. for Knaresborough 1572–86. William (d. 1655–6), of Kippax, educated at Gray's Inn, was M.P. for Knaresborough 1597–1620, and Guildford (1565–1633), educated at Queen's College, Oxford, was Comptroller of the Navy. Their mother Mary was a cousin of Henry Percy, 6th earl of Northumberland (1502 (?) – 1537), president of the Council of the North 1533–7, and so related to the current (9th) earl, Henry (Foster, *Visitations*, p. 113; Dugdale-Clay, ii, pp. 66–68; Geoffrey R. Smith, *Without touch of dishonour: the life and death of Sir Henry Slingsby, 1602–1658* (1968), pedigree after p. viii, and pp. 5, 8, 32, 36–37, 43, 161).

despite letters on Beseley's behalf written to the Earl of Huntingdon, president of the Council of the North, by four lords of the Privy Council. His career seems to have begun by following in the steps of his elder relative. He was M.P. for Ripon in 1553 (*Return*, i, p. 384; Park, p. 65; Smith, p. 39; *Ripon millenary: a record* (1892), appx, p. xiii), and in 1557/8 was returned for Scarborough (*Return*, i, p. 399; Park, p. 188; Smith, p. 45; Hinderwell (1798) p. 135 = (1811) p. 157; Baker, p. 245). In 1556–8 he was solicitor for the city of York (Raine, *York civic records*, v, pp. 142, 149, 151–2, 182).

Edward Beseley was the son of Christopher Beseley, a notary public at York.¹ In 1576 Edward bought the manor of Skelton, near Overton, from Sir William Ingleby and William his son and heir apparent (Collins, *Tudor fines*, ii, p. 82; Ingleby had previously sold Skelton manor to Thomas Mallyurey and Joseph Pulleyn in 1542: *id.* i, p. 105), and it was probably Beseley who erected the manor house with its beamed Elizabethan staircase on the site of an older house (Bootham School Natural History Club, *Two country parishes: the history, archaeology, and natural history of Overton & Skelton* (1956), p. 69). Edward and his wife Bridget sold it in 1613 to their son William 'Beesley' (Brigg, *Stuart fines*, i, p. 204), who with his wife Anne sold it in 1616 to John Cam (*id.* ii, p. 60). At the visitation of 1584 Edward Beseley of Skelton declared his pedigree (Foster, *Visitations*, p. 218).

On 9 July 1558 Edward Beseley was granted lands at Sledmere from the Byland estates, to be held jointly with William Edrington of Great Driffield, his father-in-law's co-tenant at Middlethorpe (*C.Pat.R.* 1557–8, p. 390). On 1 May 1567 James Blount, Lord Mountjoy, and Catherine his wife were given licence to alienate Skewkirk or Scokirk Priory to Edward Beseley (*id.* 1566–9, p. 101), and the fine completing the transaction is dated in the Trinity term, 1567 (Collins, *Tudor fines*, i, p. 340; the year is given as 1566 in Clay, *Suppression*, p. 155). Beseley married as his second wife Bridget, daughter of William Nelson of Skelton (Foster, *Visitations*, p. 218; William occurs c. 1535 as Selby Abbey's bailiff of Fryston at a fee of £1 6s. 8d.: *Val. eccl.* v, p. 13), and in 1573 Edward and 'Brigitt' Beseley sold Scokirk manor to Christopher Nelson (Collins, *Tudor fines*, ii, p. 33; Clay, *Suppression*, p. 155; in 1577 Christopher Nelson and Mary his wife sold the manor to Thomas Harryson: Collins, *op. cit.* ii, p. 107; cp. below, appx VIII h), from whom they purchased some small properties in various parts of York in 1577 (Collins, *op. cit.* ii, p. 105). The Robert Nelson who was bailiff of St. Mary's 1597–1600 was probably a relative.² In 1572 Edward Beseley purchased from Thomas Wentworth and Margaret his wife a small group of properties in York (Collins, *op. cit.* ii, p. 15), and in later years Edward and his wife Bridget sold a number of small properties: in 1590/91 a messuage in York to Ralph Rookbye (Collins, *op. cit.* iii, p. 143), in 1603/4 two messuages in the parish of Bishophill Junior in York to Lawrence Edwardes (Brigg, *op. cit.*, i, p. 5), in 1605 a messuage and lands in Skelton to Arthur Powell and Roger Bayne (*op. cit.* p. 41), in 1606 two messuages with four cottages and land in Skelton to Christopher Scrope and Margaret his wife (*op. cit.* p. 57), and in 1613 three messuages and three gardens in York to their son William 'Beesley' (*op. cit.* p. 204), who in 1614 sold some of them, in Stonegate, to John Lomley of York and Alice his wife.³ These sales by Edward to William in June 1613 and by William to his father's deputy in April 1614 probably mark the terminal dates of the period in which Edward died (his date of death is given as 1613, without qualification, in Bootham School Natural History Club, *Two country parishes . . . Overton & Skelton* (1956), p. 67) at a ripe old age, sixty years after first entering parliament; if the Sandwiths' appointment as deputies to Edward Bee before the end of 1613 (old style?) is in succession to Beseley, then the period may be further

¹ His notarial sign is reproduced in J. S. Purvis, *Notarial signs from the York archiepiscopal records* (1957), pl. 64 (1534). He was appointed clerk and registrar of the Dean and Chapter of York on 12 Nov. 1543 (Y.M.L. D. & C. muniments, Register of leases, &c. 1543–68, f. 7v), and is found in the office in the years 1544–7 (*ib.* Chapter acts, 1543–58, ff. 1r, 18v, 38r, 39r, 44r, 45r; Register of wills of Alne & Tollerton, 1545–53, f. 1r, and Torre's notes, L 1(2) ii, p. 1, from a lost document of 1544). He died 24 December 1553, and, described as 'long time Register to the Chapter', was buried in the nave of York Minster: Thomas Gent, *The antient and modern history of the famous city of York* (1730), p. 129, and Drake, p. 500, misspelling his name as 'Beilby' and 'Beleby' respectively.

² Below, appx IV. Another relative may be the Thomas Nelson, late commissary of the consistory court of York Minster, buried there in 1553 (Drake, p. 495); one of the same name was appointed vicar of St. Martin's, Coney Street, 3 November 1551 (Y.M.L. D. & C. muniments, Chapter acts, 1543–58, f. 59r, describing him as LL.B., though he is not recorded at Oxford or Cambridge; F. Harrison, *St. Martin's church, Coney Street* (1926), p. 55; Drake, p. 327, giving 1550). William Nelson, a cursitor of the court of chancery, purchased a messuage in Brotton in 1615/16 (Brigg, *Stuart fines*, ii, p. 52). The Nelsons were a staunchly recusant family, providing several priests, one of whom was executed for his faith: Joseph Gillow, *A literary and biographical history, or bibliographical dictionary of the English Catholics*, v, pp. 160–161; Henry Foley (ed.), *Records of the English province of the Society of Jesus*, iii (1878), pp. 6, 42; J. H. Pollen (ed.), 'Recusants and priests, March 1588', in *Miscellanea*, xii (Catholic Record Soc. xxii, 1921), pp. 126, 127, 129; Edward Peacock (ed.), *A list of the Roman Catholics in the county of York in 1604* (1872), pp. 22–23, 29, 105, 140; James J. Cartwright, *Chapters in the history of Yorkshire* (1872), p. 72.

³ York City records, E 27, Register of enrolment of deeds, &c., 1600–1622, ff. 221v–222r, indenture of 22 April 12/47 Jac. I/VI (1614), registered 7 April 13/48 Jac. I/VI (1615). Lomley was Edward Beseley's deputy as keeper of the evidences: below, appx VI A (iv).

shortened to end in March 1613/14.¹ On 24 April 1618 William Beseley sold a further two groups of property in Skelton (Borthwick Institute, PL 2, 5, 6).

The Beseleys, like the Nelson family into which Edward married, were largely recusant,² and it was on account of their staunch recusancy that certainly Edward and possibly also Reynold repeatedly found themselves ousted from office and compelled to maintain their position in the courts. From 1572 until 1604 and probably longer Edward and Bridget were in constant trouble at Overton for their 'obstinate recusancy'; they were repeatedly gaoled in York Castle, released for a time on bond in the hope that they would conform, and reimprisoned when they would not.³

1589 (?) – 1599 (–1605) (Sir) Anthony Ashley

Anthony Ashley (1551–1628: *D.N.B.*) was clerk of the Privy Council perhaps from before 1588;⁴ he was knighted in 1596 (Metcalf, p. 137; Shaw, ii, p. 92) and made a baronet in 1622. He was probably appointed to the York clerkship in or shortly before 1589, perhaps consequent upon the latest anti-catholic act of 1586–7 (29 Eliz. c. 6: *S.R.* IV, ii, pp. 771–2), so that the recusant Beseley might be replaced by a reliable man, and it was probably this appointment which led to Beseley's appeal of 1589 to the Privy Council to maintain his rights to the office (above); Ashley evidently won the case. On 21 December 1593 Ashley wrote to the then Sir Robert Cecil, acting secretary of state: 'If any in my absence shall go about to pass any bill touching my part office of the County Clerkship in Yorkshire, I beseech you to make stay thereof till my repair to Court, for I understand there is some such matter intended underhand, taking advantage of some nice quibble in law, to defeat my patent⁵ by non-residence, though of small value, yielding no more than 24 *l.* per ann., yet I would be loth to lose it, both for the disgrace, and for that it was the only help that my father⁶ by his purse procured me towards my maintenance in the place I serve her Majesty when I was first sworn extraordinary and had no manner of wages, fee or reward. Base men and of no desert have enjoyed it without interruption these 70 years,⁷ and therefore [it] would touch me the more if, being her Majesty's servant etc., I should be of less strength and countenance than others' (*H.M.C. Cecil*, iv, p. 439). A Nicholas Hall who occurs as clerk of the county of York in 1597 was probably Ashley's resident deputy (*id.* vii, p. 414).

¹ It was doubtless a different Edward Beseley or Baseley who in 1625, with his wife Ann, late wife and executrix of Elyas Jolly, archbishop Laud's saddler, was granted a warrant, ordered by the Treasurer and procured by Lord Conway, to receive £1173 15s. 2d. out of the exchequer (P.R.O. IND. 6807, August 1625), in 1633 was appointed 'Clerk of the Inrollment of his Majesty's deeds, evidences and wrytings to be inrolled in the Chancery' (IND. 6809, Sept. 1633; *D.K.* xlviii (1887), p. 84), and in 1640 and 1641 occurs in this office, performing his duties and defending his rights (*C.S.P. Dom.* 1640–41, p. 357, and 1641–3, p. 87).

² Father George Beesley, executed for his faith in 1591, was a distant relative: Joseph Gillow, *A literary and biographical history, or bibliographical dictionary of the English catholics*, i, p. 170; John Morris (ed.), *The troubles of our catholic forefathers*, iii (1877), pp. 4, 174.

³ Hugh Aveling, *Northern catholics: the catholic recusants of the North Riding of Yorkshire, 1558–1790* (1966), pp. 54, 80, 88–89, 103, 159, 187, 206, 209, 239, 262, 279; Morris, *op. cit.* iii, pp. 237, 255 (1576); Raine, *York civic records*, vii, pp. 117, 135 (1576); James J. Cartwright, *Chapters in the history of Yorkshire* (1872), p. 151 (1577); M.M.C. Calthrop (ed.), *Recusant roll no. 1, 1592–3* (Catholic Record Soc. xviii, 1916), p. 92 (1592–3); Hugh Bowler (ed.), *Recusant roll no. 2, 1593–4* (Catholic Record Soc. lvii, 1965), p. 215 (1593–4); Edward Peacock (ed.), *A list of the Roman Catholics in the county of York in 1604* (1872), pp. 63–64, 118 (1604); Clare Talbot (ed.), *Miscellanea: recusant records* (Catholic Record Soc. liii, 1961), p. 160.

⁴ 'Before 1588' according to *D.N.B.*, but the earliest grant of the office to him which has occurred is dated December 1593, effective from the previous Annunciation, at a fee of £50 p.a. (P.R.O. IND. 6800, Signet Office Docquet book, 1584–97); the resulting patent was issued on 2 January 1593/4 (P.R.O. C 66/1410) and renewed in April 1594 (*ibid.*, 5 April, and E 403/2453, f. 209r, 1 April). He held the post till 1610, when in May he was granted a pension of the same amount as the fee on his surrender of the office (IND. 6803, Signet Office Docquet book, 1608–1610).

⁵ The patent has not been found (nor the identity of the joint patentee), and this statement by Ashley himself is the only direct indication that one ever existed. *Contra*, the grant of a pension to Ashley and Lake in 1605 (below) specifies Lake's patent but conspicuously makes no mention of Ashley's. Is the mention of an otherwise unknown joint patentee at this date an indication that Beseley had gained a compromise in 1589? Other possible colleagues at this date are Nicholas Hall, who occurs in the office in 1597 (below), but was more probably the resident deputy, and Sir Thomas Smith, during whose life Lake was granted the joint clerkship in 1599 and who acted for Ashley and Lake in maintaining their rights to it in 1605 (below).

⁶ Anthony Ashley of Danerham; his date of death is not given in the fullest available account of the family, Hutchins, iii, pp. 594–5; he had received a patent of 'Domerham', Wilts., for life, on 27 June 1580.

⁷ An evident reference to the catholic Beseleys, though in fact 70 years back from 1593 takes us to 1523, six years before Maunsell's appointment; if this letter is dated to 1599, after Lake's appointment, so explaining the joint patentee mentioned above, than the 70 years refers back exactly to Maunsell's appointment in 1529: but the '70' can hardly be taken so precisely. The thrice repeated mention of a similarly approximate eighty years in a like context in 1601 (below) apparently confirms the date 1593, though there are other slight pointers to 1599: (1) the mention of an otherwise unknown colleague in the present letter would fit better after 1599, but Lake may have had a predecessor as joint clerk with Ashley (above, n.5); (2) the reference in Ashley's letter of January 1600/1 (below) to a letter of the previous year might refer to the present letter, but it may equally refer to another now lost.

1599–1605 Sir Anthony Ashley & (Sir) Thomas Lake

On 4 July 1599, when Ashley had been clerk for (probably) ten years, letters patent (P.R.O. C66/1499, m. 12; cp. H.M.C. *Cecil*, xi, p. 537, cited below; the warrant for the patent was issued 30 June: *C.S.P.Dom.* 1598–1601, p. 224) were issued appointing to the office, during the lives of Thomas and John Smith or the survivor of these two,¹ Thomas Lake (1567 (?) – 1630: *D.N.B.*; to the authorities there cited add Peter Le Neve, *Pedigrees of the knights*, ed. by G. W. Marshall (Harl. Soc. viii, 1873), p. 64, and Sir George J. Armytage (ed.), *Middlesex pedigrees* (Harl. Soc. lxxv, 1914), p. 152; he is given a bad character by Sir Anthony Weldon, *The court and character of King James* (1650), pp. 54–57). The patent does not mention Ashley, but it is clear from subsequent events that the two were henceforth regarded as joint holders of the office. Lake had been a clerk of the signet since at least 1592 (*C.S.P.Dom.* 1591–4, p. 231, 6 June 1592; *D.N.B.* says since c. 1600), in 1603 was knighted (Metcalf, p. 143; Shaw, ii, p. 109) and made Latin secretary to James I, was granted the reversion of the office of making writs of sub-poena in the same year (H.M.C. *Cecil*, xv, p. 375), and was appointed keeper of the records at Whitehall, also in 1603;² he was M.P. in 1604 and 1614, secretary of state in 1616, fell from favour and was dismissed in 1619, and was again M.P. in 1625–6. On 21 January 1600/1 Ashley wrote to Sir Robert Cecil, then secretary of state: ‘I beseech you to renew your last year’s letter to the present sheriff of York³ in the behalf of myself and my fellow Lake, patentees of the county clerkship, for our deputy’s quiet execution of that place as these fourscore years past’ (H.M.C. *Cecil*, xi, p. 17). On 15 February following Ashley wrote again: ‘I most humbly thank you for the letter you of late writ in my favour to the sheriff of York, by which means Mr. Lake and myself are quietly repossessed of the office of the county clerkship whereof then lately our deputy had been by the strong hand dispossessed, contrary to her Majesty’s strict commandment contained in her letters patent formerly observed for the space of 80 years. We understand the sheriff intendeth to importune you by my Lord of Cumberland’s⁴ means to disavow us and to withdraw your favour from us’ (H.M.C. *Cecil*, xi, p. 56). In December 1601 Cecil wrote to William Wentworth, then recently appointed high sheriff of Yorkshire: ‘Whereas her Majesty by her letters patent (which I have seen) dated the 4th of July in the 40th year of her reign, did grant the office of the clerk of the county courts of that county in the name of Mr. Lake and Sir Anthony Ashley, clerk of the Council, who hath for many years had the execution of that office by virtue of like letters patent during the lives of Thomas Smyth and John Smyth and the longer liver, [now] forasmuch as she hath received information that some persons of turbulent spirit about you, for their own private lucre, have a purpose to interpose themselves to disturb the quiet execution of the said office, pretending by some nice point in law that the Sheriff for the time being hath interest in the disposition thereof, I have therefore been commanded by her to let you know that seeing it hath pleased her to make choice of you for her high Sheriff of that county, to whom, (no doubt) such as intend to frustrate her said grant, will purposely address themselves, her Majesty doth expect that you give no way to any such purpose by whomsoever the same shall be attempted, but that you give your best assistance to the said patentees or their deputies, wherein if after admonition given by you any person whatsoever shall use contestation, thereby to derogate from her prerogative, her pleasure is that you forthwith make it known hither, when such course shall be taken to repress the insolence of such as shall oppose themselves as shall be little to their comforts or encouragement to others to attempt the like hereafter: and the rather, because no innovation hath been used in this grant by her Majesty, but a continuation of like patents of the same office made 80 years since without intermission by sundry her progenitors, as appeareth of record, which have accordingly been enjoyed by the patentees (tho’ men of no place, desert or service to the state)’ (H.M.C. *Cecil*, xi, p. 537, endorsed ‘Minute for Sir John [*sic*] Lake to be clerk of the County Courts in Yorkshire’). On 10 February 1604/5 Ashley wrote to Cecil, then viscount Cranbourne: ‘I desire you [*? your*] leave to attend this day to hearing of the cause concerning

¹ Perhaps the Sir Thomas Smith mentioned below. *Quaere*, if this mention of the Smiths means that one of them, probably Thomas, had previously been Ashley’s colleague in the clerkship as mentioned in the latter’s letter of 1593 (above)?

² Appointed 1 June 1603 (patent, 1 Jac. I, p. 18, m. 19, and E 403/2454, f. 9r–v), not 1604 as stated in *D.N.B.* But as early as 1597 Lake and a Dr. James (probably William James, then dean and afterwards bishop of Durham: *D.N.B.*; Thomas James, 1573(?) – 1629, Bodley’s librarian and cataloguer of manuscripts, did not receive his doctorate until 1614: *D.N.B.*) arranged for ‘presses and shelves . . . for the bestowing of her Majesty’s records . . . under the Banqueting House at Whitehall’ (H.M.C. *Cecil*, vii, p. 431). In this capacity he had custody of the papers of several of the royal principal secretaries, which in 1610 he handed over to Levinus Muncke and Thomas Wilson, his successors as ‘keepers and registrars of the papers and records concerning matters of state and council’ (H.M.C. *Cecil*, i, p. iv; their appointment is E 403/2691, no. 77; cp. further D.K. xliii (1882), p. 148 (1629)).

³ From 24 November 1600 to 1 December 1601 the high sheriff was Francis Clifford (1599–1641) (Cooper, p. 354; *List of sheriffs*, p. 163), who in 1605 succeeded his elder brother George to become 4th earl of Cumberland; he became a member of the Council of the North in June 1601 (Reid, p. 496). The recipient of the previous year’s letter was Robert Swift, who was afterwards knighted and acted as sheriff again 1617–18 (Cooper, pp. 354–5; *List of sheriffs*, p. 163; Metcalf, p. 139; John Nichols, *The progresses . . . of King James the First*, i (1828), p. 82).

⁴ George Clifford, 3rd earl of Cumberland (1558–1605: *D.N.B.*), a member of the Council of the North (Reid, p. 495); the sheriff was his younger brother.

⁵ Sheriff from 2 December 1601 to 6 December 1602 (Cooper, p. 354; *List of sheriffs*, p. 163); 1562–1614, of Wentworth Woodhouse and Gawthorpe, created baronet 1611 (Foster, *Yorkshire pedigrees*, ii, W.R. ii).

the county clerkship of Yorkshire referred to the hearing of the Lord Chief Baron.¹ I have entreated Sir Thomas Smith² to supply my absence' (H.M.C. *Cecil*, xvii, p. 51). The case seems to have gone against Ashley and Lake, for at some time evidently a few months later Ashley complained in a petition that 'Sir Richard Gargrave,³ High Sheriff of Yorkshire, thrust him out of the office of Countie Clerkship of York, as an office belonging to the High Sheriff, altho' the Crown had it for 200 years'⁴ (H.M.C. iv (1874), p. 277, MSS of Earl de la Warr, Baron Buckhurst, at Knole Park). It was probably as a result of this petition that in November 1605 they were granted a joint pension of £266 p.a. from the preceding Michaelmas 'in regard of a graunte by the late Queene Elizabeth to the said S^r Thomas of the office of Clerk of the Castle of York & of the County Court of York, w^{ch} he could not enjoy, donne by order from the lords of the Counsell' (P.R.O. IND. 6802, Signet Office Docquet book, 1605-8; the full text of the grant in E 403/2454, ff. 161v-162r). Presumably the clerkship thus passed in 1605 to some nominee of Gargrave's, possibly again Edward Beseley. In June 1610 Ashley received an additional grant of £50 p.a., and in August 1622, on the surrender of the grants of 1605 and 1610, Ashley and his wife Philippa were alone, without Lake, granted £266 p.a. to the death of the survivor and Philippa by herself £50 p.a. for life, from the Nativity of St. John the Baptist (24 June) last (E 403/2455, f. 113r-v).⁵

APPENDIX III B

KEEPERS OF H.M.'s EVIDENCES AT YORK, 1542-1735 (?)

By B. A. ENGLISH AND C. B. L. BARR

(? to 1541	William Maunsell)
1542-55	Reynold Beseley
1555-63	Reynold Beseley and Edward Beseley
1563-99 (-1613? as deputy)	Edward Beseley
1599-1625	Edward Bee
(1613-25	Thomas Sandwith and Henry Sandwith, deputies)
1625-35	Henry Sandwith
1636 - ?	John Ranson
1666-77	Joseph Scudamore
1677-97	Nicholas Battersby
1697-1703	John Blackbeard
1703-1718	William Whitehead
1718-1735 (?)	Francis Taylor

William Maunsell (see above, pp. 373-374) and Reynold and Edward Beseley (see above, pp. 374-377) appear to have acted as keepers of the evidences, at first probably in York Castle and subsequently in St. Mary's Tower, by virtue of their clerkship of York castle and county court (for details see above, pp. 209-212 and Appendix III A). However, while Beseley never again succeeded in acting as clerk after being supplanted in the post by Ashley in 1589, he did continue to some extent to exercise the keepership of the evidences, certainly until the appointment of Bee in 1599, and probably until his death in 1613. In 1592 he signed a list of Kirkstall Abbey deeds delivered to Sir Walter Calverley (below, Appendix VI B.i), and in 1603 he issued a group of Fulford evidences to the then holder of the property (below, Appendix VI B.ii). On two other occasions, undated but after the accession of King James in 1603, he first certified copies of Kirkstall charters made from originals in his custody in 'St. Mary's round tower at York', and at another time his deputy John Lomley, in the presence of Beseley's servant George Johnson, certified a copy of a charter of the abbey of Aumale in his keeping 'apud Turrem beate Marie iuxta muros Ciuitatis Ebor' (below, Appendix VI A.iii, iv).

¹ Sir Thomas Fleming, appointed 27 October 1604; afterwards (1607) Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench (Joseph Haydn, *The book of dignities* (1851), p. 229; Edward Foss, *Biographia juridica: a biographical dictionary of the judges of England* (1870) pp. 274-5).

² 1556 (?) - 1609 (*D.N.B.*), master of requests 1608, knighted 1603, Latin secretary to James I 1603, clerk of the Privy Council 1587 and of parliament 1597; granted the reversion of the secretaryship of the Council of the North in 1603 but never succeeded to the post (Reid, p. 489); cp. also above, p. 378, n.1.

³ Sheriff 5 November 1604 to 1 February 1606 (Cooper, p. 354; *List of sheriffs*, p. 163); of Kinsley and Nostell: Joseph Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, ii (1831), p. 214; Foster, *Visitations*, p. 69. H.M.C. dates the letter to 1621 or 1622, but the mention of Gargrave's shrievalty fixes it to c. 1605.

⁴ There had been similar disputes between the crown and the successive high sheriffs over the right of appointment of the keeper of York Castle in 1549/50 (Cooper, p. 303; *A.P.C.* 1547-50, p. 405; H.M.C. (JP 6), *A calendar of the Shrewsbury and Talbot papers*, i (1966), p. 189) and 1577-8 (Cooper, pp. 305-7; *A.P.C.* 1577-8, pp. 144, 212, 279).

⁵ For pensions occasionally thus granted to an office holder, generally a courtier, and his wife, see G. E. Aylmer, *The King's servants* (1961), p. 165; this is properly not a retirement pension but compensation for the profits of an office regarded as lost under hard circumstances.

This activity of Beseley's in 1603 and afterwards shows that the patents of 1599 and 1605 granting the keepership of the evidences to Edward Bee were ineffective in preventing Beseley from continuing to act as keeper, and reasons have been given above (pp. 211, 376) for supposing that Beseley may have acted as deputy to Bee until his (Beseley's) death in 1613.

1599–1625 Edward Bee

Edward Bee, gent., was appointed to the office 'custodis domus evidenciarum nostri iuxta scitum nuper monasterii beate marie iuxta muros civitatis Ebor', in succession to Edward Beseley, by letters patent of 16 March 1598/9 (P.R.O. LR 1/192 [191], f. 124r). Bee's patent was renewed on 29 April 1605. He was then described as 'vnus dapiferorum camere nostre', and given in addition the post of 'clericus curiarum tentarum apud scitum dicti nuper monasterii beate marie iuxta muros civitatis Ebor'. His salary was to comprise 40s. p.a. as keeper of the house of evidences, out of the revenues and profits of the law in the county of York, and 13s. 4d. p.a. as clerk of the courts, out of the revenues and profits of the late monastery, both salaries being payable half-yearly at Michaelmas and Lady Day by the hand of the receiver general of Yorkshire (LR 1/193, ff. 48v–49r, and LR 1/195, f. 149r–v; the fact that Bee and his successors were paid out of Augmentations funds does not in itself prove that they were officers of the Augmentations: 'The treasurer of the augmentations acted as a general paymaster for the crown' (Richardson, *Tudor chamber administration*, p. 325)). Both Bee's patents and those of his successors were made on the recommendation of, drawn by warrant of, and witnessed by the Treasurer and/or Chancellor and Sub-Treasurer of the Exchequer. The posts of keeper of the house of evidences and clerk of the courts of St. Mary's were regularly combined from this date, as Beseley and his predecessors apparently held the keepership by virtue of their clerkship of the courts of York county. Bee was paid the fee of 40s. as 'keeper of the house in which the evidences of the Lady Queen are kept next to the site of the said late monastery' in the receiver's account for 1601–2 (LR 6/122/10), and continued to hold the posts until 1624–5, when he is named as the predecessor of the next patentee.

Evidence has been given above showing that in 1603 and probably until 1613 Edward Beseley acted as keeper of the evidences, probably in the first place in Bee's despite and afterwards as his deputy. Bee's deputies after 1613 are noticed below. No document drawn up by Bee as keeper is known.

The recorded pedigree of Bee of Skeffling Hall in Holderness, descended from Bee of St. Bees, Cumberland, begins with an Edward Bee who married in 1636 and shows Edward as the name of the eldest son in six successive generations; two Edwards in the seventeenth century were barristers and serjeants at law. Was Edward Bee, keeper of the house of evidences, an earlier member of this family?¹

1613–25 Thomas and Henry Sandwith, deputies to Edward Bee

In 1613 Thomas Sandwith and his son Henry were jointly appointed deputies to Edward Bee (Lincoln Sandwith, *The Sandwiths of the city of York* (Usambara, Tanganyika, 1921), p. 5; an earlier and much less full version of this pedigree, by Lionel Sandwith, dated 1899, is MS 417a in the Library of the Y.A.S.), and they effectively performed the duties of the keepership for the remainder of Bee's term of office. Thomas, styled 'keeper of His Majesty's evidences in St Mary's Tower' or the like, certified copies of documents in and about 1618–19 (below, Appendix VI A.v–viii), and a copy previously certified by Beseley was re-certified when the original was in Sandwith's charge (below, Appendix VI A.iv). On a number of occasions, acting on warrants directed to him by the Treasurer of England,² he delivered evidences out of the Tower to individuals who were presumably the then owners of the lands to which the documents related, and drew up inventories of them; there are dated instances from the years 1615, 1616, and 1617 (below, Appendix VI B.iii–vi).

On 8 August 1623 Roger Dodsworth took notes 'In quodam Rentale' (and 'In quadam carta') 'in custodia Thome Sandwith generosi custodis Archiuorum Regis in turri sancte marie Ebor', and he made subsequent use of these records in 1630/31 and 1635/6 (1623: MS Dods. 125, f. 105r–v, and Denholm-Young and Craster, p. 20; 1630/31: MS Dods. 156, ff. 1, 65, and Denholm-Young and Craster, pp. 14, 21; 1635/6: MS Dods. 94, f. 10, and Denholm-Young and Craster, pp. 14, 26). Dodsworth will have had ready access to the archives, as he writes of 'My cosen Sandwith keeper of the Records in St. Maries tower Ebor' (MS Dods. 125, f. 148r). Dodsworth's mother was a Sandwith, Eleanor, daughter of Ralph Sandwith of Newton Grange, Oswaldkirk (Dugdale-Davies, p. 287; Dugdale-Clay, ii, p. 347; MSS Dods. 3, f. 101r, and 61, f. 128r: Dugdale gives Eleanor as Helen and Newton Grange as Hutton Grange). Dodsworth appears to be using the word 'cosen' in its widest sense, as the existing pedigrees and other genealogical evidence of the Sandwiths show no link between the York and Oswaldkirk families of the name, but the assumption of some connection based on the coincidence of names will have been a prudent

¹ Poulson, *Holderness*, ii, pp. 501–3. In 1665–6 Edward Bee of Skeffling was one of the many Yorkshire gentry who ignored Dugdale's summons to prove their arms and pedigrees: Dugdale-Davies, p. xv. A John Bee was bailiff of 'Myntyng' for Mount Grace c. 1535 at a fee of £2 (*Val. eccl.* v, p. 85). In view of the many officials of St. Mary's who lived at Skelton and Overton it is relevant to mention that the parish registers of these villages record that a George Bee married Mable Dobson at Overton in August 1597 and was church-warden of Skelton in 1600 and of Overton in 1602 and 1606.

² No original warrant has occurred, and no Treasury warrant books (T 51) before 1660 survive, except for the irregular 'Miscellaneous books' of Treasurers Laud and Juxon, 1620–41: cp. P.R.O. *Guide* (1963), ii, pp. 294–5.

one for Dodsworth to make when seeking regular access to the records in Thomas and Henry Sandwith's custody.¹

The Sandwiths of York had a close and long-standing connection with St. Mary's Abbey. In 1519 Richard Sandwith married Elizabeth Tyndall, a relative of Edmund Thornton, abbot of St. Mary's from 1507 to 1521 (J. Solloway in V.C.H., *Yorkshire*, iii (1913), p. 111), and the copyhold of the manor of Gate Fulford, one of the abbey's possessions, was settled on the marriage and issue. Richard died in 1541 (will dated 11 May, proved 15 June: Borthwick Institute, Wills, vol. xi, f. 541; *Index of York wills*, 1514–53, p. 153), survived by Elizabeth, and the estate descended to the issue of her second marriage, though their eldest son Richard Sandwith attempted to regain the copyhold in the Court of Augmentations. He failed, but in 1612 his nephews Edmund and Thomas were successful in regaining Gate Fulford in the Court of the Exchequer. Two of the younger Richard's brothers, Edmund (father of the Edmund who won back Gate Fulford) and William, held property at Whitgift, another possession of St. Mary's. A fourth brother, Robert, stayed in York, where he practised the trade of bower. He was admitted freeman in 1551–2, served as chamberlain in 1571, and died in 1588 (Collins, *York freemen*, i, p. 272, and ii, p. 12; will dated 2 April, proved 20 May: Borthwick Institute, Wills, vol. xxiii, ff. 794v–795r; *Index of York wills*, 1585–94, p. 108). His second son, Thomas, baptised at All Saints', Pavement, on 2 December 1561 (T. M. Fisher (ed.), *The parish register of All Saints' Church, Pavement . . . York*, i (Y.P.R.S. c, 1935), p. 20), was the keeper of the records. He appears to have collected a considerable fortune, though he was not in trade, and he acquired land in many parts of Yorkshire (e.g. Brigg, *Stuart fines*, i, pp. 34 (York), 38 (Ripon), 57 (Eastrington and Owstrop), 79 (York); *id.* ii, p. 52 (York)). Some light is thrown on this by a hostile witness in a case in chancery in 1603, who speaks of 'Thomas Sandwith being a man of very hard conscience and one greatly given to extremities and who hath advanced his estate by taking of forfeitures.' He was associated with his cousin Edmund in regaining the estate of Gate Fulford in 1612. In 1610 Thomas Sandwith was one of the witnesses to an indenture relating to lands at Sheriff Hutton (P.R.O. LR 1/201, ff. 309v–310r, 26 June 1610). He was an official of the Council of the North. In 1613, together with his wife Margaret, he sold a messuage in Jubbergate, York, to William Wright of York, baker, for £25 (York City records, E27, Register of enrolments of leases, &c., 1600–1622, f. 163r–v, 24 April 1613). At the coronation of Charles I he refused a knighthood, paying £15 composition. In 1626 he was included in a list of York men suitable to receive a privy seal (i.e. a forced loan) (*A.P.C.* 1625–6, p. 432, describing him as 'in St. Margretts', doubtless a clerk's error for 'St. Marygate'). He lived in Marygate, close by the abbey and the tower, probably in the 'house in the suburbs of York' left to him by his father, and was buried there at St. Olave's on 9 March 1633/4 (Mrs. F. Harrison & Walter J. Kaye (ed.), *The parish register of St. Olave, York*, i (Y.P.R.S. lxxiii, 1923), p. 92; his will, dated 3 February 1633/4, was proved 17 February 1634: Borthwick Institute, Wills, vol. xlii B, f. 377r; *Index of York wills*, 1627–36, p. 73). He had thirteen children,² one of whom was Henry Sandwith.

1625–35 Henry Sandwith

Henry Sandwith was baptised at St. Olave's on 2 October 1598 (Harrison & Kaye, *op. cit.* p. 52). In 1613 he was appointed joint deputy with his father to Edward Bee, keeper of his Majesty's records in St. Mary's Tower, and on 18 June 1625 he was granted a patent appointing him to be Bee's successor as keeper of the house of evidences and clerk of the courts at fees of 40s. and 13s. 4d. p.a. respectively (P.R.O. LR 1/200, f. 163r–v; the entry is stated to have been examined by William 'Mynterne', keeper of the Augmentations records (above, Appendix I)). The receiver's account for 1628–9 shows the fee of 40s. paid to 'Thomas' Sandwith in accordance with 'his' patent of 18 June 1625 (LR 6/122/12). Fourteen copies of records certified by Henry Sandwith are known, none of them dated (below, Appendix VI A. xi–xxiv). He lived at Gilridding Grange, Naburn, which his father had bought from Ralph 'Babthrope' in 1602 and settled on Henry at the time of his marriage in 1631. He died in October–November 1635, and administration was granted to his widow, Frances (Lincoln Sandwith, *op. cit.* p. 7, citing an *inquisitio post mortem*, says that he died on 1 November; but according to the act book administration was granted on 24 October: Borthwick Institute, Act books, Bulmer, f. 74r; *Index of York Wills*, 1627–36, p. 240).

1636 – ? John Ranson

Henry Sandwith's successor in both offices was John Ranson, appointed by letters patent on 8 February 1635/6 (LR 1/203, f. 217v; summarised in the volume of ministers' accounts, 1626–35, LR 8/343). On 31 March 1636 he examined and re-certified two copies of records made during Henry Sandwith's keepership, and some time before 1644 he certified another copy (below, Appendix VI A. xxiii–xxv). He is

¹ Cp. Hunter, *Three catalogues*, pp. 65–66. Yet not all Dodsworth's notes from St. Mary's Tower (and other York archives) were of his own collecting: some were taken by Dodsworth from the collections of his fellow antiquary Richard Gascoigne (1579–1661?), e.g. MS Dods. 127, f. 7r 'In mr Gascoignes book marked with C . . . out of ye old torn Abbey booke in st maries tower fol. 19', f. 156r 'Gasc. lib. pedegradum et lib. A.C. 28 out of ye old torne coucher of St. maries abbey in Yorke in the tower there', f. 157v 'Gasc. lib. K fo 11 out of Roche chest in St. maryes tower in York'. On the Oswaldkirk family of Sandwith see J. McDonnell (ed.), *A history of Helmsley* (1963), pp. 254–271.

² To the twelve given by Lincoln Sandwith, *The Sandwiths of the city of York* (1921), pp. 4–6, from whom much of the above is taken, add an elder Robert, died an infant and buried at St. Olave's on 6 March 1590/91; the Robert who survived was baptised there on 12 August 1603: Harrison & Kaye, *op. cit.* pp. 43, 56. Timothy (no. 5 in Lincoln Sandwith's list) was buried at Skelton on 31 January 1649/50 (parish register).

doubtless the John Ranson, notary public, who on 21 April 1619 was appointed registrar and actuary of the Dean and Chapter of York, registrar of the consistory, exchequer and prerogative courts at York *sede vacante*, and registrar of the deanery of York, jointly with Thomas Emondson and, in the case of the third office, with Elias Wright as third co-registrar (Y.M.L., D. & C. muniments, Chapter acts, 1565–1634, ff. 478r–v and 561v–562v; E(d)mondson's wife, since c. 1610–11, was Susan, daughter of a James Ranson of Fitling in Holderness, presumably a relative of John Ranson: Foster, *Visitations*, p. 513). In fact Ranson wrote the Chapter Acts, describing himself as joint registrar, from 18 June 1617, and continued to do so regularly until 5 February 1640/41, when he was succeeded by Lawrence Teile. Ranson kept accounts as deputy to Thomas Emondson, chamberlain of the Minster, from 1623 to 1631 (Y.M.L., D. & C. muniments, Chamberlains' account book, 1614–32), and was himself appointed chamberlain (and registrar of the archdeaconry of Cleveland) on 23 February 1631/2 (Y.M.L., D. & C. muniments, Chapter acts, 1565–1634, f. 712r); a single account roll of Ranson as chamberlain survives for 1634 (Y.M.L., D. & C. muniments, Chamberlains' rolls, E 1/135; also entered in Register of leases, &c., 1624–40, f. 184r, printed in James Raine (ed.), *The fabric rolls of York Minster* (S.S. xxxv, 1859), p. 321, and summarised by Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 522, 'Rawson'). The volume of Chapter Acts for the years 1565–1634 has an elaborate and careful index, signed 'Labor actus allevat agendos, Jo: Ranson Reg[ist]rarius 1640' (Y.M.L., D. & C. muniments; a similar 'index', actually a calendar, prefixed to the York 'Liber Domesday', is signed 'Labor actus allevat agendos, Cha: Fairfax': Y.M.L., D. & C. muniments, L 2 (2) a). In the same hand are the index to the Dean and Chapter's Register of leases, &c., vol. iv, 1624–40, and part of the combined index to vols. i–iii, 1508–1543–1587–1624, bound in vol. ii (Y.M.L., D. & C. muniments, W. a–d).

On 1 September 1636 John Ranson leased from the vicars choral of York Minster a tenement in Goodramgate for forty years, and on 7 March 1641/2 the lease was renewed to him (Y.M.L., Vicars choral muniments, Subchanters' books, i, 1628–97); the rent roll for 1641–2 shows Ranson paying the rent (*id.* Chamberlains' rolls, Vn 95, 1641–2). He is probably the John Ranson of Beverley, notary public, administration of whose estate was granted on 15 July 1662 (Borthwick Institute, Act books, Harthill, 1660–65, f. 100; *Index of York wills*, 1660–65, p. 134; more likely than the John Ranson of Fitling in Holderness whose father was granted administration of his estate in 1655 and who himself died, leaving a widow, Ellenor, in 1656: *Index of York wills*, 1649–60, pp. 136, 157); possibly he is also the John 'Rauson' who served as sheriff of Hull in 1659–60 and was buried at Holy Trinity, Hull, on 16 November 1661 (George Hadley, *A new and complete history of Kingston-upon-Hull* (1788), p. 872; John Tickell, *The history of Kingston upon Hull* (1798), p. 679; James J. Sheahan, *History of . . . Kingston-upon-Hull* (1866), p. 306; Basil N. Reckitt, *Charles the First and Hull* (1952), p. 138; the burial in *Y.A.J.* xiv, p. 207); he left a widow, Ellenor, and a son, James, who was a merchant at Hull and was buried there at Holy Trinity on 27 August 1678 (*Y.A.J.* xiv, p. 209).

Ranson seems to have been as conscientious a custodian of the records in St. Mary's Tower as he was scribe and indexer of the Chapter archives. A cartulary of St. Mary's Abbey itself doubtless then in Ranson's custody in the Tower and now preserved in York Minster Library (MS XVI. A. 1; see above, p. 219), has an index in his distinctive clear hand. He had not long been in office when he petitioned to have delivered into his charge a number of 'coucher books', all of Yorkshire houses, which were known to be in private hands, the petition being answered in 1637 by a warrant from William Juxon, bishop of London and Lord High Treasurer (below, Appendix VII A).

1666–77 Joseph Scudamore

On 6 July 1666 the offices of keeper of the house of evidences and clerk of the courts or understeward of St. Mary's were granted to Joseph Scudamore (P.R.O. PRO 30/32/52, pp. 120, 122; *C.Tr.B.* V, 1676–9, i, pp. 787–8; John Ranson is the only predecessor named in the patent, LR 1/206, f. 28r), grandson of the Thomas Scudamore who had been receiver for Yorkshire from 1591 to 1621 (above, pp. 347–350; for the relationship see Dugdale-Clay, iii, pp. 55–56; and Ralph Thoresby, *Ducatus Leodiensis*, 2nd ed., by T. D. Whitaker (1816), pp. 36–37). In his will, made on 3 March 1676/7 and proved on 6 July 1677, he describes himself as of Ripon and asks to be buried at 'Haughtby' (Holtby) (Borthwick Institute, Wills, vol. lvii, f. 452; *Index of York wills*, 1673–80, p. 102).

1677–97 Nicholas Battersby

A petition for Nicholas Battersby to succeed Scudamore was received by the Treasurer on 12 November and granted on 17 November 1677 (P.R.O. PRO 30/32/52, pp. 120, 122; *C.Tr.B.* V, 1676–9, i, pp. 780, 787–8; Battersby's patent is in LR 1/206, f. 263v; his fees were 40s. and 13s. 4d.). In August 1685 Sir John Reresby, governor of York and member of Parliament for the city, who had his residence in the Abbey (below, Appendix IV), made a complaint, the nature of which is not recorded, against Christopher Hildyard, steward, and 'Rich:' (doubtless a mistake for 'Nich:') Battersby, clerk of the liberty of St. Mary's (P.R.O. T 27/9, p. 128; *C.Tr.B.* VIII, 1685–9, i, pp. 291, 311). Nicholas Battersby of Gillygate was churchwarden of St. Olave's in 1663, and his children were baptised there (Nicholas, 11 March 1668/9; John, 4 May 1671; Elizabeth, 4 August 1672); a Nicholas Battersby is entered as buried on 2 April 1691, but probably this is the son and not the father, as Jane wife (not widow) of Nicholas Battersby was buried on 9 November 1693 (St. Olave's parish registers).¹

¹ One if not two of the name served in the parliamentary army in 1642 (Edward Peacock (ed.), *The army lists of the roundheads and cavaliers . . . 1642* (1863), pp. 49, 55, 67). A William Battersby is said to have been admitted clerk of the court of the Dean and Chapter of York by letters patent of 21 November 1677 (Drake, appx, p. lxx), and his will was proved 12 May 1694, administration being granted to his brother John and his sister Elizabeth, wife of Christopher Scotton (Borthwick Institute, Probate Act book, York, 1685–1722).

1697–1703 John Blackbeard

On 24 September 1697 letters patent were issued granting the offices of keeper and clerk to John Blackbeard, successor to Joseph Scudamore and Nicholas Battersby (P.R.O. T 54/18, p. 60; *C.Tr.B.* XVIII, 1703, p. 331; York City records, E 33, p. 681; fees, 40s. and 13s. 4d.); a *fiat* for the issue of the letters patent was signed in the Treasury on 8 March 1697/8 (P.R.O. T 54/16, p. 16; *C.Tr.B.* XIII, 1697–8, p. 267). Blackbeard's accounts for 1678–9 survive (York City records, E 33, pp. 732–3). In April 1696 he was appointed to be one of the four attorneys before the sheriffs' court (*id.* E 34, f. 235r). On 8 April 1700 he summoned a meeting of twelve men, apparently described as attorneys of St. Mary's court, plus Stephen Godfrey, chief bailiff of St. Mary's; one of the twelve was John Tomlinson (*id.* E 33, p. 734). In 1701 (?) Blackbeard complained that he and Stephen Godfrey, the chief bailiff, were deprived of their fees and profits by Benjamin Norcliffe, the deputy steward (*id.* pp. 738–9). On his death his place as attorney before the sheriffs' court was petitioned for by Darcy Preston (*id.* E 34, f. 245r, undated). He may be a son of Nicholas Blackbeard, who was chosen town clerk of York on 29 January 1645/6 and thereupon compounded for his freedom of the city (York City records, House books, vol. xxxvi, ff. 169v–170r), and on 29 May 1671, the day of his burial, was succeeded after his death by William Kitchingman (*id.* xxxviii, f. 65r; F. Collins (ed.), *The registers of St. Michael le Belfrey, York*, ii (Y.P.R.S., xi, 1901), p. 57).

1703–1718 William Whitehead

Whitehead's petition to succeed John Blackbeard as clerk of the courts and keeper of the evidences and Stephen Godfrey as bailiff and collector of profits was referred to the Surveyor General on 7 April 1703 (P.R.O. IND. 4622, p. 46; *C.Tr.B.* XVIII, 1703, p. 221), the Supervisor General gave the Auditor's particular on 3 June (P.R.O. T 54/18, p. 46), a warrant for the grant was issued on 6 July (P.R.O. *loc. cit.*; *C.Tr.B.* XVIII, 1703, p. 331), particulars were sent on 21 July (P.R.O. T 54/18, pp. 60–61), and the grant was made at a consolidated fee of £8 18s. 4d. on 29 October 1703 (P.R.O. IND. 4623 [formerly T 4/9], p. 368; *C.Tr.B.* XXXII, 1718, ii, p. 148). Whitehead's accounts as bailiff of St. Mary's and of Whitgift and Airmyn for the years 1703–6 survive, and show him receiving annual fees of £5 as bailiff of St. Mary's, 45s. as bailiff of Whitgift and Airmyn, 40s. as keeper of the house of H.M.'s evidences, and 13s. 4d. as clerk of the courts, a total given as £8 18s. 4d., actually £9 18s. 4d.; of £26 16s. calculated as due for the three years ending 29 October 1706 he had received £14 7s. 3d., being the approximate residue of his total receipts of £32 10s. after the payment of £17 10s. in fees to Thomas Adams, the steward (P.R.O. LR 6/220). The important feature of these accounts is that they show that the income was not even nearly sufficient to pay the fees of the steward and bailiff. On the death of Queen Anne and succession of George I (1 August 1714), Whitehead petitioned for the grant to be renewed, 13–25 October (*C.Tr.P.* 1714–18, p. 44), but no fresh grant seems to have been made, for on 10 January 1717/18 a rival petition by John Colton¹ declared the office void by the death of the Queen and alleged, inaccurately, that Whitehead 'hath not rendered any account thereof to the Auditor since' his grant in 1703 (P.R.O. IND. 4634 [formerly T 4/20], p. 75; *C.Tr.B.* XXXII, 1718, ii, p. 4). Colton's petition was referred on 11 January (P.R.O. IND. 4623, p. 368; *C.Tr.B.* XXXII, 1718, ii, p. 148), the Auditor's report was received and the petition granted on 3 March (P.R.O. IND. 4634, p. 96; *C.Tr.B.* XXXII, 1718, ii, p. 20), but for some reason it was respited on 27 March (P.R.O. IND. 4634, p. 115; *C.Tr.B.* XXXII, 1718, ii, p. 29). Probably it was this William Whitehead who on 6 August 1731 resigned his position as one of the four attorneys before the sheriffs' court at York, petitioning that his son Thomas might succeed him (York City records, E 34, ff. 229r, 231r). On 6 March 1732 William, described as attorney at law, was elected alderman of York, he served as lord mayor in 1734–5, died 2 or 3 August 1742, aged 80, and was buried at St. Michael's Spurriergate (Francis Drake, *Eboracum*, new ed., 1788, ii, pp. 139, 246; Y.M.L., MS XVI.D.7, Thomas Beckwith's *Annals of York*, 1785).

1718 – 1735 (?) Francis Taylor

The appointments of bailiff and collector of rents and estreats of courts in place of Joseph Scudamore, Nicholas Battersby, John Blackbeard and William Whitehead at a fee of £4, bailiff and collector of perquisites of the courts of Whitgift and Airmyn in place of Whitehead at a fee of 45s., keeper of the evidences at a fee of 40s., and clerk of the courts at a fee of 13s. 4d., were granted by letters patent dated 15 July and enrolled 30 September 1718 to Francis Taylor (P.R.O. LR 1/208, ff. 53r–54v), who already from 1695 to 1715 had acted as steward of Sir William Robinson, lessee of the King's Manor, for this and other estates (below). On 25 May 1720 Thomas Adams, steward, and Francis Taylor, bailiff, of H.M.'s manor of St. Mary's near the city of York, submitted a memorial to Hugh Cholmeley, surveyor general to the Lords of the Treasury, regarding the state of repair of the gaol and court house of the manor; Cholmeley submitted his report, showing that the jurisdiction was very extensive and repairs were necessary, and giving an estimate for the repairs (P.R.O. T 1/228, art. 6, ff. 32r–37v; *C.Tr.P.* 1720–28, p. 11, the latter without the names of the steward and bailiff). Taylor may be assumed to have held the office, in name at least, until his death.

¹ Three times in 1705–6 John Colton witnessed the payment by Whitehead to Adams of instalments of the latter's salary as steward (P.R.O. LR 6/220). In 1737 John Nowell was appointed as successor of Mrs. Colton as distributor of stamps for the City of York (*C.Tr.B. & P.* 1735–8, p. 335).

Francis Taylor¹ was baptised at Skelton on 9 October 1662 (5 Oct., Overton register), the only surviving son of the six children of Roger Taylor and Hannah Gardiner, married at Skelton 29 April 1658. Roger appears to have been a dealer in cattle, sheep, and swine – which he is alleged not to have been above stealing – successful enough to become one of the wealthiest tenants in the village (Leeds City Archives, NH 2151A, 1705 etc.) and to have at least one servant ('Ann Ibson, servant to Rog: Taylor of Skelton, buried' at Overton, 20 March 1679/80); he was churchwarden at Overton in 1668. Hannah may have been the daughter of a dairy farmer, worth barely 40s. when he first settled at Skelton, and is described as selling butter-milk, cheese, and whey daily in York market and as carrying on as a whore. Hannah was buried at Skelton 7 August 1684, Roger 18 February 1716/17. Of their other children four died young: Philadelphia I, named after the lady of the manor, Mrs. Atkinson (Dugdale-Davies, pp. 157, 364; Dugdale-Clay, iii, pp. 407, 485), born 9 and baptised at Skelton 13 March 1659/60, buried there 13 (12, Overton) September 1661; Michael, born 10 and baptised at Skelton 18 (16, Overton) September 1660, buried at Skelton 19 (17, Overton) the same month; a stillborn daughter buried at Skelton 26 September 1661 (Overton register); and Elizabeth, baptised 21 July 1667 and buried 10 March 1667/8 (both these dates in both registers). Apart from Francis there survived only Philadelphia II, baptised at Skelton 13 August 1665, who married William Dawson and had an only child Hannah (of whom more below), baptised at Overton 27 February 1695/6; William, who made his will 16 December 1721 (original in Borthwick Institute), was buried 7 April 1722, and Philadelphia 27 December 1727; their commemorative stones are in the south aisle of Skelton church.

Francis Taylor, after attending school in York, appears to have found two wealthy patrons. One was his father's landlord, Sir William Robinson (1655–1736) of Newby Hall (described below as lessee of the King's Manor). The other was one T—son, probably the 'Edward Thompson the elder Esq. of Settrington' and Marston to whom Taylor eventually bequeathed £100 'in memory of the many favours I formerly received from him' (born in York 1670, buried at Settrington 3 October 1734: F. Collins (ed.), *The register of . . . Settrington* (Y.P.R.S. xxxviii, 1910), p. 145²), or, slightly less probably, a relative of the Mrs. Grace Thompson, widow of Leonard Thompson, goldsmith (sheriff of York 1706–7, died 1711: Drake, p. 367; R. B. Cook (ed.), *The parish registers of St. Martin's, Coney Street* (Y.P.R.S. xxxvi, 1909), pp. 145, 168; Borthwick Institute, Wills, lxvii, ff. 384v–385r), under Grace's will, dated 27 November 1719, Taylor received the Thompson residence in Coney Street, by the Mansion House, and her property at Bootham (Davies, *Walks*, p. 57; Borthwick Institute, Wills, lxxvi, ff. 228v–230r), described in Taylor's own will as a cockpit house and bowling green outside Bootham Bar; already in 1710 Taylor is said to have procured and sold some property of 'Lenny's Wife' (*The upstart*, p. 6). Edward and Grace Thompson appear not to be related. Edward Thompson's mother was Susannah, daughter of Thomas Lovell of Skelton, her first husband was William Belt of Overton, and she died in 1701 (Foster, *Yorkshire pedigrees*, iii, N. & E.R., Thompson of Escrick and Marston); Belt's elder brother Robert married Frances, an aunt of Taylor's other patron Sir William Robinson (Dugdale-Davies, pp. 152, 157, and Dugdale-Clay, ii, pp. 61–62, and iii, p. 407, with Foster, *Yorkshire pedigrees*, ii, W.R., Robinson), so that Taylor's two patrons were themselves related.

In April 1700 Taylor was married in York Minster to Anne, eldest daughter of 'Sir' Thomas Hutton³ of Nether Poppleton (1638/9–1704: R. H. Skaife, 'The register of marriages in York Minster', in *Y.A.J.* ii (1873), p. 120; Hutton pedigrees in J. Raine (ed.) *The correspondence of Dr. Matthew Hutton* (S.S. xvii, 1843), p. 47; Foster, *Yorkshire pedigrees*, iii, N. & E.R.; Dugdale-Davies, p. 173; Dugdale-Clay, i, pp. 283–5). The satirical poems call her a presbyterian and a dissenter, and add that her parents, uncles and aunts were all presbyterians too, and while the fact of her marriage in the Minster renders her convictions doubtful it is certain that she will have been brought up a presbyterian or at least a non-conformist in the family home at Poppleton. Certainly her grandfather Richard Hutton (1613–48), though himself grandson of Archbishop Matthew Hutton, had a sister Elizabeth, born 17 February 1619, whose second husband was the presbyterian minister Edward Bowles (1613–62: *D.N.B.*; Venn, I, i, p. 192; B. Dale, *Yorkshire Puritanism* (1917), pp. 23–33), one of the four preachers appointed in 1649 to serve the city of York (A. Raine (ed.), 'Proceedings of the Commonwealth Committee for York and the Ainsty', in *Miscellanea*, vi (Y.A.S. R.S. cxviii, 1953), pp. 26–30). Anne's father 'Sir' Thomas Hutton had welcomed into the Poppleton house a series of nonconformist ministers – Oliver Heywood, who visited there in 1671 and 1677 (J. H. Turner (ed.), *The Rev. Oliver Heywood . . . his autobiography, diaries*, i (1882), p. 281, and ii (1881), p. 44); Thomas Birdsall or Burdsall, recorded in the parish register as dying in the house in February 1687/8 (O. Heywood's 'Northowram Register', *The nonconformist register*, ed. J. H. Turner (1881), p. 110; Venn, I, iv, p. 26; A. G. Matthews, *Calamy revised* (1934), p. 57); and John Hull

¹ Statements about Taylor not otherwise attributed are deduced from the two satirical poems about him, *The upstart* and *Don Francisco Sutorioso* (both 1710), mentioned below; under the insults and the smut there is an undergrowth of sound biographical fact. Events recorded in the parish registers of both Skelton and Overton are not always given under the same date in each. Help beyond adequate acknowledgement has been given by the Rev. H. E. C. Stapleton, rector of Skelton, whose more readable account of Taylor is to appear in his forthcoming history of Skelton. The Rev. A. M. Smith, vicar of Shipton, kindly made the Overton registers available.

² Will in Borthwick Institute, Wills, lxxxiii, ff. 437v–438r.

³ Regularly called 'Sir' in accounts of the Hutton family, but no grant of knighthood has been traced; in the Poppleton parish registers and the York Dean and Chapter lease books, in both of them up to and after his death, he is invariably called 'esquire', and Dugdale-Clay, i, p. 284, is doubtless correct in following suit.

(Heywood, *The nonconformist register*, p. 112)¹ – who came partly at the invitation of 'Sir' Thomas's mother Dorothy (1617–87), daughter of the puritan leader Ferdinando 2nd baron Fairfax; her death is recorded not only in the Poppleton parish register but also in Heywood's *The nonconformist register* (p. 72), where she is described as 'a gracious woman'. Anne's uncle Richard Hutton, 'Sir' Thomas's younger brother, who lived at Pudsey, was so staunch a nonconformist that he is even described as 'Rev.', though he can hardly have been more than a lay preacher (J. G. Miall, *Congregationalism in Yorkshire* (1868), p. 336; S. Rayner, *The history of Pudsey* (1887), pp. 79, 83); Richard took an active part in obtaining licences for preaching houses in 1690–95 (Rayner, *op. cit.* pp. 82, 83; Heywood, *The nonconformist register*, pp. 151–2), and his wife, Anne's aunt, whom he married in 1682, was Beatrix, daughter of the presbyterian minister James Sale (disguised as 'James Pudsey' in Raine's and Foster's pedigrees of the Hutton family) of Pudsey (1619–79: Dale, *op. cit.* pp. 135–7; Rayner, *op. cit.* pp. 51, 57, 81 and in *The Bradford Antiquary*, i [1880] (1888), pp. 34–35; E. Parsons, *The civil . . . history of Leeds* (1834), ii, p. 7; J. H. Turner, *Non-conformity in Idle* (1876), p. 16); Richard and Beatrix died in 1708 and 1709 respectively (S. Margerison (ed.), *The registers of . . . Calverley*, iii (1887), pp. 169–171; Rayner, *Pudsey*, p. 159, and in *The Bradford Antiquary*, p. 35). They had a son, also Richard, who at Hopton in 1710 married Mary, daughter of another nonconformist minister, Richard Thorpe; she died in 1723, leaving money to seven nonconformist chapels in Yorkshire, and he in 1729 (Rayner, *loc. cit.*; Miall, *op. cit.* p. 336; J. Crabtree, *A concise history . . . of Halifax* (1836), p. 524; Matthews, *op. cit.* p. 485; Heywood, *The nonconformist register*, pp. 30, 146; Dale, *op. cit.* pp. 152–3).

Francis and Anne Taylor had two children, neither of whom survived: a stillborn child, of unstated sex, buried at St. Michael le Belfrey on 11 February 1700/1701, and a son Edward, baptised at the same church 5 September 1702 (F. Collins (ed.), *The registers of St. Michael le Belfrey*, ii (Y.P.R.S. xi, 1901), pp. 142, 99), who died between 18 December 1725 and 28 October 1726 (Y.M.L., D. & C. muniments, Register of leases, &c. 1702–1728, ff. 277r and 289v).

Francis Taylor was apprenticed in the law, possibly to George Pricket or Marmaduke Pr[ick]et, successive recorders of York 1688–1700–1713 (Drake, p. 368), the latter of whom is one of the legatees named in the will of Leonard Thompson in 1711 and is referred to, thinly disguised, in one of the poems (*Don Francisco*, p. 11); Taylor became a journeyman in the law and in time an attorney. Two of his clerks are named in the poems as Wait, apparently the son of a butcher in the Shambles, and B—d (? Blackbeard). In 1691 (this?) 'Mr. Fr. Taylor' was ordered to be paid £1 11s. 'for money due and in arrear in the year Sir Will. Robinson was High Sheriff [1689–90], for the King's Bench and Marshalsey' (North Riding Record Soc. vii (1889), p. 118). From 1695 to 1715 Francis Taylor acted as steward for Sir William Robinson's estates at Rawcliffe, Clifton, and York, including the King's Manor, and his rentals and accounts survive (Leeds City Archives, NH 2151A). In 1710 he is taxed with having been an extortionate and dishonest steward to an absentee landowner called Rad[cli]ff, possibly the Rev. William Radcliffe, minister of Thorpe Salvin, rector of Aston and Dinnington, born 1638, or more probably his third son William Radcliffe of Milnsbridge near Huddersfield (1670–1748), whose second son Charles Radcliffe (c. 1718–1768), first of Heath near Wakefield, afterwards lived at York, where he was married in 1755 and buried in 1768 (Foster, *Yorkshire pedigrees*, ii, *W.R.*: R. B. Cook (ed.), *The parish registers of St. Martin, Coney Street* (Y.P.R.S. xxxvi, 1909), pp. 157, 185, 226). In the years 1699–1703 Francis Taylor, attorney at law, repeatedly undertook legal actions on behalf of the Dean and Chapter of York (Y.M.L., D. & C. muniments, E 2 (22), St. Peter's Account book, 1667–1720). On 28/29 July 1704, on the death of his father-in-law 'Sir' Thomas Hutton, Taylor and his son-in-law William Dawson joined Taylor's brother-in-law Thomas Hutton of Poppleton and Gray's Inn and/or the Inner Temple (?called to the bar 12 November 1695: R. J. Fletcher, *The pension book of Gray's Inn*, ii (1901), p. 124), in the interest of Taylor's two-year-old son Edward, as lessees from the Dean and Chapter of York of the tithes of Poppleton at an annual rent of £10 (*id.* Register of leases, &c. 1702–1728, ff. 11v–12v; Chapter acts, 1701–1728, f. 16v; St. Peter's Account book, 1667–1720); Taylor was associated with Hutton in similar leases on 9/10 November 1708 (again with William Dawson) and 24 February 1719/20 (without William Dawson) (*id.* Register of leases, &c. 1701–1728, ff. 67r–68r, 206v–207v; Chapter acts, 1701–1728, ff. 32v, 91r; St. Peter's Account book, 1667–1720); on 18 December 1725 Taylor, as one of the trustees and executors of Thomas Hutton, who had died in London shortly before, was principal grantee of a similar lease² (Y.M.L. D. & C. Reg. of leases, &c. 1702–1728, ff. 276r–277v; Chapter acts, 1701–1728, f. 124r; St. Peter's Account book, 1720–69), and this was renewed to Taylor and others on 28 October 1726, following Edward Taylor's death, and 16 December 1731 (*id.* Register of leases, &c. 1702–1728, ff. 289v–290v, and 1728–47, ff. 357v–358r; Chapter acts, 1701–1728, f. 127r, and 1728–36; St. Peter's Account book, 1720–69). In 1710 Taylor was the butt of two anonymous scurrilous verse satires printed at London, *The upstart: a satyr*, and *Don Francisco Sutorioso: a poem*, from which a fair amount of genuine biographical information can be extracted, though not all the references can now be understood. In 1713 Taylor, as one of the trustees and executors under the will of Sir Job Brook of York, received Skelton manor and rectory in security for a mortgage, and in 1718 assigned the properties in trust to John Duncombe junior of Stock, Herts. (Borthwick Institute, PL 40, 41). In 1720 and 1728 respectively

¹ Probably Hoole, minister at Coley and Bradfield: *id.* pp. 121, 202; Venn, I, ii, p. 404; Dale, *op. cit.* pp. 83–84; Matthews, *op. cit.* p. 275; Turner, *Heywood . . . diaries*, i (1882), pp. 192, 265, and iv (1885), p. 15; J. Hunter, *Familiae minorum gentium*, iv (Harl. Soc. xl, 1896), p. 1203.

² Buried in the chapel at Somerset House, of which he was keeper, 24 September 1725: Sir T. Phillipps (ed.), *Register of marriages, baptisms & burials in Somerset House Chapel, 1714–75* (1831), p. 18; G. E. Cokayne (ed.), *A copy of the names of all the marriages, baptisms and burials . . . 1714–76* (1862), p. 22).

a silver paten and chalice were presented by Taylor to Skelton church, the former doubtless in consequence of a visitation of that year which reported only a 'paten pewter' in the church (T. M. Fallow & H. B. McCall, *Yorkshire church plate*, i (Y.A.S. E.S. iii, 1912), p. 170; V.C.H. *Yorkshire*, N.R. ii, p. 172). From 1728 Taylor acted as attorney for his patron Sir William Robinson in a protracted lawsuit about Clifton tithes which went on after the death of both Robinson and Taylor until 1738 (York City Archives, Clifton estate papers, M31: 478–480, 484).¹ On 6 May 1734 Taylor attended a meeting in support of Sir Rowland Winn and Cholmley Turner, Esq., the Whig candidates for parliament for the county of York (T. Lashley, *York miscellany* (1734), p. 76; for the candidates' parties see Bean, p. 651, and Gooder, ii, pp. 104, 143–5). At dates unstated 'Mr. Franc. Taylor, who married a [great-great-]Grand-Daughter of . . . Archbishop Dr. Mat. Hutton', gave to Ralph Thoresby 'A Rentall, or computus of the Archbishop of Yorke, from Mich. last of Eliz. to Mich. 1st of K. James. It is the original examined by Auditor Johnson', and a collection of three historical tracts, 1678–88, partly transcribed by 'Sir' Thomas Hutton (R. Thoresby, *Ducatus Leodiensis*, 2nd ed. by T. D. Whitaker (1816), iii, p. 77, no. 46, and p. 88, no. 166).

Anne Taylor was buried at Skelton, 'in the Quire', on 15 August 1728 (not 1729, as in the printed pedigrees). Francis made his will on 30 (not 31) January 1732/3, added a codicil on 21 Nov. 1735, and it was proved 26 Nov. 1741 (Borthwick Institute; Skaife, *Y.A.J.* ii (1873), p. 120, and in Davies, *Walks*, p. 57). 'Mr. Franc: Taylor Died Nov: y^e 28th and was buried ye first of December 1735' (Skelton parish register), in the same grave as his wife, as he requested in his will, and their memorial slabs remain in the south aisle. He directed that his corpse was 'to be Carryed to my Grave by the Members of the Thursday Night Club to whom I desire may be Given Scarves, gloves, Hatbands and Rings'; nothing is known of this club, but it is probably referred to in the poetical remarks about Taylor's drinking and 'His recreating with a Crowd/Of Gentlemen' (*Don Francisco*, p. 18). The 'ancient' annual rent-charge of £2 12s. in respect of a farm at Picton near Yarm, N.R. (*Reports of the Commissioners . . . concerning Charities*, xxxix, *York, N.R.* (1815–39), p. 719/273), is a gift in perpetuity under Taylor's will, to be laid out in 12d. for bread to be distributed to the poor every Sunday, and he bequeathed £50 to be divided equally between the two charity schools in York, viz. the Blue Coat School for boys and the Grey Coat School for girls, both founded in 1705 (V.C.H. *York*, pp. 443, 447; Taylor had received the farm under Grace Thompson's will).

Taylor's own children being dead, the principal beneficiaries under his will were: (1) his niece Hannah, baptised at Overton 27 February 1695/6, the only child of Taylor's sister Philadelphia II and her husband William Dawson;² Hannah had married, on 26 August 1714 at Overton, George Meek, born 12 and baptised 29 April at Northallerton (C. J. D. Ingledew, *The history and antiquities of North Allerton* (1858), pp. 193, 200), who is recorded as having died 24 July 1730 aged 34 (stone in Skelton church) and having been buried 26 June 1730 (Skelton parish register); seven of the children of Hannah and George appear to have died in infancy: Mary, baptised at Skelton 8 September 1717, buried at Northallerton 22 December 1719; George, baptised at Skelton 21 January 1718/19, buried at Northallerton 17 November 1734; Philadelphia, buried (?) at Skelton 28 April 1720; Thomas, baptised at Skelton 28 June 1721, buried there 23 March 1722/3; Roger, baptised at Skelton 8 July 1722; Hannah, baptised at Skelton 8 [November?] 1723, buried there 26 November 1724; Easter, baptised at Skelton 31 March 1725, in Easter week, buried there 21 March 1730/31; their three remaining children, living at the date of Taylor's original will, were his other main legatees: (2) William Meek, born 1715–16, who witnessed Taylor's will, probably the 'Mr. Meek' buried at Skelton 1 December 1781; (3) Francis, baptised at Overton 10 March 1726/7, Taylor's godson, who is said to have sold Taylor's former house in Coney Street in 1767 (so Davies, *Walks*, p. 58; but from a mortgage of 1772 it appears that the vendor of 1767 was William Meek, Francis having earlier rebuilt a stable at the rear: York City Archives, E 94, Register of leases, &c. 1755–82, f. 134r–v); and (4) Ann, baptised at Overton 9 November 1729. In an effort to keep his name alive, Taylor directed that Francis Meek and his male issue, similarly Ann Meek and her future husband and male issue, should take the name and arms of Taylor as a condition of their receiving their bequests; Francis almost certainly never complied with this, and there is no certain evidence that Ann did. Between the date of Taylor's will in 1733 and his codicil in 1735 Hannah remarried a Mr. Clark, and her allowance from the estate was consequently reduced.

¹ In 1731 Taylor was a trustee and executor of the will of Samuel Dawson of York, merchant, eldest son of his sister-in-law Elizabeth and her husband Thomas Dawson (Borthwick Institute, Wills, lxxxii, f. 80r–v).

² R. H. Skaife in Davies, *Walks*, p. 58, erroneously makes Hannah the daughter of Taylor's sister-in-law Elizabeth née Hutton (buried at St. Martin's, Micklegate, 13 December 1731: Edward Bulmer (ed.), *The parish registers of St. Martin-cum-Gregory* ([1893–]1897), p. 133; will dated 2 June 1725, proved 7 February 1731/2, in the Borthwick Institute, Wills, lxxxii, f. 243) and her husband Thomas Dawson (baptised at St. Michael's, Spurriergate, 28 May 1667; married at Nether Poppleton 13 March 1688/9, lord mayor of York 1703–4, died 16/17 and buried 20 January 1703/4 at St. Martin's, Micklegate, aged 36: James Torre, *The antiquities of York city* (1719), pp. 140–141; Bulmer, *op. cit.* p. 117). This Thomas Dawson, whose family can be identified (J. W. Walker (ed.), *Yorkshire pedigrees*, i, A–F (Harl. Soc. xciv, 1942), pp. 143–4; Bulmer, *op. cit.*, passim, W. H. F. Bateman (ed.), *The parish registers of Holy Trinity, Micklegate* [1894–5], passim; R. W. Wood & F. Collins (ed.), *The parish register of St. Mary's, Bishophill Junior* (Y.P.R.S. lii, 1915), passim), and Hannah's father William Dawson do not appear to have been related. The Dawsons, like the Huttons, had nonconformist members: Thomas Dawson's grandfather Bryan, a merchant, alderman of York 1656–62, buried at St. Michael's, Spurriergate, in 1687, had his house in Ousegate licensed for religious meetings by an 'independent' minister in 1672 (Dale, *op. cit.* p. 33).

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THE

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Part 168

(BEING THE FOURTH PART OF VOLUME XLII)

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[*Note:* the identifications and dates, etc. are those supplied by the contributors and are not the responsibility of the Editor. For future Registers, it would be useful for contributors who have surveyed sites to indicate who has possession of the final plans and sections.]

Aislaby, N. R.

Aislaby Moor. NZ.850088. Two cup marked rocks.

S. W. Feather.

Appleton-le-Moors, N. R.

(1) Rosemary Cottage. SE.7387. A cruck house measuring 40 x 18 ft. One pair of crucks visible in the upper storey, 10 ft. from the north end, crossed at the apex with the ridge pole resting on the apex. Studding is visible.

(2) Ivy Dene Cottage. SE.7387. Worn lintel stone at the south end inscribed C.S. (?) 1682, and has a blocked cross-passage. The north end is modern.

R. H. Hayes.

Appletreewick, W. R.

Burnetts Ridge, SE.083616 and High Green, Burhill, SE.075625. Two cup marked rocks.

S. W. Feather.

Arncliffe, W. R.

SD.917725. Neolithic scraper from the surface of boggy land below Scosca Cave. Found 1968.

Mrs. J. M. Leak.

Bainbridge, N. R.

Roman Fort. SD.937902. Work was begun in the northwest corner where post trenches of a Flavian-Trajanic building of uncertain type were found to cut earlier (presumably Agricolan) paving. Only one Antonine stone building, aligned north-south, occurred between the west intervallum and the central range, and this had been destroyed by fire. Two successive timber buildings replaced it, in turn followed by a stone building of the late fourth century. Internal drains in some structures may suggest stables rather than barracks. Close behind the north rampart was a stone-lined rectangular pit, not filled before the late fourth century, apparently a latrine.

B. R. Hartley.

Beadlam, N. R.

Roman Villa. SE.634842. Two buildings, set at right angles to one another, were stripped to expose their final phase of occupation. The North building, domestic quarters, was in excellent condition, with walls up to 3 ft. high. It contained a single mosaic pavement, destroyed where it had collapsed into a hypocaust. The West building had domestic rooms at the north end and a bath suite at the south; some walls had been robbed and in part it may have been abandoned in Roman times. So far only fourth century levels have been excavated. When completed the site will be preserved and put on display.

A. L. Pacitto, I. M. Stead.

Bentley with Arksey, W. R.

(1) 86 Danesway, Scawthorpe. AE Antoninianus of Carausius, found in the garden by Master A. Hardisty. London Mint. Obv., Imp C. Carausius PF AUG; Rev., Pax standing left, PAX AUG BIE

MLXXI

(2) 33 Clevedon Crescent, Scawthorpe. AR Denarius of Caracalla found in the garden. Rome mint A.D. 199-200 Obv., ANTONINUS AUGUSTUS; Rev., Victory advancing left, VICT AETERN.

M. J. Dolby.

Beverley, E. R.

Woodhall Manor. TA.028393. This, one of three manors on the north side of Beverley, yielded a rectangular platform within a moat which had had a series of pillar-supported buildings, the earliest of which measured 50 ft. by 25 ft. arranged with two aisles and dated to the fourteenth century. In the fifteenth century a similar larger building was erected at right angles to the first one. North of this beyond the moat lay a huge cobbled stackyard with a peculiar system of raised chalk drains leading eventually into the moat. West of the stackyard lay an aisled barn 100 x 27½ ft. resting on eight pairs of pillars at twelve foot centres with an eighteen foot span. A cobbled road led to two wide loading bays in the centre of the long side of the barn. Occupation appears to have ceased in the fifteenth century in the principal buildings. West of the main platform lay three long narrow fishponds with spoon-shaped ends, the central one being divided into two aisles. The raised chalk drains lead from these fishponds.

W. J. Varley.

Bilsdale Midcable, N. R.

(1) Near Smithy Ellers. SE.573943. W. Ainsley has located a large slag heap on a narrow ledge above the River Seph, probably marking an iron smelting site.

(2) Low Crosset. SE.575945. Another slag heap 25 ft. long and 34 ft. high, found by W. Ainsley.

(3) Loosehow Hill. SE.586960–589960. Group of five small stony cairns 10 to 16 ft. in diameter.

(4) Grange. SE.572962. Trial holes in a large bank of slag and sooty earth near Lodge Beck disclosed a mixture of slag, burnt stones and flat buff tiles at 12 to 16 ins. below the surface.

(5) Near St. John's Church. W. Ainsley found a beehive quern upper stone in a field south of the church. It is 12 – 13 ins. in diameter, the grinding face has split off, it has two handle holes and is the first to be recorded from Bilsdale.

R. H. Hayes.

Bilsdale West, N. R.

(1) Near Fangdale Beck. SE.563345. Barbed and tanged flint arrowhead found by W. Ainsley.

(2) Near Helm Wood. SE.567942. Barbed and tanged arrowhead, found 1940 by M. Colley.

R. H. Hayes.

Bolton Abbey, W. R.

(1) Barden Fell. SE.084577. Cairn 15 ft. in diameter.

(2) Bolton Priory. SE.074542. Base metal alloy disc with a high lead content and design on one face, identified by B.M. as fourteenth–fifteenth century. Found on the river bank, and on loan to Bradford Museum.

S. W. Feather.

Boulby, N. R.

Old Boulby deserted village. NZ.762195. Excavation exposed three buildings of the medieval and post-medieval hall and two medieval peasant houses. On the hall site, a stone building 52 x 23 ft. had a stone kitchen and timber building, succeeded in the sixteenth century by a much larger store house and barns, which were occupied into the nineteenth century. The peasant houses were of sill-beam construction, one 47 x 14 ft., and the other 22 x 16 ft., and had been partly destroyed by later ploughing.

F. A. Aberg.

Bradford, W. R.

Low Moor. SE.159287. AE4 Constantius II, pre-reform bronze coinage 337–46, mint Heraclea, found in the garden 467 Cleckheaton Road.

S. W. Feather.

Brompton-on-Swale, N. R.

NZ.201001. A bronze sword of Hallstatt type was found in 1963 by J. A. Catterick. It is an Ewart Park type.

S. Jackson.

Bridlington, E. R.

Bessingby Hill. TA.166676. A mound was bulldozed revealing the foundations of a medieval post-mill and a chalk ramp. Beneath the mound a stone-lined pit held a neolithic burial, and other pits yielded mesolithic remains. Finds in Sewerby Hall museum.

J. R. Earnshaw.

Burton Fleming, E. R.

(1) La Tene cemetery. TA.094694. Excavation of a second area produced nineteen inhumations, each at the centre of a square-plan barrow-ditch, but five of these ditches had been destroyed completely or in part by ploughing. Grave goods included five pots and nine brooches, the most interesting of which was a fine decorated bronze involuted specimen, and an iron brooch with a large decorated disc on the foot.

I. M. Stead.

(2) Gypsy Race. TA.083720. A silver penny of Edward I, London mint, AD 1280, was found in the stream and identified at Scarborough Museum.

J. G. Rutter.

Castley/Leathley, W. R.

SE.256473. Found in a field to the east of Riffa Wood, and may be just inside either parish, a sandstone axe-hammer with hour-glass perforation, measuring $7\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. *C. E. Hartley.*

Castleford, W. R.

(1) Ferrybridge Road. SE.450259. A barbed and tanged arrowhead was found in a garden by A. Gillott, now in Castleford Museum. *R. A. Varley.*

(2) Welbeck St. SE.427256. The area, excavated by Castleford Hist. Soc. has yielded many animal bones, masses of pottery, an oven or kiln and iron and charcoal fragments. So far only the latest Roman levels have been examined. *K. R. Walsh.*

Catfoss, E. R.

Catfoss Grange. TA.14494815. Complete axe-hammer, 24.0 cm. long and 11.6 cm. wide, probably of whinstone, has flat faces on top and bottom and a cylindrical perforation. It was found beneath peat by G. E. Powell, and is now in Hull Museums. *J. Bartlett.*

Catterton, W. R.

Roman road. Gas board excavations confirmed the O.S. line of the Tadcaster-York road between SE.509446 and 547462. Only the bottoming survived. On the line of the road a silver penny of Edward the Confessor was found, B.M.C. Type VII, moneyer Arngrim of York. *H. G. Ramm.*

Cayton, N. R.

Cayton Carr. TA.0581. Dagger of very dark flint, 5.3 x 1.5 ins. long, found 1965, now in Scarborough Museum. *J. G. Rutter.*

Conisborough Parks, W. R.

SK.52589829. Flint leaf-shaped lance-point found in a ploughed field by Miss S. Long of Conisborough. *M. Dolby.*

Cottam, E. R.

La Tene barrows. SE.984667. Four of the five barrows previously excavated by Greenwell (Cowlan, B.B.L–LIV) were re-excavated. The fifth barrow was not located. The four barrows had a common plan, a square ditch defining a barrow platform from 10–14 m. across, and a grave-group found by Greenwell shows that this type of barrow was in use by the fourth century B.C. No new burials were found, but the barrows appear to have been built on an Early Iron Age settlement and one of the barrows has been cut by a large ditch which may belong to the network of dykes covering the wolds. *A. L. Pacitto, I. M. Stead.*

Cropton, N. R.

White Cottage, Bank Top. SE.906889. This cruck house, restored in 1968, was rebuilt of limestone rubble on the side of a quarry in 1715. It measures 54 ft. east–west, including a 10 ft. long lean-to, and 20–23 ft. north–south. There are pairs of crucks on the west end, by the cross-passage 28 ft. from the east end, and 12 ft. from the east end. *R. H. Hayes.*

Dewsbury, W. R.

(1) Behind Thornhill Church. SE.258181. A ploughed field yielded base and body sherds of Upper Heaton ware cooking pot, the lip of a Baildon ware jug and part of a late fifteenth century – early sixteenth century bung hole of Follifoot ware.

(2) Thornhill Hall. SE.257189. A third excavation season revealed the foundations of two buildings on slightly different alignments on the site of the hall. The earliest building was a rectangular hall 56 ft. long, with clay bonded foundation walls 1 ft. 9 ins. thick. The later H-shaped building was 56 ft. x 29 ft. with 2 ft. 6 ins. thick stone mortared walls. The south wall of the east wing still stands and appears to be c. 1450. About 1600 a chimney stack was inserted into the hall, its floor was paved with stone flags, and the walls were plastered. Quantities of medieval pottery, nails, window lead and glass, and bottles were found. *R. A. Varley.*

Doncaster, W. R.

(1) Bessacarr. SE.603018. Barbed and tanged arrow head found on waste ground by Master F. M. Martin of Bessacarr.

(2) 58A Cantley Lane, Cantley. Coin of Constantine I, found in the garden by Mr. M. Hinchcliffe. London Mint, A.D. 313–4. Obv., IMP CONSTANTINUS AUG., Rev., Sol standing left, SOLI INVICTO COMITI $\frac{S/F}{PLN}$

(3) Frenchgate. SE.574034. A trench on the site of the Guildhall, in search of the west side of the Roman auxiliary fort, was abandoned at 8 ft. due to unstable ground, and while still in medieval deposits. Finds include several floors back to the fourteenth century, many limestone roofing slabs, a late medieval bone knife-handle, and a 3d of Elizabeth I (1567). At the west end of the site near the main street an engineer's trench showed a rapid rise in the Roman levels towards the Street, and sectioned a feature which is probably the ditch alongside the York-Lincoln Roman road. The ditch, 2 ft. deep, 2 ft. 9 ins. wide at the top and traced for 8 ft., had silt and early second century pottery in its lower fill. On its west side, limestone road metalling came up to the ditch, and fragments of grey coarse ware were found between the metalling. A similar rapid rise was found in 1966 on the Arndale Centre on the opposite side of the main street. *M. Dolby.*

Easington, E. R.

Beach. TA.407189. A looped socketed axe with square socket, heavy moulding at the mouth, three vertical ribs on each face, and a slightly curved cutting edge was found in September 1969 on the beach below the cliffs by R. Sowerby. The axe, measuring 7.5 cm. by 4.0 cm., is in Hull Museum. *J. Bartlett.*

Easington, N. R.

Boulby Alum Works. NZ.752197. Three stone cisterns and their connecting troughs were excavated, and remains of the timber cistern covers were located. A start has been made on the adjacent stone buildings, and of special interest has been the discovery of a 6 ft. diameter flywheel. *S. K. Chapman.*

Emley, W. R.

Emley Moor. SE.223130. AE follis Maximus II, as Caesar (305-9), mint Cyzicus. Found c. 1965 near television mast. *S. W. Feather.*

Etton, E. R.

Kiplingcotes, Barrow A. SE.935438. A ploughed down barrow, one of four, was excavated for M.P.B.W. It utilised a chalk knoll, with an irregular circular ditch to give it the semblance of a barrow, average diameter 66 ft. The barrow, disturbed at the centre, may be Greenwell's BB LXXXI in which he found the unaccompanied cremation of a child. There were no secondary burials. *D. G. Coombs.*

Fadmoor, N. R.

Boonhill. SE.911668. Fine leaf shaped arrowhead found with flint cores and waste flakes by R. Butler and M. Maw. *R. H. Hayes.*

Gargrave, W. R.

Kirk Sink. SD.939536. Further excavation yielded the plan of buildings found in 1968. The southern building proved to be a corridor house of the early third century overlying an earlier, burnt structure. The house faced north and had a large room at each end with two smaller rooms, fronted by a corridor between them. It had been modified more than once and another room was added in the fourth century. Another building had one room heated by a channelled hypocaust, in which fragments of mosaic borders of good quality were found. An unheated room or corridor flanked this on the east and also had had a mosaic floor. These rooms probably belong to the main house of the later Roman period. *B. R. Hartley.*

Glass Houghton

Holywell Hill. SE.444244. A pentagonal stone building built into the south slope of the hill appears to rest on older foundations. Perhaps related to the numerous nearby bell-pits. All finds are medieval and post-medieval. *E. Houlder.*

Grindale, E. R.

TA.134713. Complete 5 ins. long x 2½ ins. wide polished stone axe of speckled white and dark green rock. It has a splayed cutting edge, oval section, and Bridlington type pointed butt. Found by H. Claxton of Bempton, and now in Sewerby Hall Museum. *J. R. Earnshaw.*

Guisborough, N. R.

Near Codhill Slack. NZ.612123. A probable burial circle, 36 ft. in diameter over a 5 - 6 ft. rubble bank was found at 825 ft. O.D. to the east of Codhill Slack, Sleddale. The circle is breached on its southern side and has a pile of stones at the centre. The site has been cleared and surveyed. *W. Pearson.*

Halifax, W. R.

(1) Holdsworth. SE.082289. Three buildings in the medieval village south of the Manor house were excavated. Building has a post-hole and sill-beam construction and was dismantled c. 1300. Finds were predominantly coarse cooking pots. Building 2 was stone built, measuring 37 x 36 ft., and aligned N.E.-S.W. A fireplace in the west corner had thirteenth-fourteenth century sherds scattered around it. Foundations were from 4 ft. to 6 ft. 6 ins. thick and unmortared. The northwest wall showed two periods of construction. Building 3 was stone built and set at the north corner of Building

2. Built around 1400, the foundations are set in a shallow trench 1 ft. deep.

(2) Upper Saltonstall, Old Hall. SE.035285. The house is of typical H-plan with seventeenth century stone additions. Two bays survive and part of the southeast wall of the hall. A trench for a water pipe yielded sherds of a fifteenth-sixteenth century jug. The house was built by Gilbert Dean in 1540.

J. A. Gilks.

Huby, N. R.

Hollin Hill Farm. SE.567648. The blade part of a polished axe of yellowish flint, with flat sides. Found 1969 by Miss J. Everett.

G. F. Willmot.

Huddersfield, W. R.

(1) Almondbury, Castle Hill. The fourth season of excavation was confined to three main objectives. The shaft, first discovered in 1947, was explored to a depth of 80 ft. yielding Upper Heaton and other medieval sherds, the bottom has not yet been reached. An examination of the interior of the fort yielded a series of pre-medieval post-hole structures. Sections across the defences confirmed previous results showing that the so-called 'vitrified rampart' existed only where there had been timber lacing initially and that it was the uppermost of the pre-Roman defences, sealed beneath a well-developed soil. A sample taken from a structural member of the timber braced inner rampart has been given a radio-carbon estimate of 555 B.C. \pm 100.

W. J. Varley.

(2) Cemetery at Slack Roman fort. SE.082176. Cremations and inhumations were found during construction of the M.62 motorway. One coffin was constructed out of wooden planks. The lower stone of a beehive quern, early second century coarse and fine pottery, sandal fragments, glass beads, a lead weight and a bronze pin were found.

J. A. Gilks.

(3) SE.084176. A series of small huts in the *vicus* of Slack Roman fort belong to the period A.D. 80-120. Set along the Chester-York Roman road, the *vicus* had rudimentary defences linked to the fort defences in Hadrianic times. The site was evacuated before A.D. 140 probably relating to the disuse of the Roman road, which only had a single layer of cobbles above foundation paving.

B. R. Hartley.

Hutton le Hole, N. R.

Marshall's Close, Lingmoor. SE.713883. A ploughed down barrow yielded three cremations in pits under a few stones, two of which had cup and ring marks. Pit A was 30 x 24 x 24 ins. with a mass of charcoal over cremated bones of a young male aged 17-20, who suffered from rickets but had good dentition. Pit B was 4 ft. south of A and was 16 x 14 x 18 ins. with a mass of charcoal over a syenite perforated axe-hammer, measuring 8.5 cm. x 4.8 cm. and like Ashbee's Wilsford type. There were a few minute cremated bone fragments. The periphery of the pit was heavily burnt. Pit C was 18 in. by 16 in., had charcoal over cremated bones and yielded two calcined barb and tang arrowheads, a plano-convex knife, two flakes of calcined flinty limestone, and two broken pot bases. There were two cup and ring stones in part of the kerb, which was probably about 40 ft. in diameter originally.

R. H. Hayes.

Ilkley, W. R.

Silver Well, Ilkley Moor. SE.100466. Two cup and ring marked rocks, covered with vegetation.

S. W. Feather.

Ingleby Greenhow, N. R.

NZ.573036. Eight prehistoric burials were found when a bulldozer levelled a mound of natural bedded shale. One was an inhumation in a stone cist accompanied by a Beaker. The others were cremations, one associated with an incense cup and another with sherds of a collared urn.

A. L. Pacitto.

Kilham, E. R.

Long Barrow. TA.055673. The fifth and final season exposed sections of quarry ditches on either side of the mound, which were cut 5 - 7 ft. into natural chalk. Fragments of worked antler, flint flakes, potsherds, and animal bones came from the sitting layers. Running east from the mound were two lines of post holes forming an avenue 23 ft. wide and aligned on the barrow's burial chamber. Sixty feet east of the long barrow a ring ditch with an internal diameter of 40 ft. was found, but with no trace of a mound. At the centre were two circular pits each containing a pottery vessel but no interment.

T. G. Manby.

Kingston-upon-Hull, E. R.

North Walls. TA.10202903. Excavation revealed portions of Hull City Wall built in the fourteenth century. Construction was of brick throughout on chalk rubble foundations. Within the line of the wall the fourteenth century land surface was found at a depth of 3.7 m. below present ground level.
J. Bartlett.

Kingthorpe, N. R.

Low Kingthorpe. SE.834858. Trial trenches have disclosed at least three buildings, one with a circular foundation 10 ft. in diameter with walls 1 ft. 3 ins. wide, possibly a dovecote or oven. Sherds of fourteenth–fifteenth century were found. The site is possibly the 'lost village' of Kingthorpe.
R. H. Hayes.

Lastingham, N. R.

Glasshouse. SE.745932. The second excavation season exposed two more furnaces, one with a square platform similar to the one found in the first season, and probably used for annealing, and the other was a round oven-shaped furnace set into the hillside. A burnt area was found to the south of the side covered by a thick layer of ash. A trial trench in an adjacent ruined cottage called Allen House suggests that it was contemporary with the glass house, yielding trodden glass, fragments of crucible, a clay pipe, c. 1620–40, and a hearth.
F. A. Aberg, D. W. Crossley.

Lofthouse, W. R.

Rothwell Grammar School grounds. SE.260329. A ditched earthwork, thought to be Saxon or Roman, was excavated to reveal a burnt area in the middle, of medieval date, and four stone stylobates 2 ft. 6 ins. apart and set at right angles to a fragmentary wall. At the same level a small quantity of very gritty medieval sherds were found.
K. S. Bartlett.

Manfield, N. R.

NZ.221152. Two areas were excavated within a ditched enclosure discovered by air-photography. One area revealed a circular building 50 ft. in diameter with cobbled foundations, probably a domestic building in the Iron Age and Roman native tradition. The other area revealed a second century rectilinear building complex, with evidence of patterned mosaic floors and plastered walls.
D. W. Harding.

Meltham, W. R.

Royd Edge. SE.091097. The third season's excavation by Huddersfield D.A.S. of a sub-rectangular site with rampart and inner ditch concentrated on the entrance. The gap in the bank was 22 ft. wide, and in the ditch 12 ft., and the entrance has had several phases. An inner palisaded enclosure destroyed an earlier circular hut, and a later palisade extended over the partly-filled ditch. The relative ages of these palisades is uncertain. Finds from the hut include a lead spindle whorl and fragments of haematite.
J. P. Toomey.

Mickleton, N. R.

Brownberry. NY.939206. Surface find of *petit tranchet* derivative arrowheads, flint and chert tools and waste in a restricted area.
S. W. Feather.

Newbald, E. R.

- (1) Henge (? class II). Centre SE.93113956. Ditch visible on air photograph OS/68/116 738, St. Joseph AUL 65. Slight traces on ground of bank on south side over ditch, diameter 400 north–south, 320 east–west.
- (2) SE.93963989. Square ditched I.A. burial. Small ring ditches adjacent to line of triple dyke. OS/68/116 738. (? outliers of Arras Cemetery). Large enclosure to south of dyke.
- (3) Settlement site centred on 94424000; OS/68/116 738, St. Joseph AUL 70.
H. G. Ramm.

Oldstead, N. R.

SE.530799. J. McDonnell found several sherds of Romano-British pottery when excavating a septic tank. These are probably from a large jar or cook pot produced at the Cold Cam kiln site.
J. G. Rutter.

Ossett, W. R.

- (1) Steward's House, Low Laithes Golf Club. SE.296216. Two bays survive of a timber framed building, the demolished part exposing the principle uprights, floor joist at bressumer level, and tie beam in the gable end, the open parts from ground to ridge being bricked up.
- (2) 12 & 14 Walton Place, Flushdyke. SE.284211. Threatened with demolition, this pair of stone cottages with mullioned windows was originally one house, and has S.M.E. 1695 over the main doorway.
K. S. Bartlett.

Otley, W. R.

Archbishop's Palace. SE.201458. A stone built wing of the palace, 145 x 28 ft., had a chapel of three periods at its east end. The building shows Saxon and Norman characteristics which in the early thirteenth century developed into a chapel of two storeys with a vaulted undercroft. Later it reverted to a single-storey building. A new type of Saxo-Norman pottery, associated with an earlier timber structure, was identified and named Otley Ware. *Jean le Patourel.*

Pockley, N. R.

Oxclose Farm. SE.630881. Bronze Age round barrow, 20 m. in diameter and 55 cm. high, with a stone kerb retaining a turf mound. A central grave held the remains of an inhumation with a food vessel in a wooden coffin. On the old ground surface below the mound were Neolithic post-holes and pits with Grimston Ware. *A. L. Pacitto.*

Pontefract, W. R.

(1) Pontefract Priory. SE.463226. Excavation of the remainder of the building outside the North Transept showed that it was an almost square structure, the full width of the transept but with no evidence of its use. Trenches in the nave located the piers of the main arcade and of the triforium arcade above. *C. V. Bellamy.*

(2) Stump Cross. SE.469235. This cross, illustrated with a shaft in Gough's edition of Camden's *Britannia* was a medieval preaching cross. The base is *in situ*. E. Houlder found part of the shaft $\frac{1}{4}$ mile away, and H. Battye found another piece 2 miles away. The cross is to be restored. *E. Houlder.*

Rosedale West, N. R.

(1) Vernon's Nick, Thorgill. SE.705960. A ruined long-house, measuring 80 x 19 ft. had a north doorway of massive freestone in the seventeenth century style. Traces can be seen of broken door-heads and ornamental mouldings. This house was thatched in living memory.

(2) Thorgill Old Mill. SE.709964. Ruined since the mid-nineteenth century, the mill has remains of massive freestone walls in two buildings, one 27 x 14 ft. and the other 16 x 12 ft. in two compartments. The back of Thorgill Beck is stone-revetted. *R. H. Hayes.*

Rowley, E. R.

Little Weighton. SE.9833. Scottish 20 penny piece of Charles I, found on a building site, probably relates to the presence of the Scottish army in Yorkshire during the Civil War. *H. G. Ramm.*

Rudston, N. R.

Churchyard. TA.098678. A medieval grave slab was uncovered when the north side of the churchyard was ploughed in 1969. The slab has a weathered top, chamfered sides, measuring 5 ft. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ins. x 1 ft. 8 ins. and 1 ft. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ins. x 9 ins. Staxton ware and fragments of medieval painted glass were also found. *J. R. Earnshaw.*

Sancton, E. R.

Centred on SE.90963912. Ring ditch. ? barrow or small henge. Two opposed entrances c. 125 ft. diameter. Sited on slope near head of valley. Air Photo OS.68/227,134. *H. G. Ramm.*

Sandal Magna, W. R.

Castle. See Archaeological Notes.

Sheffield, W. R.

Sheffield Manor. SK.375865. The second excavation season exposed the kerbed, cobbled entrance way and flight of stone steps of which the lowest was preserved. The entrance was flanked by two octagonal towers, and behind the southern one a plastered basement room was full of eighteenth century pottery kiln material (one pot inscribed 1715). Beneath these Tudor remains lie other features filled with coal fragments. *A. Butterworth.*

Shipley, W. R.

Wrose. SE.1637. Antoninianus of Gallienus (253–68), mint of Rome, and Antoninianus of Tetricus I (270–73), mint of Cologne, from a garden c. 1959. Given to Bradford Museum. *S. W. Feather.*

Skelton-in-Cleveland, N. R.

Skelton Park Ironstone Mine. Still intact, the buildings were surveyed and recorded. The mine was opened in 1872 by Bell Brothers and closed in 1938. The shafts are 380 ft. deep. *S. K. Chapman.*

Spaunton, N. R.

Lingmoor Barn Barrow, High Wandhills. SE.719883. The ditched mound, excavated by T. Frank, was 36 ft. in diameter and 2 ft. high, and had a central depression. The ditch was 6 ft. wide and 2 ft. deep. The centre may have had a cairn but this has been disturbed by an earlier trench. No burial was found and the only finds were a few flint flakes and a tiny scrap of red-brown pottery.

R. H. Hayes.

Sprotborough, W. R.

141 Melton Road. SE.54350234. As probably of Domitian from the garden. Too worn for exact identification.

M. Dolby.

Staintondale, N. R.

Danes Dale Farm. NZ.985001. A polished greenstone axe, 4 ins. long and 3.3 ins. wide, wide oval section was given to Scarborough Museum.

J. G. Rutter.

Stonebeck Down, W. R.

Blayshaw Gill. SE.09707310. The bottom half of a beehive rotary quern built into a wall on the northwest side of Stud Fold Bank.

Mrs. R. Hartley.

Thirkleby, N. R.

Haggs Field, Sandhill Farm. SE.482780. A trial trench by Miss D. A. Cleverley has revealed more Romano-British pottery, a cobbled floor, and part of a flat rotary quern.

J. G. Rutter.

Thorne, W. R.

Between Dairy Farm and Elmhirst Cottage. SE.712044. Polished stone axe found in a field, loaned to Doncaster Museum.

M. Dolby.

Tickhill, W. R.

(1) West of Firbeck Junction. SK.58079362. Polished Stone axe found in a field, and now in Doncaster Museum.

(2) 10 Lindrick Close. AR $\frac{1}{2}$ d of Robert II of Scotland found in the garden. Obv., + ROBERTUS REX. Rev. Long cross and five pointed stars in angles, VIL EDIN BUR.

M. Dolby.

Wakefield, W. R.

Yorkshire Bank, Northgate. Excavations for new vaults cut through a deep pit which yielded quantities of glass bottles, dating from 1680–1710, and pottery.

K. S. Bartlett.

Walkington

(1) Centred on SE.97183700. Henge (Class II). Entrances S.E. or N.W. Diameter 400–450 ft. over external bank.

(2) Centred on 97093712. Ring ditch, entrance to N.W., diameter 150 ft.

H. G. Ramm.

(3) Littlewood Farm. SE.962358. Fieldwork by E.R.A.S. has located three linear earthworks crossing the field where two round barrows were excavated 1967–8. Two sides are now known of an enclosure perhaps 200 x 100 m. dated by Iron Age pottery, in the primary ditch silt. Adjoining this and contemporary with it is a rectangular field system. A ditch and bank, and a double ditch and bank in the same field have been observed on air photographs.

J. Bartlett.

Wharram, E. R.

(1) Wharram Station. SE.857653. From the garden of Mr. C. Willie, a coin of the house of Constantine, Urbs Roma type, A.D. 330–5.

D. Stewart.

(2) Deserted medieval village, SE.858642. The village boundary ditch was excavated in Area 6. Beyond this twelfth century post-holes were discovered of buildings which had expanded on to the Saxon open fields. Above was a fourteenth century two-roomed stone house. A clay-lined pit contained a York type jug and several fourteenth century Staxton-ware cooking pots. In the church, the west part of the nave yielded a sequence of floors from the twelfth–eighteenth century. The heating furnace for the 1617 bell pit, a lead heating pit and twenty late burials were excavated. A complex sequence of rebuilding was found in the south aisle, also a fragment of an eighth century cross.

J. G. Hurst.

Whashton, N. R.

High Moor. NZ.131037 and 130040. Two groups of cup and ring marked rocks on War Dept. range, mostly covered with vegetations, include three cup marked and three cup and ring marked rocks.
S. W. Feather.

Wilsthorpe, E. R.

TA.165644. Complete greenstone axe 5 ins. long and 3½ ins. wide on the blade. It has flattened sides, oval section and is of Cumbrian form. Presented to the Sewerby Hall Museum by A. Bringham of Wilsthorpe.
J. R. Earnshaw.

Wrenthorpe, W. R.

Foster Ford – School Lane. SE.314226. Three feet of pottery kiln wasters of early eighteenth century date were discovered during redevelopment. Samples were taken for comparison with nearby excavated sites.
K. R. Bartlett.

Wykeham, N. R.

(1) Maw Rigg near Langdale End. SE.915944. A Forestry Commission employee has given Scarborough Museum a triangular arrowhead, a leaf-shaped arrowhead, a piece of a burnt plano-convex knife, and three convex scrapers, all surface finds.

(2) Stony Rigg, Wykeham High Moor. SE.9096. A Forestry Commission employee found a partly polished flint adze in light grey mottled flint, 5.9 ins. long and 1.6 ins. wide, and a barbed and tanged arrowhead, both surface finds.
J. G. Rutter.

York

Anglian Tower. In 1839 a tower was discovered beneath the city rampart at the rear of the Public Library. This tower was excavated by R.C.H.M. and yielded an Anglian military tower, perhaps of seventh century date, built into a breach in the Roman fortress wall. The tower is 15 ft. square and 15 ft. high, and has two opposed doorways, aligned behind the Roman wall. There are no architectural embellishments. The tower was partly buried by the later Viking bank and Norman bank, and was completely buried by the thirteenth century bank.
J. Radley.

NOTES ON ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS

PREHISTORIC CHAMBERED TOMBS OF THE PENNINES

By S. W. FEATHER and T. G. MANBY

In the Pennine Range of West Yorkshire only two sites have been published that appear to be megalithic chambered tombs. The first site, the long cairn on Bradley Moor, near Skipton (SE/009 476), was partially excavated by A. Butterfield in 1930 when a closed chamber of stone slabs and dry walling was found. A plan and description of this site was published by Dr. A. Raistrick in 1931,¹ and further details were reported by Butterfield in 1939.² An early reference to the site with its adjoining group of round cairns, appeared in 1908.³ A survey by the present writers shows that the site consists of a long cairn of millstone grit boulders that has been robbed and disturbed in places, particularly at the northeast corner. The long cairn stands on millstone grit at 850 ft. above sea-level, it is aligned southeast to northwest; it is 218 ft. long, with roughly parallel sides damaged in places by stone robbing. A straight eastern edge remains, turning northwards from a square southern corner, running for 40 ft. before the northern corner is robbed away. The body of this long cairn is 40 to 45 ft. and 2 ft. high. Superimposed on the eastern end of the long cairn is a round cairn, 70 ft. in diameter and standing, in its undisturbed portions some 3 ft. high. At the centre of the round cairn is the chamber, of which the two side slabs and the displaced capstone remain.

The long cairn can be interpreted as a trapezoidal long barrow like those of East Yorkshire but built of stones rather than earth and chalk. In East Yorkshire the long barrows of Garton Slack,⁴ Kemp Howe,⁵ Helperthorpe⁶ and Kilham⁷ all had round barrows superimposed on them in the Copper and Early Bronze Ages. In the case of Bradley Moor this is a round cairn with a closed chamber but the 'false portal' recorded by Butterfield on the southwestern side represents the tradition of an approach passage. This round cairn with closed chamber would be at home amongst the chambered tombs of the Peak District Group.⁸ The burial and ritual aspects of the long cairn-long barrow at Bradley may still be recoverable by the excavation of the southeastern end of the site.

The second site, Giant's Graves, Pen-y-ghent (SD/856 732), was badly robbed in recent times for walling stone and was partially excavated by Mr. W. Bennett in 1936; a description and plan of the site was published by him in 1937.⁹ Inspection of the site shows it to be situated on an outcrop of Yoredale limestone at 1320 ft. above sea-level. The site is badly robbed and stones project through the turf; the cairn appears to be round, 55 ft. across and remaining to 2 ft. high. Limestone fragments and glacial boulders form the mound and slabs of split limestone form the sides of the remaining chambers. Two sides of a trapeze-shaped chamber, 7 ft. long and 4 ft. wide, remain on the northeastern side of the cairn. A second chamber is represented by two slabs forming its western side, this was originally 12 ft. long and entered from the north. The perimeter of the cairn appears to be intact, so do the likely entrances or passage areas of the two chambers.

¹ A. Raistrick, 'Prehistoric Burials at Waddington and Bradley, West Yorkshire.' *Y.A.J.* xxx, (1931), 243-55.

² A. Butterfield, 'Structural details of a Long Barrow on Black Hill, Bradley Moor.' *Y.A.J.* xxxiv, (1939), 223-7.

³ J. J. Briggs, 'Prehistoric Remains on the Moors near Kildwick', *Bradford Scientific J.* 2, (1910), 156-8.

⁴ Excavated by T. C. M. Brewster; *Ministry of Public Building & Works Ann. Rep.* 1965, 7-8.

⁵ Excavated by T. C. M. Brewster; 1967; Originally excavated by J. R. Mortimer, *Forty Years Researches . . .* (1905), 336-8.

⁶ J. D. Hicks, 'Esh's Barrow', *Y.A.J.* xlii, (1969).

⁷ W. Greenwell, *British Barrows*, (1877), 553-6.

⁸ T. G. Manby, 'Chambered Tombs of Derbyshire,' *Derbys. Arch. J.* lxxxviii, (1958), 25-39.

⁹ W. Bennett, Giant's Graves, Penygent, *Y.A.J.* xxxiii, (1937), 318-9.

A site that has for long suggested itself to one of the writers (S.W.F.), as a possible chambered tomb is the site known as the Bordley Circle on Malham Moor (SD/946 653). This site is on carboniferous limestone at over 1200 ft. above sea-level, it is marked on the 1 ins. O.S. map as 'Druid's Altar'. This name is recorded by Speight in 1892, and his description of the site¹ states that it is 'a round stone and earth mound, about 150 feet in circumference, and 3 feet high, and was formerly surrounded by a circle of upright stones, only three of which are now left standing. On one side was a large flat stone resting upon two others, and known as the "Druid's Altar".' The site was included in Raistrick's article on the Bronze Age in West Yorkshire as the Bordley Circle². It is stated that the name 'Druid's Altar' was 'said to have been given because at one side was a trilithon, a large flat stone resting across the top of two standing stones. This is said to have been destroyed many years ago, and no reliable record of it remains.'

The description of the site, the tradition of a destroyed capstone, and the fact that the circle is embedded in the mound, not surrounding it, would suggest that this site was a chambered tomb. A survey by the writers in 1966 shows a much robbed mound whose C-shape outline suggests a crescentic forecourt with a gallery opening from its centre. The mound is 41 ft. wide, the forecourt is 18 ft. across, 10 ft. deep and faces south. A standing stone remains on the eastern side of the forecourt and there are identifiable stone holes that suggest a façade of orthostats formerly existed here. The eastern side of the gallery is represented by two stone slabs set on edge; the extent of the stone-robbing indicates a trapeze-shaped gallery some 15 ft. long and 6 ft. wide.

All three sites appear to be small chambered tombs in round cairns, but without modern excavation the interpretation of robbed and grass-grown stone structures is subject to many limitations. This applies to the interpretation of tomb plans in particular and their comparison with other sites. The concentration of chambered tombs in the Pennines is on the Carboniferous limestone of the Derbyshire Peak District. The ease with which stones can be removed from such sites by field-wallers and stone robbers in recent times, especially during clearance for agriculture, could result in the total removal of stone-built cairns. As cairns of this nature were built of surface-gathered stones there are no quarry ditches that might survive to indicate barrow sites like those that remain on chalk and sand country of Eastern Yorkshire.

A MIDDLE BRONZE AGE DAGGER FROM LINDRICK DALE, WEST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE

By A. BUTTERWORTH

Discovery. A bronze dagger was found in 1966 in the strip of garden beside the drive of Meade Cottage, Lindrick Dale (SK.539827). It may have been derived from a small adjacent roadside pile of earth containing only nineteenth century sherds or possibly disturbed by recent extensions to the cottage. Sheffield City Museum accession number 1967.210.

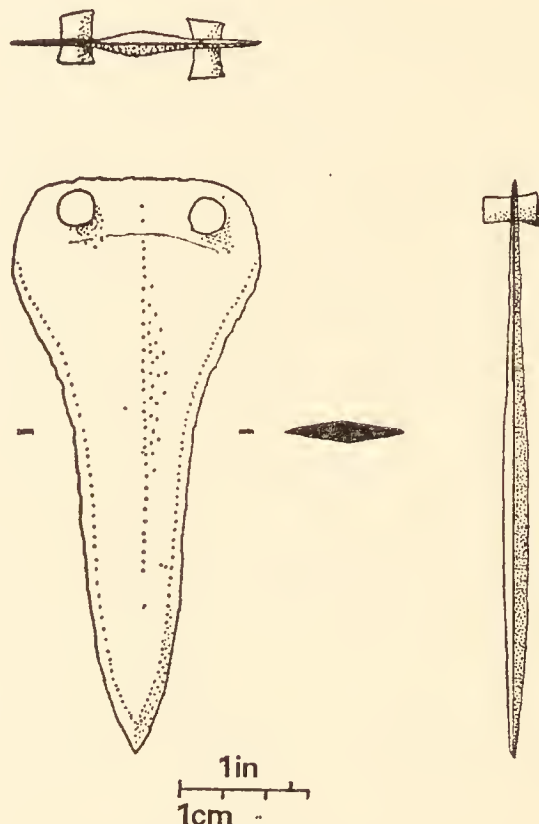
Description. The dagger is 5.25 ins. (13.3 cm.) long and 2.35 ins. (6 cm.) wide. The blade is ogival below the trapezoidal hafting plate 2.7 ins. (6 cm.) wide, that carries two heavy rivets, one 0.55 ins. (1.4 cm.) long, the other 0.5 ins. (1.27 cm.) long, both 0.35 ins. (0.89 cm.) thick at maximum and 0.27 ins. (0.7 cm.) at minimum. The edges of the blade are slightly bevelled and this is particularly noticeable near the point and the hilt plate. This suggests sharpening rather than the original casting. There is no separately defined midrib but rather an arris giving a lozengic section. Blade thickness increases from the point to a maximum of 0.2 ins. (0.51 cm.) at a point 1.6 ins. (4.1 cm.) from the point and maintains this dimension for another 0.95 ins. (2.35 cm.) before beginning to taper towards the hilt. Below the rivets the shape of the haft is recorded in the patina in the form of a simple arc.

¹ H. Speight, *The Craven and North-West Highlands*, (1892), 323.

² A. Raistrick, 'The Bronze Age in West Yorkshire', *Y.A.J.* xxix, (1929), 356. The site is illustrated in A. Raistrick, *Prehistoric Yorkshire*, (1964), 22.

Classification and Dating. The trapezoidal hilt clearly places the implement in the Middle Bronze Age. Rapiers, dirks and daggers of this period have been classified both by blade sections (Burgess 1968) and by hilt shapes (Trump 1962 and 1968).

LINDRICK DALE DAGGER



The blade of lozengic section marks the dagger as a member of Burgess's Group II which he places in the first phase of the Middle Bronze Age. The evidence suggests that Group II weapons are a fusion of Tumulus Middle Bronze Age forms with the indigenous Early Bronze Age Wessex Culture forms. The extreme proportions of this dagger (the total length, 5.25 ins. or 13.3 cm., is only just a little more than double the width of the butt, 2.35 ins. or 6.0 cm.) also suggest an early experimental form. In Mrs. Trump's classification the dagger falls into Group I which includes a range of early and experimental forms in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C. but also generally resembles some Group II Irish daggers. Both the Lindrick Dale example and the Irish group would fall within Burgess's Group II. In short, there is agreement that the dagger belongs to the first phase of the Middle Bronze Age (fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C.).

Origin. Lindrick Dale cuts through a ridge of magnesian limestone which is very poor in Bronze Age remains. Bronzes in the nearby Peak District to the west are mainly of a local form of dagger with three heavy rivets resembling some Wessex daggers. It seems more likely that the Lindrick Dale dagger came from the east, from the Trent Valley which has produced three rapiers (Trump 1962) and which is linked to the site by the rivers Ryton and Idle. The most likely sources are the Fenland, Ireland and the Thames Valley (Trump 1968) with proximity making the Fenland most likely of all.

Many daggers, dirks and rapiers derive from rivers or swamps and may represent votive offerings. This is also a possibility, for the dagger was found near the valley bottom and 50 yards from the Anston Brook which drains a wide area. The area may have been much wetter before modern drainage.

My thanks are due to Mrs. Eileen Laffan and Mrs. Bridget Trump for their comments.

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Trump, B. A. V. (1968), 'Fenland Rapiers', *Studies in Ancient Europe*, ed. J. M. Coles and D. D. A. Simpson, p. 213 ff.

TWO INTERVAL TOWERS AND NEW SECTIONS OF THE ROMAN FORTRESS WALL, YORK

BY THE LATE J. RADLEY

The fortress has, in its latest rebuild of Constantius, a series of internal interval towers on three of its sides, some of which are known and others are conjectured. On the fourth side, facing southwest towards the *colonia*, the interval towers project in front of the line of the curtain wall and these are six-sided, arranged in two groups of three on either side of the central gate, between it and the ten-sided corner towers.¹ Of the six polygonal interval towers the plan or part of the plan of the projecting wall is known of towers S.W.1, S.W.5, and S.W.6. The only information for S.W.1 was obtained in 1956 when its southeast angle was discovered below the boundary wall of British Home Stores.²

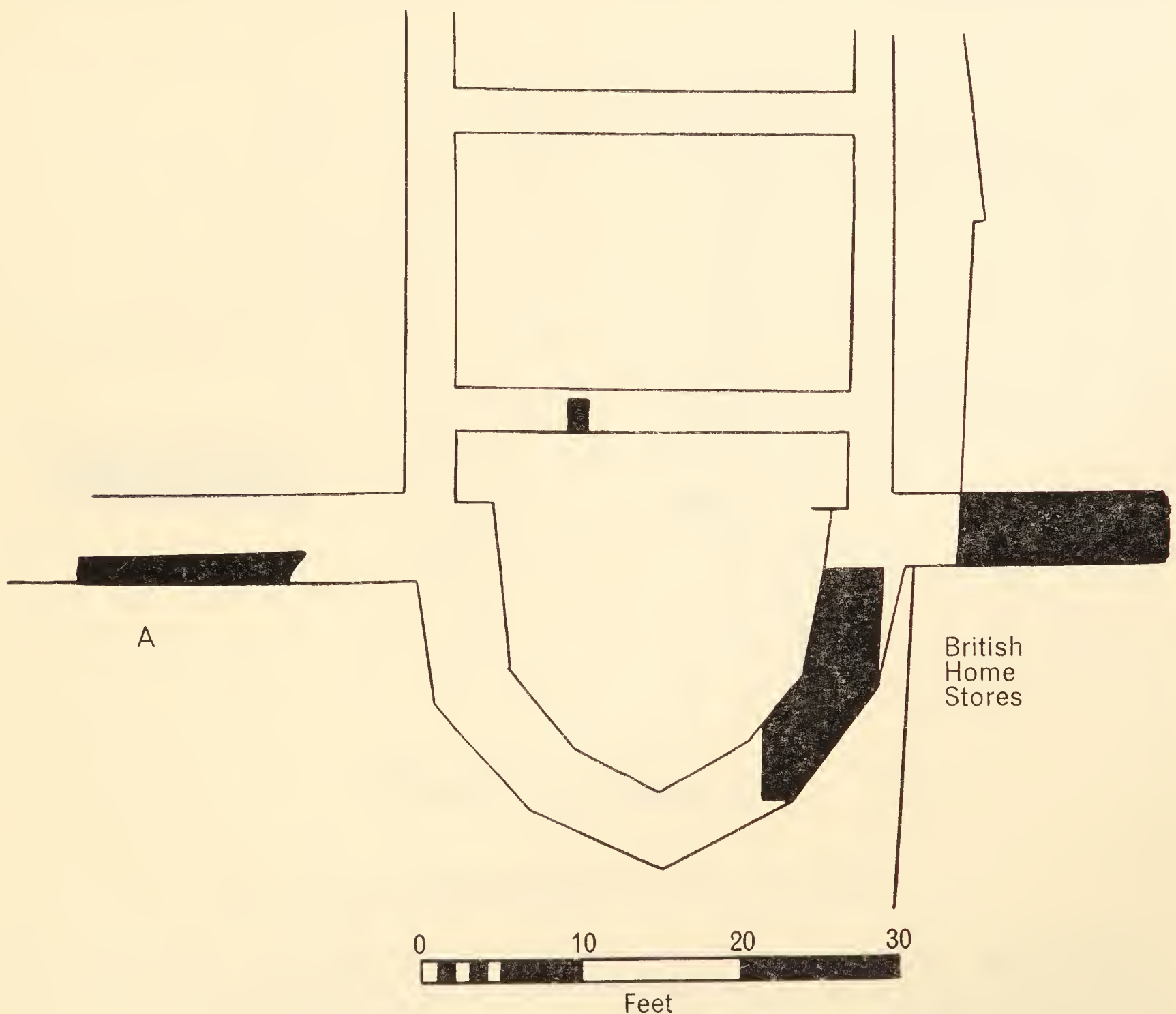


FIG. 1. Interval tower S.W.1. The black areas have been recorded.

In 1965 contractors cleared an L-shaped area between Davygate and New Street prior to erecting a shopping precinct. Initially excavation was not anticipated, the whole structure being placed on concrete piles, but when two pile-drivers were broken on the buried fortress wall it was decided to locate the wall with a series of narrow mechanically-dug trenches. These exposed several pieces of wall to a depth of up to ten feet, and allowed records to be made of the position of the fortress wall, which proved to be a

¹ R.C.H.M., *The City of York, I. Roman York* (1962), 10, and Fig. 3.

² Wenham, P., *Y.A.J.*, part clix, (1961), 329–350.

little in advance of the line marked on the O.S. 50 ins. plan, and the position of interval towers S.W.1 and S.W.2. Recording in some cases was confined to less than an hour but elsewhere it was possible to excavate and clean some of the masonry. Because the ground level was uncertain the top of the piles, generally at 45 ft. O.D. was taken as a datum for the site.

Interval tower S.W.1 (Fig. 1) is 155 ft. northwest of the south corner tower, centre to centre, and was observed where it emerged from beneath the concrete foundation of the boundary wall of British Home Stores. Two sides of the southeastern part of the tower were found robbed down to 39 ft. O.D. but with both ashlar faces intact for at least two feet deeper. The wall was 5 ft. thick and battered on the outer face. The base of the wall is probably at about 34 ft. O.D. A small fragment of the cross-wall inside the line of the curtain wall was recorded by Dr. R. M. Butler in a hole which formerly contained a brick-lined cess-pit.

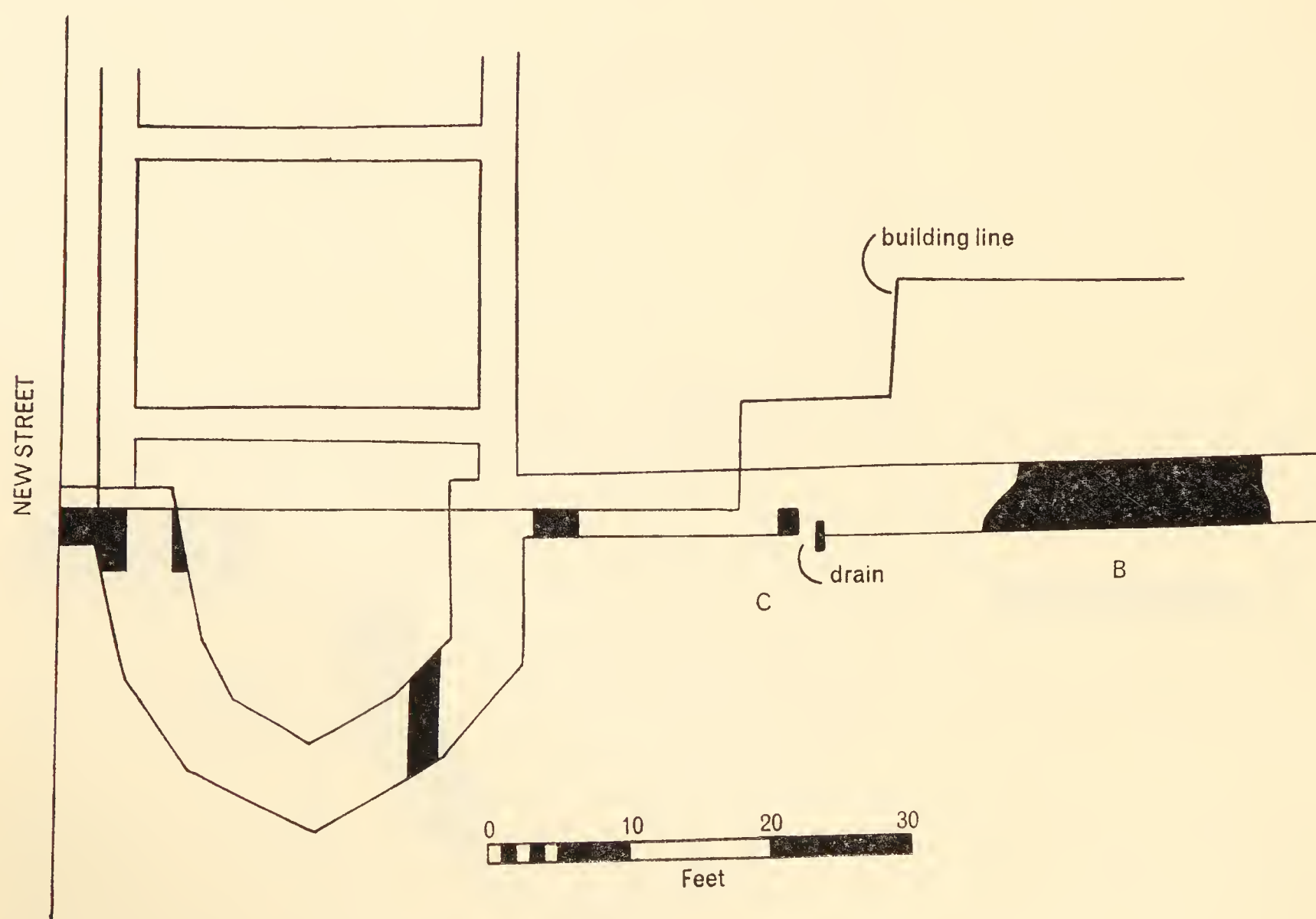


FIG. 2. Interval tower S.W.2. The black areas have been recorded.

Interval tower S.W.2 (Fig. 2) is 155 ft. northwest of S.W.1, centre to centre, and was seen in three narrow and deep trenches. One piece of the southeast side was found with the top of its rubble core at 40.25 ft. O.D. It was traced down to where at 36.5 ft. O.D., both faces had ashlar finish. The wall is probably 5 ft. thick. At its northwest corner the tower core is bonded into the core of the curtain wall. It was seen at 43 ft. O.D. on the outer face and at 37.5 ft. O.D. on the inner face where it was traced down for another 1.25 ft. Here the tower was close to the edge of the development and the rear compartments extend under the premises of Ware and Co.

Between these two towers, four trenches exposed parts of the curtain wall. At A in Fig. 1, 14 ft. of the outer face of the wall was exposed beginning 43 ft. from the outside of the British Home Stores wall. The top of the wall was at 44 ft. O.D. and must have been just below the ground level of the demolished properties. The upper part survived as the core only, but at 41.5 ft. O.D. the ashlar facing began and five courses were seen.

At B on Fig. 2 21 ft. of wall $5\frac{1}{2}$ ft. thick was exposed. The inner face had roughly dressed courses and the outer face had the usual ashlar. The top of the wall was again only a foot below the surface and was traced for 9 ft. downwards. At C on Fig. 2 what appears to be part of a drain was discovered at 38–39 ft. O.D. The drain, 1 ft. wide and with neatly finished sides, must be at least 3 ft. from the base of the wall, and this, together with the fact it projects in front of the line of the curtain wall, may mean that it is a post-Roman feature. Finally, adjacent to S.W.2, 3 ft. of one course of the outer face of the curtain wall was exposed at 39 ft. O.D.

Outside the fortress the numerous piles did not encounter masonry in any form. Inside the fortress the piles cut through old cellars, pits, and disturbed ground. Adjacent to the wall at B a section showed disturbed ground down to a cobble floor at 4 ft. which rested on 8 ins. diameter oak piles which are 3 ft. long. Numerous sherds of Roman and green glazed pottery were recovered.

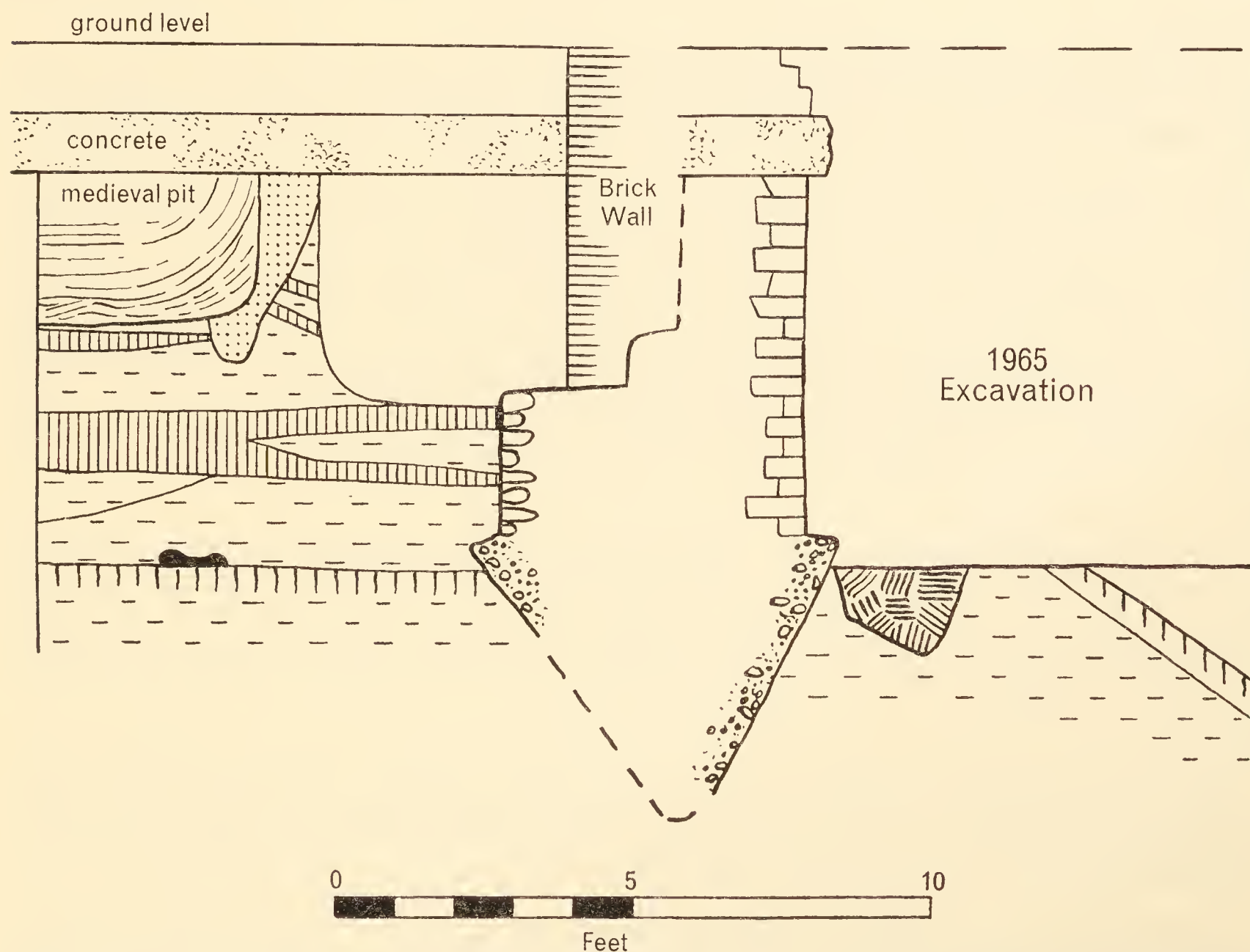


FIG. 3. The 1965 and 1969 lift shaft sections under Barclay's Bank, St. Helen's Square. Vertical shading represents black soil, horizontal dashes represent brown clay.

The bank behind the fortress wall did not survive in any of the holes examined, but an excavation 220 ft. northwest of S.W.2 under Barclay's Bank revealed the base of the bank. Here, the outer face was seen in 1965 when a lift shaft was excavated,¹ and a new shaft adjacent to it exposed the inner face and bank in 1969. Fig. 3 shows the two halves of the section joined as accurately as conditions permitted, with the base of the wall at $8\frac{1}{2}$ ft. below ground level at 38.5 ft. O.D. resting on a trench-filled foundation. The bank can be traced to a height of 5 ft. and is constructed of alternating bands of brown clay and black soil resting on the natural ground level. No construction trench exists for the wall, which may indicate that the bank was rebuilt in the fourth century. The bank had a

¹ Radley, J., *Y.A.J.*, part clxiv, (1966), 581–84.

medieval pit cut into it and an early post-hole; the pit was wattle-lined and yielded Romano-British sherds, 13 gritty unglazed sherds, 3 green-glazed sherds, part of a bluish perforated whetstone, a leather shoe, bones and oyster shells.

The new sections tell a consistent story. The curtain wall in its final form had a fine ashlar outer face and a rough inner face. In several places the wall must have been visible between St. Helen's Square and Feasegate well into historical times. Some sections appear to have been taken down or destroyed at an early date, and elsewhere the core of the wall survives the robbing of the ashlar face.

NOTE ON AN EARTHWORK AT ARNCLIFFE, W. R.

By J. M. and D. LEAK

The Site

The site was discovered in 1966, when Mr. J. C. Cawood queried banks and apparently artificial platforms in the valley bottom. These lie in two adjacent fields, midway between Arncliffe and Litton on the south side of the River Skirfare at (N.G.R.) SD 918724.

An oval enclosure some 150 ft. by 135 ft. lies in the more easterly field, with its major axis running northeast to southwest. The existing height of the surrounding bank varies from 2 – 5 ft. around the upper half but is negligible around the lower side where it appears to have been robbed. It encircles a number of smaller enclosures and banks, and is stepped into three main terraces, falling a total of 10 ft. 3 ins. towards the river. The majority of the internal walls stand 2 – 3 ft. high except on the east side where there is a complex with only slight differences in level although discernible as a feature. The lowest terrace is divided into two almost equal segments, with the entrance into the whole enclosure breaking the outer bank in the eastern segment.

The Excavation (Fig. 1)

An exploratory trench was dug in 1968 to determine the structure of the outer bank and to investigate one of the enclosures. A resistivity survey was made and showed both the upper and lower terraces to be devoid of definite features. High readings were obtained just outside the entrance to the enclosure, where a slight bank turns outwards and towards the river. A magnetometer pinpointed several anomalous features on the central terrace and the outer wall.

Excavation proved the outer wall to be composed of small but well-packed rubble with occasional firmly embedded boulders. It was set directly on to the limestone subsoil, which appeared to be glacially crushed bedrock and which was damp even after a fortnight's exposure. The original topsoil had been removed before construction.

There were three internal features that appeared to be huts and a trench was cut lengthwise along one of these. Only half of the hut interior was excavated, together with one long wall which runs along the foot of the upper terrace. The abutment on to the main outer wall was continuous although no corner or edge to the hut wall could be found until 12 ft. from the inner edge of the outer wall. The hut wall was of similar composition to the outer bank but more firmly packed. Halfway along, three flat, heavy stones were laid horizontally, overlapping each other slightly at right angles to the wall and projecting into the interior of the building, possibly forming a bench.

A passage-way, which was partially excavated, ran out to the centre of the enclosure, and was estimated to be 4 ft. wide and 15 ft. long. A number of small but flat-topped boulders seemed to form a rough floor in the passage-way, but the floor level of the hut could not be satisfactorily determined. There were two isolated paving slabs near the abutment with the outer wall but otherwise the crushed limestone subsoil may have formed a floor. This was badly disturbed by fallen rubble but a small cross-section on the northeast side did reveal a post hole 7 ins. in diameter.

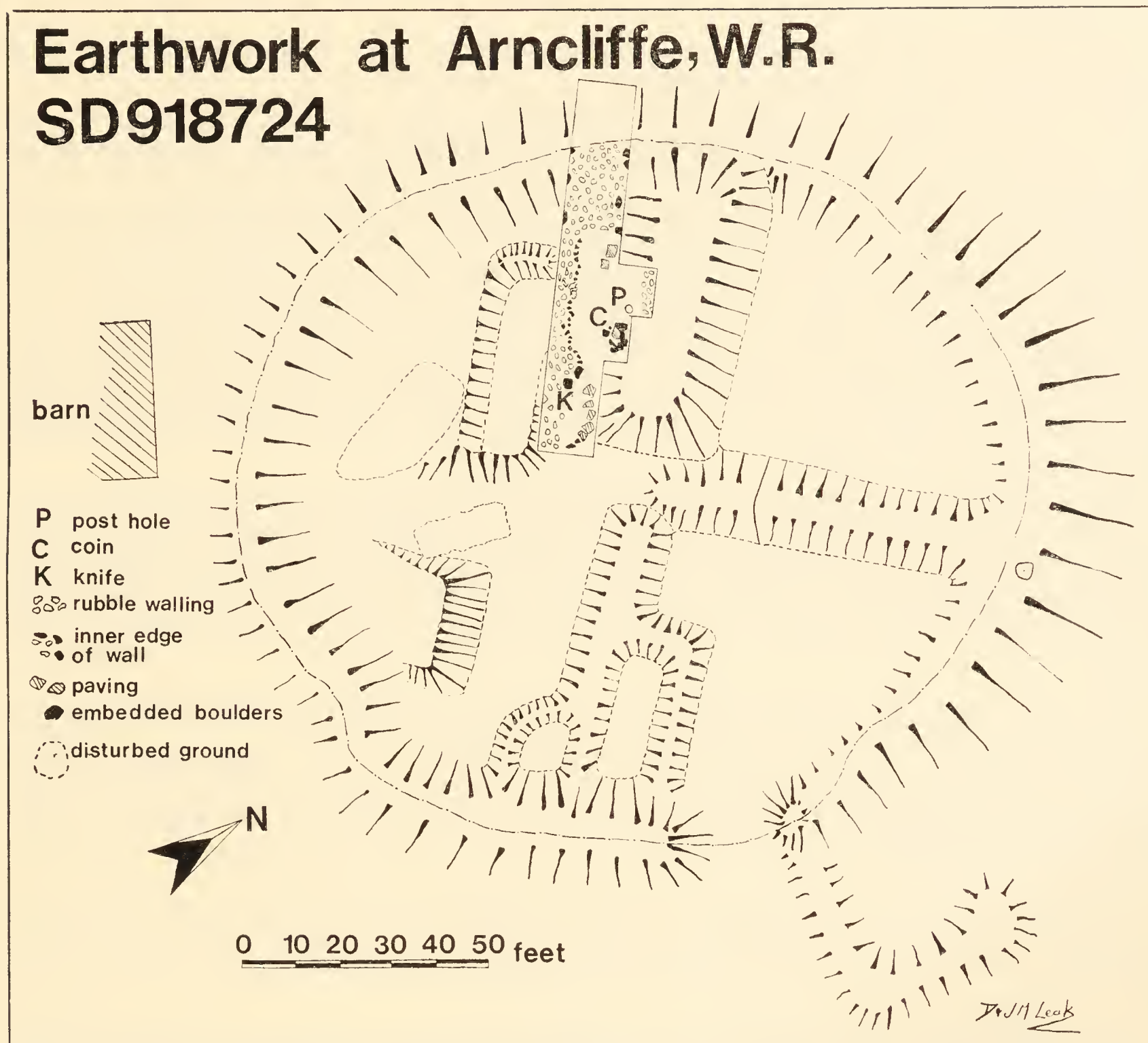


FIG. 1.

To the west of the oval enclosure and only a few yards away, there is a complex of enclosures and banks with two apparent streets. Although reminiscent of a deserted medieval village it also compares with villages in Scotland, Northumberland and N. Wales, dated to or accepted as Iron Age and sub-Roman. These structures occupy the length of a lateral moraine at the head of the glacial lake bed between Arncliffe and Litton, whilst the oval earthwork lies more on a level with the probable bed of the lake.

The habitation site is dissected by a sunken roadway leading from Arncliffe to Litton and dropping away to the north of the site so that it follows the approximate line of the old Skirfare. An examination of one of the structures lying against the roadway, and raised some 5 ft. above it, established the existence of an enclosure some 30 ft. by 20 ft. with a packed earth and pebble floor 15 ins. below ground level and some 3 ft. 9 ins. above the roadway. The whole structure has been badly damaged in the area examined but appears to have had dry, rough rubble walls approximately 2 ft. 6 ins. thick. Other structures in the field may be in a better state according to their proximity to more recent field walls and barns.

The only find was a single fragment of mortarium found among rubble on the floor. It is of 'wall-side' type with a rim form comparable with Dr. 45, its Samian counterpart¹ and Gillam's type 272. Considerable quantities of millstone grit slabs, all small and broken, were also found. These showed no signs of use but must have been brought to the site deliberately as the nearest outcrops are 3 – 4 miles away.

¹ *Guide to the Antiquities of Roman Britain*, British Museum, 1964, pp. 30, 32.

Conclusions

Although incomplete, enough excavation has been done to suggest that further work on this type of site would be worthwhile.

As at Croch Cleuch, Roxburghshire,¹ and Cae'r Mynydd, Caernarvonshire,² the main features are an oval outer bank enclosing several huts and terraces. At Cae'r Mynydd the oval enclosure is also associated with a 'village' area. Neither the outer bank nor the geographical position of the enclosure at Arncliffe is at all defensive against anything more than animals. No traces of wood or charcoal were found on the bank top and any additional palisading could only have been in the form of branches or very flimsy hurdling, which was easily removed. These sites appear to be homesteads, the one at Arncliffe presumably based upon agriculture in the valley. It should be emphasised that although the finds attest occupation in the mid-third century they all seem to have been gathered up with the building material for the hut, and may in fact point to occupation at a later date. Finds from both Croch Cleuch and Cae'r Mynydd range throughout the Roman period and beyond.

The documentary evidence for Littondale does not mention any of these earthworks – which render the land useless to the plough – until the eighteenth century Enclosure Act. There are numerous deserted medieval farmsteads higher up the valley which are duly noted in the documents. But they are individual farmsteads whereas the complex next to the enclosure is undoubtedly of village proportions and plan. There are at least two streets, possibly three, and the numerous embankments suggest several buildings and yards.

It is interesting to note that this type of earthwork occurs on the fringe of Roman control in Britain. During recent air reconnaissance J. K. St. Joseph noted another similar oval enclosure near Conistone, W. R. (SD.971670) which is also close to a settlement area.³ This may indicate that these sites are more common in the Yorkshire Dales than has been realised.

THE FINDS

Finds were few and were associated with either the walls themselves or the fallen rubble. A Victorian Jet button and some glass fragments were found in the topsoil.

Iron

1. Nail, in the side wall of the hut.
2. Hook Knife. Found in the hut wall; tanged, with flat, curved blade – point missing. Overall length 6 ins.

Pottery

Several sherds of Roman coarse ware were with the knife.

1. Rim fragment. Light red body, flanged with rouletting on outside. Very small fragment. Fine grits.
2. Bodysherd only. Red mortarium.
3. Rim fragment. Red mortarium, heavy grits. Hammerhead type, Third century. *Gillam* type 280.⁴

Coin

A Sestertius of Gordianus Pius (A.D. 238–44). One of the last issue, minted A.D. 243–4 and a common coin in Britain. The obverse is very clear but the reverse badly worn. The metal is extremely debased. Found among rubble on the hut floor.

Bones

There was a constant scatter of animal bones and teeth throughout the rubble. The heaviest concentration was in the passage way wall. There was no loosening of the rubble at this point although a thin layer containing slightly more humus broadened and dipped down. Most of the bones are too shattered for identification apart from two pieces of antler; many had been burnt or cooked and some had been split for marrow.

¹ K. A. Steer and G. S. Keeney, 'Two Homesteads at Croch Cleuch, Roxburghshire', *P.S.A.S.* lxxxi (1945–7), pp. 138–157.

² W. E. Griffiths, 'An Enclosed Hut Group at Cae'r Mynydd, Caernarvonshire', *Antiquaries Journal*, 39 (1959), Nos. 1–2, pp. 33–60.

³ J. K. St. Joseph, 'Air Reconnaissance; Recent Results, 17', *Antiquity*, xliii, No. 171 (September 1969), pp. 220–1.

⁴ J. P. Gillam, 'Types of Roman Coarse Pottery Vessels in Northern Britain', *Arch. Aeliana* xxxv (1957) 180–251.

Stone

1. Microlith. Hut wall.
2. Four fragments of rotary quern. Hut wall.
 - (a) Half of quern. Diam. 17 ins. Thickness at edge 2 ins., at hole 3 ins. Hole may be bored from underside only. Both outer edge and grinding surface smooth and slightly convex. Similar to querns found at Hownam Rings, Roxburghshire¹ and dated second century.
 - (b) Small segment. Radius from hole edge $8\frac{1}{2}$ ins. Thickness at hole 1 ins., at edge $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins. Edge and underside rough, grinding surface flat.
 - (c) Quarter segment. Radius approx. $7\frac{1}{2}$ ins. Thickness at edge 2 ins., at hole $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. Outer edge partly smooth, sloping to rough underside. Grinding surface flat.
 - (d) Quarter segment. Radius approx. 9 ins. Thickness at edge 3 ins., at hole 3 ins. Hole bored from both sides. Hole diam. on grinding surface $1\frac{3}{4}$ ins., halfway down $1\frac{1}{4}$ ins., at underside 2 ins. Outer edge badly chipped, grinding surface flat.

The only other object was a small angular piece of limestone with straight incised lines on all surfaces. As these are cut at a variety of angles and cross one another it is difficult to ascribe it to a natural cause. The lines could have been executed with a knife.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks are due to Mr. J. C. Cawood for background research and field work; the history students of the Trinity and All Saints Colleges, Horsforth, for their spadework; Mr. A. Aspinall, Bradford University, for resistivity surveys. Special thanks are due to the Civil Engineering Department of Leeds University for the plan published with this note, and to Messrs. Walker and McKenzie, landowner and tenant.

AN ANGLO-SAXON PIN-HEAD FROM PONTEFRACT

By RICHARD N. BAILEY

York and Whitby have yielded rich finds of decorated metalwork which can be assigned to the Christian Anglo-Saxon period but there is little comparable material from the rest of the county.² This scarcity prompts the publication of a gilt bronze disc, illustrated in Plate II, which was discovered in 1967 during excavations on the site of Pontefract Priory.³ I am indebted to the excavation director, Mr. C. V. Bellamy, both for permission to publish the disc in advance of his final report and for the information that it was unstratified.

The disc is of bronze, 3.9 cm. in diameter and decorated on one face only. The reverse is plain, and, unlike the other side, bears no trace of gilding. The edge of the decorated face is defined by a ridge-like border within which is a cross with expanded arms whose shape is emphasised by a contoured outline. The junction of the cross-arms is marked (though not quite centrally) by a slightly raised boss. The sunken fields between the border and the cross-arms are filled with knotwork which, thanks to corrosion, now has a zoomorphic appearance.

The disc has been pierced at four points. One hole cuts through a knotwork field and has a crack running through it from the border to the central boss. The other holes are in the cross-arms flanking this mutilated field: two of them can clearly be seen in the accompanying photograph though the one in the lower arm is now filled by the chemical preservative with which the disc is coated. The fourth hole was cut through the junction of the border and the lower arm and still contains the remains of a rivet.

¹ C. M. Piggott, 'The Excavation at Hownam Rings, Roxburghshire', 1948. *Proc. Soc. Ant. of Scotland* lxxxii (1947-8) pp. 193-225.

² Peers, C. R. and Radford, C. A. R. R., 'The Saxon Monastery of Whitby', *Archaeologia*, lxxix, 1943, 27-88.

Waterman, D. M., 'Late Saxon, Viking and Early Medieval Finds from York,' *ibid.*, xcvi, 1959, 59-105.

Cramp, R. J., *Anglian and Viking York*, 1968.

Other material from the county is listed in Wilson, D. M., *Anglo-Saxon Ornamental Metalwork 700-1100*, 1964.

³ For interim report see *Pub. Thoresby Soc.*, xlix, 1962-4 and subsequent summaries in *Medieval Archaeology*.

The eccentric piercing gives the clue to the object's original function as the head of a pin which once formed part of an interlinked suite like the set from the River Witham in the British Museum.¹

Structurally the few known examples fall into two groups. In the first the disc and shank were cast together: examples survive from Roos (Yorks.), South Ferriby (Lincs.), Kegworth (Leics.), Talnotrie (Kirkub.) and Meols Beach (Cheshire).² In the second group the parts were cast separately and then riveted together by the methods seen on examples from the River Witham and Birdoswald (Cumb.).³ The Pontefract disc can safely be assigned to the second group: two rivet holes and part of a rivet survive in the lower cross-arm and the eye of faith can even discern the imprint of the socket on the decorated face. Analogous survival of a pinless head is known from two examples at Cambridge.⁴ Other discs have been claimed as members of this composite-pin type but are more likely to be disc brooches (Lakenheath, Cambs.; Ixworth, Sffk.)⁵, mounts (Støle, Norway)⁶ or are too fragmentary for certain identification (Hauxton Mill, Cambs.; Ixworth, Sffk.; Lunde, Norway).⁷

It is difficult to explain the function of the non-rivet holes. If the hole in the lateral cross-arm carried the linking chain then the hole which mutilates the ornamental field can hardly be interpreted as its replacement. This latter piercing would then have to be explained as a linking point for a second chain or as the point where the pin was stitched on to a garment⁸ for added security. Neither explanation of this knotwork hole is satisfactory and it is at least theoretically possible that the cracked hole is primary whilst that in the cross-arm is its replacement.⁹ Such doubts about the function of these holes merely underline the fact that we do not know where, how, or in what number these pins were worn.

The date of the pin-head is more certain than its usage. Elaborately decorated disc-headed pins with piercing do not occur in graves of the pagan period though other types of linked pins are found in seventh century inhumations.¹⁰ The silver pins from Talnotrie were found in a hoard deposited in c. 875¹¹ so that a ninth century dating for the type cannot be excluded but the decoration of the Witham pins, the chip carving of most of the series and the frequent use of gilt bronze all point to the eighth century as the main period of usage.¹² Such a date for the Pontefract pin is also indicated by the parallels which can be drawn between its flat knotwork and that on the eighth century English material from Norway recently published by Dr. Bakka.¹³

¹ Wilson, *op. cit.*, 132–4 and Pl. xviii.

² Roos and South Ferriby: Kitson Clark, M., 'Late Saxon Pin-heads . . .' *Proc. Leeds Phil. and Lit. Soc.*, v, 1941–2, 333–8.

Kegworth and Talnotrie: Wilson, D. M., *op. cit.*, Pls. iiiia and ivd.

Meols Beach: Bu'lock, J. D., 'The Celtic, Saxon and Scandinavian settlement at Meols in Wirral,' *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lancs. and Cheshire*, cxii, 1960, Fig. 3c.

³ Birdoswald: Cramp, R. J., 'An Anglo-Saxon Pin from Birdoswald,' *Trans. Cumb. and West. Ant. and Arch. Soc.*, lxiv, 1964, 90–3.

⁴ *Victoria County History of Cambridge*, i, 1938, Pls. xic and xiic.

⁵ Wilson, D. M., *op. cit.*, 107 and 137.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 113.

⁷ Hauxton Mill: *Victoria County History of Cambridge*, i, 1938, Pl. xiia.

Lunde: Wilson, D. M., *op. cit.*, Pl. iid.

This Ixworth fragment is unpublished: I am indebted to the Ashmolean Museum for a photograph.

⁸ The position of the hole on the Roos pin makes Miss Kitson Clark's suggestion of stitching plausible for that example.

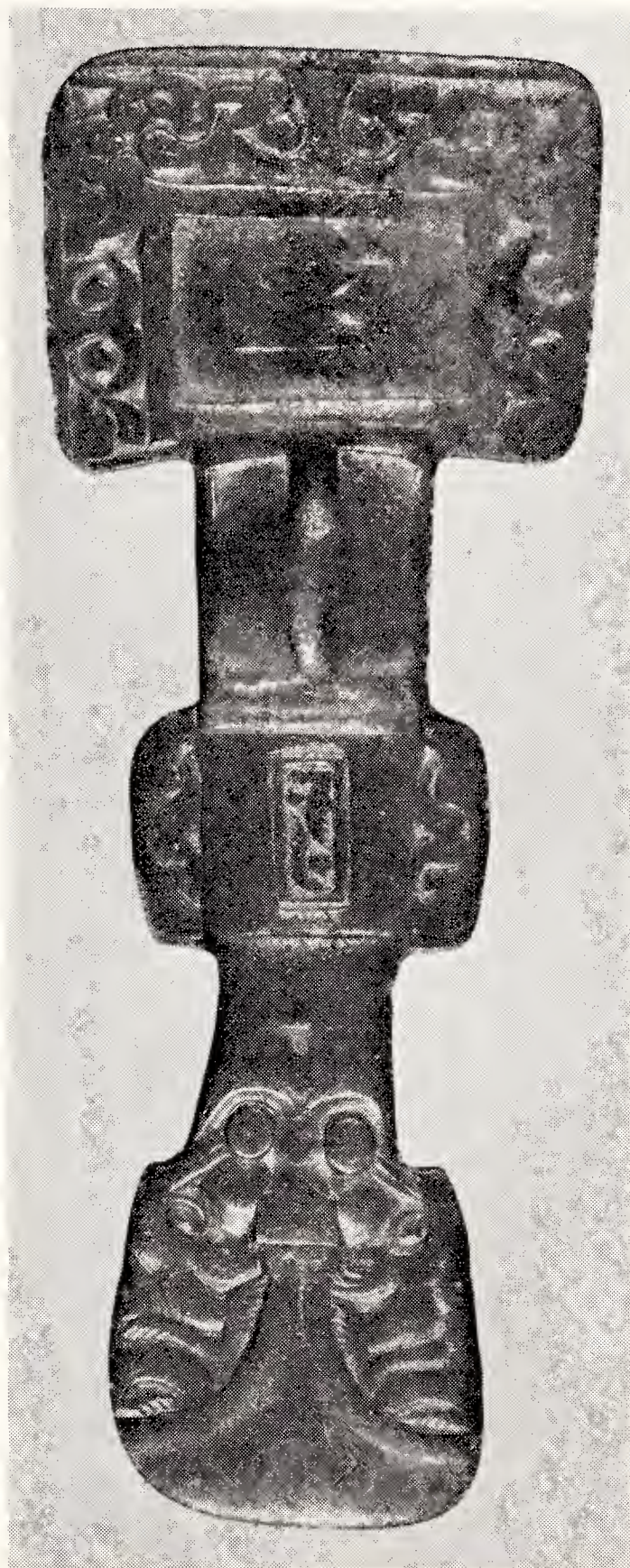
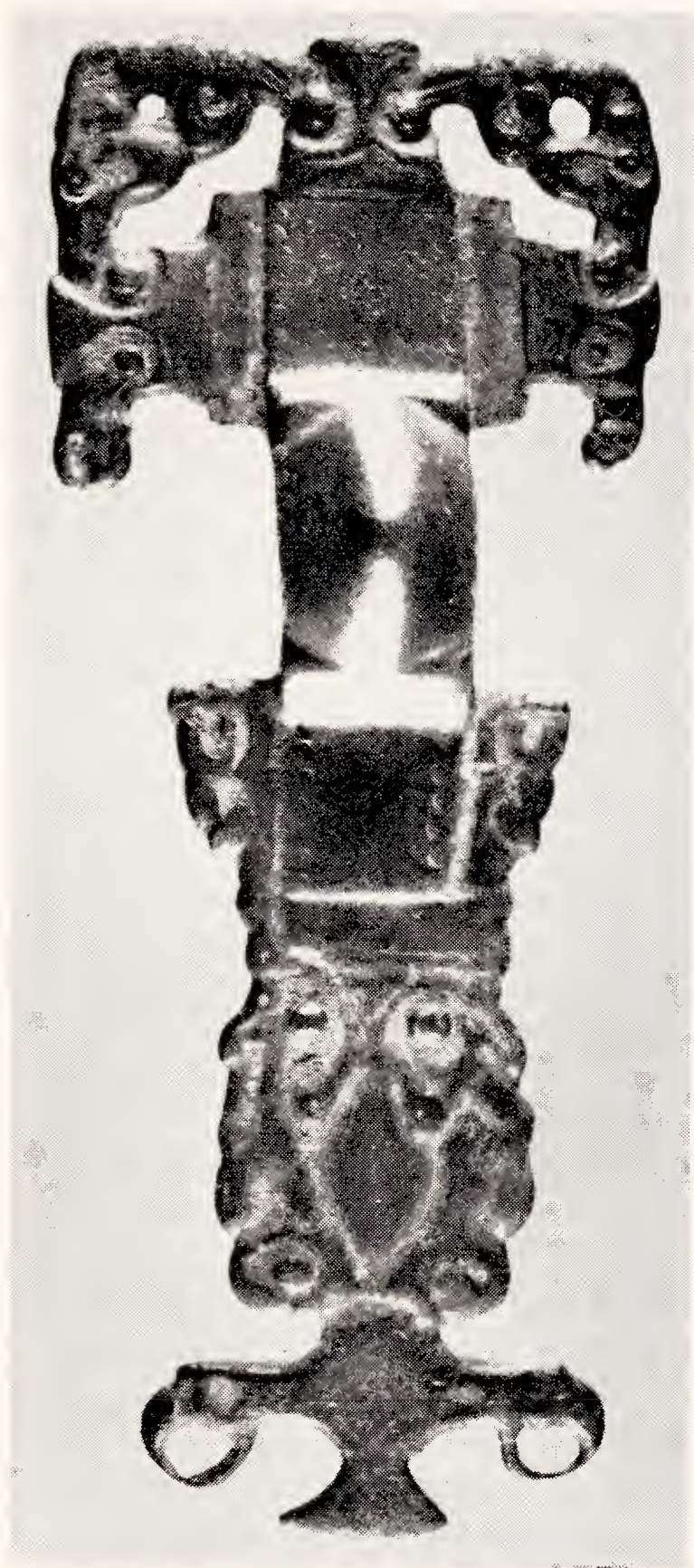
⁹ Both the Witham and Kegworth pins have (apparently primary) holes cutting into ornamental fields though, in both cases, the holes are nearer the border and less destructive of the decoration.

¹⁰ For recent discussions see Hyslop, M., 'Two Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries at . . . Leighton Buzzard, Bedfordshire,' *Arch. Jour.*, cxx, 1963, 198 and Meaney, A. L. and Hawkes, S. C., *Two Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries at Winnall*, 1970, 36–7 and 47–8. A pin from Hitchin, illustrated in Wilson, D. M., *op. cit.*, Pl. iia, shows that this type with looped head survived after the seventh century.

¹¹ Wilson, D. M., *op. cit.*, 7.

¹² Arguments for this dating are found in Wilson, D. M., *op. cit.*, 9–21. Since this note was written the publication of a disc from Bolnhurst, Bedfordshire in *Beds. Arch. Jour.*, iv, 1969, 13–15 has further strengthened Wilson's chronological framework.

¹³ Bakka, E., *Some English Decorated Metal Objects Found in Norwegian Viking Graves*, Bergen/Oslo, 1963, especially Fig. 62.



■ ■ ■ ■ ■ Cms.

PLATE I. Two Early Anglo-Saxon brooches. (a) Provenance unknown (left) (b) Catterick (right).
[*Michael Pocock: NOTE, p. 407*]



PLATE II. Anglo-Saxon pin-head from Pontefract ($\frac{1}{1}$).
[*Richard N. Bailey: NOTE, p. 405*]

A NOTE ON TWO EARLY ANGLO-SAXON BROOCHES

By MICHAEL POCOCK

The two brooches described in this note, both probably dating to the seventh century, are of some interest for the early history of Northumbria. The first (Plate Ia), preserved in the Museum at Alnwick Castle,¹ is of unknown provenance, but its form helps explain the typological ancestry of a class of square-headed brooches mainly distributed in Northumbria, and of which the second brooch described here, found at Catterick (Plate Ib) and now in the Yorkshire Museum,² is a member.

The most characteristic brooch of the Anglian cultural areas in early England was the cruciform type, distinguished by its winged and knobbed head-plate and animal-head foot. The English cruciforms held favour for a long period, stretching from the early fifth to early seventh century, and the many examples known from graves in East Anglia, south Cambridgeshire, and the east midlands, reveal a steady tendency during that period for increasing elaboration of form and decoration. Towards the middle of the sixth century, one aspect of this elaboration was the addition of ornamental excrescences to the tips of the knobs, either in the form of flat rectangular or crescentic plates, or of small moulded loops which were soon transformed into bird-heads and, ultimately, emerged as (?) human masks flanked by bird-heads. These features are rarely found on brooches from north of the Humber. Of the former type, with crescentic plates, there is a pair from Sewerby, Yks.;³ and of the latter, with mouldings, a brooch from Pocklington, Yks.⁴ (known only from an engraving) seems to have had a slightly decorated end knob, while a cruciform from Driffeld, Yks., now in Sheffield Museum, is more advanced and another stray knob from Driffeld, in the Yorkshire Museum, is composed of mask with flanking bird-heads. The other cruciforms found in Deira and Bernicia, and of the later sixth century in date, maintain the earlier, simple form of knob, decorated if at all with a slight nipple.

E. T. Leeds⁵ has traced the development whereby on certain late sixth century East Anglian cruciforms the original knobs have been omitted, leaving the flattened and enlarged excrescent masks and bird-heads to connect direct with the head-plate. These 'florid' cruciforms were disseminated to south Cambridgeshire and the east midlands and regional variants were evolved. In the east midlands florid cruciforms continued into the seventh century and the only example recorded from north of the Humber (from Hob Hill, Saltburn, Yks.)⁶ is a late import from the midlands. In East Anglia, however, the late sixth century saw the fusion of the florid cruciform with the contemporary square-headed form to produce Leeds' C2 class of square-head.⁷ The nature of this development may be seen in the florid cruciform from West Stow, Suffolk.⁸ Here, the masks and bird-heads have been flattened and expanded to the extent that they have joined at the corners of the head-plate to form a pierced outer surround. The next stage is the achievement of a solid rectangular head-plate. The particular interest of the Alnwick brooch is that it provides a link between West Stow and the C2 class.

¹ The brooch was photographed and is republished here by kind permission of His Grace the Duke of Northumberland. It was figured in the *Descriptive Catalogue of Antiquities . . . at Alnwick Castle* (1880), p. 75, No. 291, but seems to have escaped notice in subsequent archaeological literature.

² A number of burials in cists were accidentally discovered at Catterick in 1959 when workmen, during the construction of the new by-pass, cut through a site close to the eastern side of the Roman road (SE.2398/9736). Objects found in addition to the brooch published here included six spear-heads, an iron dagger, and a shield-boss (all dispersed). My best thanks are due to Mr. G. F. Willmot for details of the find and permission to publish the brooch here.

³ I am grateful to Mr. P. Rahtz for details of the cemetery at Sewerby.

⁴ W. Bowman, *Reliquiae antiquae Eboracenses* (1855), Pl. xii(i).

⁵ E. T. Leeds, *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology* (1936), pp. 81–83.

⁶ W. Hornsby, 'An Anglian Cemetery at Hob Hill, Near Saltburn', *Y.A.J.*, xxii (1912), pp. 131–36, Fig. 2. The stray Driffeld knob comes from an early sub-group of the florid type.

⁷ E. T. Leeds, *A Corpus of Early Anglo-Saxon Great Square-Headed Brooches* (1949), pp. 78–89.

⁸ Nils Åberg, *The Anglo-Saxons in England* (1926), Fig. 88.

The Alnwick brooch is cast in bronze and measures 14 cm. in length. The outward-facing masks are clearly discernible in the three sides of the head-plate, the grooved necks of the birds springing out from just beneath the eyes of the masks. The head-plate, bow, and upper foot are decorated with stamped crescents. The centre of the bow is ornamented with a round stud (now very worn). The lappets immediately beneath the bow show crudely depicted outward-facing beaked animals, relatives of the much more finely designed creatures on the brooches from Staxton¹ and Hornsea.² Beneath the lappets, and separated from them by a raised, grooved collar, is a flattened mask which surmounts a plain, lozenge-shaped zone, on either side of which are the garbled memories of flanking animals. On each side of the foot of the lozenge, immediately above the widely expanded bird-head finials and small, spreading tongue, is another bird-head profile in which the curved beak and semi-circle representing the back of the head have run together into a circlet surrounding a central eye. This feature, which apparently derives from a similar treatment of the foot on several mid-sixth century cruciforms,³ also appears on the C2 square-head from Darlington, Durham,⁴ the foot of which affords the closest parallel available to Alnwick. Darlington is of finer workmanship than Alnwick, and lacks the wide terminal finials of the latter piece.

The distribution of Leeds' C2 square-headed class is primarily Northumbrian, although the northern examples were evidently inspired by a fine East Anglian prototype like Kenninghall, Norfolk.⁵ From Kenninghall, in typological succession we have: Staxton, Yks.; Benwell, Northumberland;⁶ Hornsea, Yks.; Driffeld, Yks.;⁷ Whitehill Point, Northumberland.⁸ All these have a foot composed of mask surmounting a spreading tongue. The Darlington C2 brooch and Alnwick (representing an antecedent form) belong to a sub-group of the C2 class distinguished by the presence of flanking animals on the foot. An unpublished brooch from Fonaby, Lincs.,⁹ is very similar to Darlington, although it has no terminal 'tongue' projecting beyond the rectangular contour of its foot.

The C2 square-head from Catterick also stands apart from the main C2 sub-group of the Staxton type. It is cast in bronze with additional chased ornament and measures 13.6 cm. in length, and shows signs of considerable wear. The head-plate conforms to the usual C2 type in the details of its border, but the decoration of the central panel, crossed diagonals within a small, chased rectangle, is apparently unique within the class, as is also the decoration of the lappets which flank the upper foot-plate. The latter contains a central panel ornamented with two frond-like feet. On the lower foot-plate, beneath the very worn collar, is the terminal mask, with furrowed forehead and large, prominent eyes above round cheeks. From the base of the mask's snout spreads out a broad crescentic tongue, and resting on either side of this, their eyes close to the cheeks of the mask and their foreheads brought forward into long, narrow 'beaks' connecting with the mask's eyes, are two substantial flanking beasts. Their clearly delineated bodies are without parallel in the C2 class (Alnwick and Darlington are incomprehensibly garbled by comparison) and descend instead from the creatures on florid cruciforms such as: Icklingham, Suffolk;¹⁰ Soham, Cambs.;¹¹ and Partney, Lincs.¹²

¹ Leeds, *op. cit.* in note 7, no. 131.

² *Ibid.*, no. 132.

³ For example, the brooch from grave 99, Holywell Row, Suffolk, T. C. Lethbridge, *Recent Excavations in Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries in Cambridgeshire and Suffolk* (1931), Fig. 20(1).

⁴ Leeds, *op. cit.* in note 7, no. 135. In addition to this complete brooch, there is also an imperfect brooch of the C2 class from Darlington, of which only the upper part survives (no. 134 in Leeds' *Corpus*). Another C2 brooch, from Wigston Magna, Leics., is known only from a poor illustration. This perhaps has faint memories of flanking animals at the foot; Leeds, *op. cit.* in note 7, p. 81 and Fig. no. 136.

⁵ Leeds, *op. cit.* in note 7, no. 130.

⁶ G. Jobey, 'A Square-Headed Brooch from Benwell', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, series 4, xxxv (1957), Pl. vi.

⁷ Leeds, *op. cit.* in note 7, no. 133.

⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 137.

⁹ Scunthorpe Museum.

¹⁰ Leeds, *op. cit.*, in note 5, Pl. xxii, b.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Pl. xxiii.

¹² F. H. Thompson, 'Anglo-Saxon Discoveries at Partney, Lincolnshire', *The Antiquaries Journal*, xxxiv (1954), Pl. xxv(a).

The distinctions drawn above between, on the one hand, the brooches from Darlington and Catterick, and, on the other, the C2 brooches of Staxton type which have a more easterly, often coastal distribution, seem to reflect a certain independence of tradition and contact among that branch of the Deirans who in the fifth and sixth centuries pressed northwards along the Roman roads from York until the broken country of Durham impeded further progress. Catterick was evidently an important stage in this northerly movement, if it is to be identified with the site of the British disaster at Catraeth (c.600) recorded by the poet Aneirin.¹ The Anglo-Saxon burials discovered at Darlington mark the northern limit of this Deiran advance. The other C2 brooches from north of the Humber, showing an easterly distribution in Yorkshire and Northumberland, point to the strong coastal links between Deira and Bernicia. Despite the variations in design of foot-plate, the C2 brooches are all closely linked through the common form of border to the head-plate, and the spread of the type in the early seventh century from East Anglia into the north presents an interesting distribution in view of the rarity of exports from East Anglia and south Cambridgeshire to Deira and Bernicia datable to the later sixth century. As E. T. Leeds has suggested,² the C2 distribution may reflect the stability produced by Aethelfrith's joining of Deira to Bernicia in the early seventh century and a consequent opening up to trade; or, alternatively, it may be linked to Edwin's accession to power in 617, achieved with the aid of Raedwald of East Anglia.

¹ For discussion, see K. Jackson, 'The "Gododdin" of Aneirin', *Antiquity*, xiii (1939), pp. 25–34.

² Leeds, *op. cit.*, in note 5, pp. 93–95.

ROMANO-BRITISH METALWORK FROM THE SETTLE DISTRICT OF WEST YORKSHIRE

By ALAN KING

These metal objects have been considered previously in part by various authors; some of them are single chance finds, the result of ploughing or drainage schemes, but the majority, the cave finds, come from excavations and are now housed in various museum collections. It is intended to consider them chronologically, as far as possible.¹

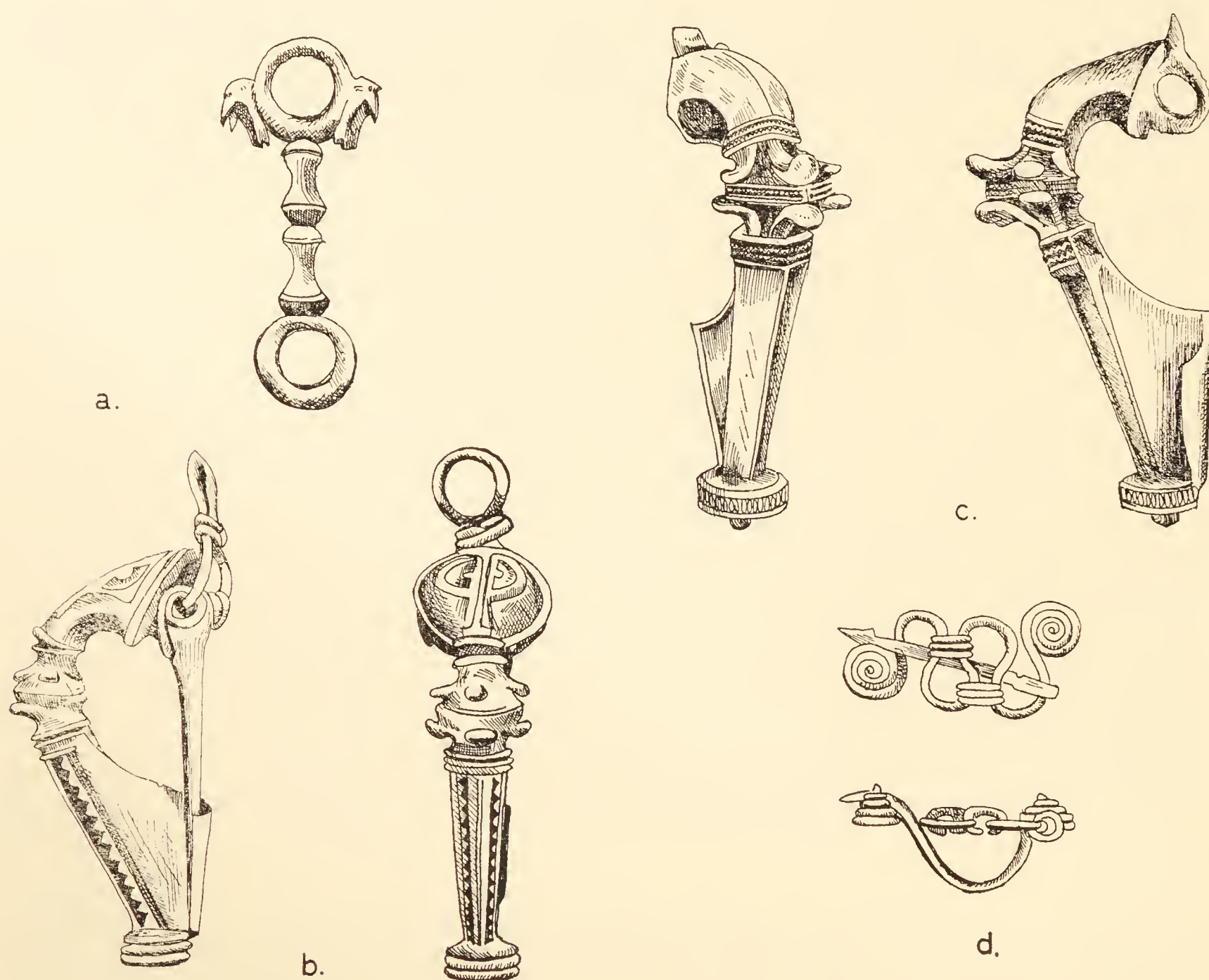


FIG. 1.

a. Mirror Handle, Ingleton. ($\frac{1}{4}$).
b. Bronze fibula, Stackhouse. ($\frac{1}{1}$).

c. Silver fibula, Langcliffe. ($\frac{2}{3}$).
d. Bronze fibula, Attermire Cave. ($\frac{1}{2}$).

¹ The material contained in this paper was part of a Univ. of Liverpool M.A. thesis and the writer wishes to acknowledge the guidance given him during that work by Dr. T. G. E. Powell, Head of the Dept. of Prehistory at Liverpool. Mr. Tom Lord, owner of the Pig Yard Club Museum, has made this particular study possible by his continued encouragement and by putting his collection at the writer's disposal.

The Ingleton Mirror Handle is the earliest local Romano-British find and was dated by Sir Cyril Fox to A.D. 40 or a little later.¹ This article of bronze was found about 400 yards south of Whinney Mire Farm, Coldcotes, during deep ploughing. It is a bar type handle with a ring at both ends (Fig. 1a). The upper ring has two cows heads symmetrically positioned as integral parts of the mirror grip. The mirror was most probably kidney shaped. The other mirror handle, found in Spider Cave, Settle, has a cylindrical bar of Northern type, decorated with two groups of transverse bands (Fig. 3e). There is a decorated ring, flat but with a bevel along most of the inner edge, at the lower end; and part of a rivet at the upper end. This rivet could not have held a mirror but would have held another ring. The bar handle appears to be cast and the whole suggests a later date than the Ingleton find.

Brooches from the district have been classified using Collingwood's system.² A diagrammatic survey of the 98 brooches is shown in Table A, Appendix 2. Brooches of a first-century date are rare. The find from Kelco Cave belonging to Group B is a type not common in Britain and the three early types can be considered the property of immigrants to the district. The Aucissa-type brooch from Attermire Cave has no name or lettering on it.

About half of the total number of brooches can be dated to the first half of the second century, and this is a remarkable increase, reflecting the more settled conditions in the North of England with the establishment of the Hadrianic frontier. The expansion and development at some civil settlements to the north at this time has been shown by Prof. Birley.³

The S-fibula which developed into the Dragonisque brooch and the Dragonisque are prominent in collections, and have been dealt with by Feachem.⁴ This paper shows that these brooches developed fully and finally in Northern England and Southern Scotland, with the major concentration at Settle. All the examples are bronze, the dragoniques usually decorated with enamel (Fig. 2e), but some equally fine examples are found without enamelling (Fig. 2f). This find from Attermire Cave has punched lines breaking the flowing curvilinear outline. The leaf-like detail above the eye in both examples is similar, although the Victoria Cave brooch has been cast complete and later enamelled, while the Attermire one has incised lines on a cast blank.

The other fibula common in the North of England on most Roman and Romano-British sites is the trumpet type. Though the classical acanthus was borrowed, it was not just copied, the foundation it provided being built upon. The artistic qualities were very high, and the writer cannot agree that the building of Hadrian's Wall or the arrival of the conquering Romans immediately made the Celtic bronzesmith an artisan as opposed to an artist, as contended by Leeds.⁵ The Roman influence was not a direct artistic one. As patrons or customers they obviously appreciated the lines of Celtic artwork, and their encouragement in whatever form it was exercised brought out the best of the native workers. It is unlikely that the latter created these pieces only for themselves and their fellows, as examples of these brooches have been found in Central Europe. It remains to be proven whether the by-products of Roman lead mining provided a supply of raw materials for the Celtic smiths. This will be dealt with more fully later (p. 413 and Appendix). The better fibula are often examples worked in silver (Figs. 1c, 2c, and 2d).

Scrolls, designs on dragonisque fibulae were heightened with red, dark blue, and green enamel. Fig. 3f, from Kelco Cave is decorated with dark blue and red enamel, as are most of the Group Q brooches from Victoria Cave. On these fibulae the edge of the bow is decorated with a line of inlaid enamel diamond shapes. Light blue enamel is rare and best seen on the recently found brooch from Stackhouse⁶ (Fig. 1b). The 'eyes' on the trumpet are inlaid, giving a fine colour contrast with the unpatinated bronze.

¹ Fox, C. (1958). See bibliography on p. 417.

² Collingwood, R. G. (1930).

³ Birley, E. (1958), 45.

⁴ Feachem, R. W. (1951), 32.

⁵ Leeds, E. T. (1933).

⁶ King, A., and Walker, W. H. (1966), 363.

The other type of brooch found in considerable numbers is the Disc Brooch. Most of these have abstract designs in repoussé work, the better ones (Pl. Ia), showing late La Tene tricelis trumpet scroll designs. The general character of the disc brooches found in the North of England is so homogeneous that they could be the product of a single centre. Prof. Toynbee suggests some of these brooches have been inspired by Hadrianic coins and are of approximately that date.¹

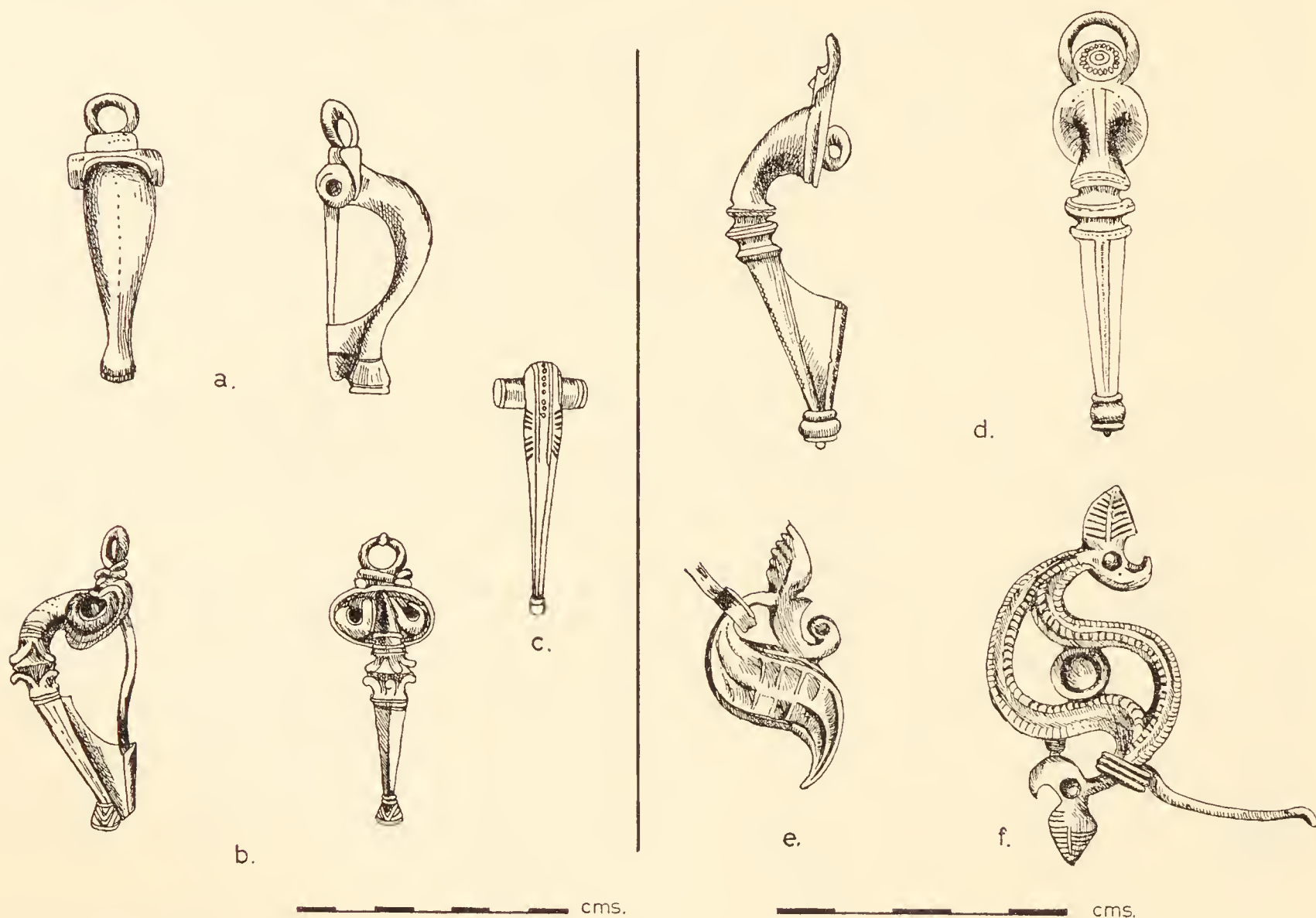


FIG. 2.

- a. Bronze fibula, Buckhaw Brow Top.
b. Bronze fibula, Sewell's Cave.
c. Silver fibula, Settle.

- d. Silver fibula, Attermire Cave.
e. Dragonesque fibula, Victoria Cave.
f. Dragonesque fibula, Attermire Cave.

From the evidence of the brooches, trade and communications with the rest of the Northern Province had developed and expanded for approximately a hundred years from the middle of the first century. The Knee Brooches (Fig. 2a), belonging to Group V are far less beautiful and the acme of Brigantian brooches is over. It would appear that the defeat of the Brigantes at Stanwick in A.D. 74 was a major blow, but living conditions in this area could have improved as a result. Ringed by Agricola's forts, at Ribchester, Elslack, Ilkley, Bainbridge and Lancaster, the district prospered; Hadrian had the forces withdrawn from garrisons in the Pennine area but not those in the west. After A.D. 150 uprisings occurred in the Pennines, centred probably in the west, and Roman reinforcements were sent out from the Continent to Britain. Most of the turf-walled Agricola's forts were sacked, the nearest at Bainbridge was rebuilt in stone as early as A.D. 158 and occupied until the final Roman withdrawal. The forts at Elslack and Ilkley were rebuilt after A.D. 210; this could substantiate the suggestion made by Prof. Piggott that finds of 'Donside' terrets mark the trail of the Caledonian alliance which swept over Hadrian's Wall about A.D. 197. One such terret has been found in Giggleswick.²

¹ Toynbee, J. M. C. (1964), 343.

² Villy, F. (1913), 237.



a



b



PLATE I.

- a. Disc brooch from Victoria Cave (3.8 cm. diameter).
- b. Lead figure (reverse, obverse) from Giggleswick (height 7.6 cm.).

The two fourth-century fibulae (Fig. 3a and b) are both gold on bronze. The dolphins on the shoulders of the larger one from Attermire Cave, now seem out of place. The Mediterranean dolphins or sea dragons had passed into a two dimensional Celtic scroll two centuries before.

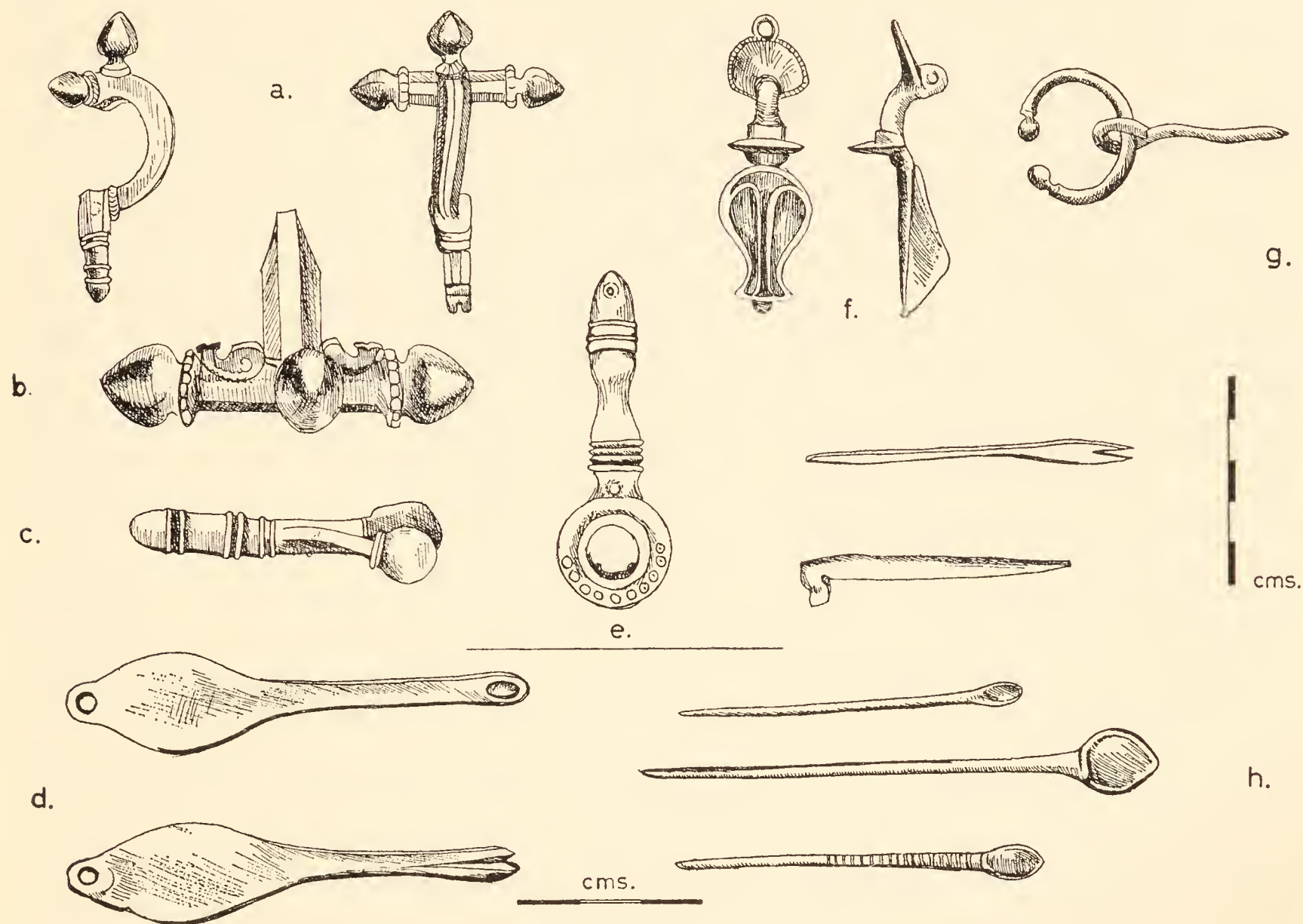


FIG. 3.

- a. Gilded fibula, Victoria Cave.
 b. Gilded fibula, Attermire Cave.
 c. Tweezers, Victoria Cave.
 d. Spatulate ended spoon and gouge,
 Victoria Cave.

- e. Mirror Handle, Spider Cave, Settle.
 f. Enamelled fibula, Kelco Cave.
 g. Penannular brooch, Attermire Cave.
 h. Enamelling/metalworking tools, Victoria Cave.

The cauldron from Crummackdale, published by Mattinson and Palmer,¹ is considered by Prof. Hawkes to be late third or possibly early fourth century in date.² He sees it as evidence of continuity of metalworking by local smiths into the later Roman period, after the period of unrest; the base of the cauldron has not been lathe turned, it is cast in the old tradition.

The first-century fibulae have already been considered as the property of immigrants moving to the uncultivated Dales valleys. The second-century finds are not all bronze and again it has been suggested the lead, silver and copper could be of local origin, and the manufacture of jewellery was a sideline to the export of lead. No lead pigs have been found locally, the nearest finds are those from Greenhow and Hayshaw Bank, east of Grassington, dated to A.D. 81–138³ (see, however, Appendix 3, p. 416). Other local finds suggest metalworking in the district. Associated with the fibulae already mentioned, are numerous penannular brooches of both bronze and iron, and quantities of bronze wire, bronze strip and twisted wire bracelets, and rings. One penannular from Attermire Camp East is an unusual 'Hour-glass' type. The S-fibula of twisted wire is mentioned by

¹ Mattinson, W. K., and Palmer, L. S. (1937), 164.

² Hawkes, C. F. C. (1951), 185.

³ Raistrick, A. (1934), 221.

Feachem only from this area, similar forms do exist as ear-rings in silver and bronze. The bronze brooch from Attermire Cave (Fig. 1d) is a unique shape in the same twisted wire tradition.

The objects shown on Fig. 3 from Victoria Cave, are more likely to be the tools of a smith than cosmetic equipment. When the brooch drawn in Fig. 2e is studied under good magnification the fields, where the enamel is missing, can be seen prepared for the enamel. The *champlevé* technique has been used on local finds and here a burr or rim is used to hold in the enamel. Fig. 3d seems to be a gouge, and is almost identical to finds from Traprain Law; items h are more probably spoons for placing the powdered enamel on the glowing bronze than 'earpicks'; Fig. 3c, tweezers, could have held hot metal.

Lead working seems attested by the 2.25 ins. diameter lens-shaped ingot, from Dowkerbottom or Victoria Cave, now in the British Museum.¹ The ingot is close to the average size of Roman and Romano-British metallurgical crucibles from the North of England.² It has been made a little smaller by hammering around the periphery. Lead spindle whorls are not uncommon finds locally. They are usually truncated bi-conical forms decorated with a raised zig-zag line running from the inner to the outer edge. The same raised zig-zag pattern is found on the front of the cast lead figure from Bankwell, Giggleswick (Pl. Ib). If this is a votive figure as the location suggests, it could be a Celtic one. It has certain similarities with other cult figures, in particular with the bone representation of a mother goddess from Corstopitum.³

In the absence of further technological data a precise date cannot be suggested; similarly it is only after the ores and metalwork finds of Northern Britain have been analysed will we be able with any certainty to pinpoint local workshops.

Conditions in the caves and on the uplands have not favoured the preservation of ironwork. Knives, and domestic items like nails and hooks have been found in most caves. Implements like the gladius found in Sewell Cave,⁴ and the lead bowl lamp and its iron bracket from Attermire Cave are most likely of Roman origin. The wheel tyres, nave hoops, lynch pin and other chariot fragments again from Attermire Cave are more of a problem. The cave mouth is about twenty feet above a steep scree slope and has a narrow cleft entrance. The chariot must have been dismantled and carried up in pieces and its significance in a cave, together with gilded, silver and enamelled bronzes, convince the writer that the caves had a sepulchral not domestic use.

The majority of the fibulae belong to Collingwood's types 'R' and 'S' together with the Dragonesses, their associated wire forms, and the Disc brooches suggest that local decorative metalwork and enamelling was limited to the second half of the first century and the first half of the second (Table A, List of Romano-British Fibula Types). The period of uprising and unrest in the North of England and Scotland from about A.D. 150 to the end of the second century seems to have brought to an end the period jewellery production; weapons had to be manufactured and horses shod.

The Roman military victories and the establishment of stone-built Roman forts around the district brought peace during the third century. Metalwork of this period is very rarely found in the area, the cauldron from Crummackdale being the isolated example. It seems possible that metalworkers were conscripted into military service and left the district or were settled in, or close to, the Roman forts: recent excavations at Bainbridge have shown evidence for metalworking in the *principia* of the Roman fort during the fourth century.⁵

Coins became more common in the third century as Romanisation spread into the uplands, perhaps encouraging trade. A recent find, a denarius of Severus Alexander (222-235) from Marshfield Road, Settle, is the earliest third-century coin found; from this time until the end of the century there follows a good sequence. 37 out of 52, the total number of recorded coins, belong to the third century, 7 to the fourth (Appendix 2, Table B, List of Recorded Roman Coins.)

¹ British Museum ref. no. '48.5-11.44.

³ Ross, A. (1966), 387.

⁵ Hartley, B. R., personal communication.

² *Op. cit.*, 14 above.

⁴ Raistrick, A. (1938b), 198.

APPENDIX 1

LIST OF MAJOR FINDS MENTIONED IN THE TEXT

<i>Object</i>	<i>Site</i>	<i>Text Fig.</i>	<i>Museum</i>	<i>Publication</i>
Mirror handle	Ingleton	Fig. 1a	B.M.	Fox. Pattern and Purpose
Mirror handle	Spider Cave	Fig. 3e	Settle	No
Dragonesque enamelled	Victoria C.	Fig. 2e	Settle	Cave Hunting
Dragonesque not enamelled	Attermire C.	Fig. 2f	Settle	<i>Ant. Journ.</i> , xxxi, 1951
Silver Fibula	Langcliffe	Fig. 1c	Private	Sotheby's Catalogue
Silver Fibula	Attermire Cave	Fig. 2d	Settle	No
Bronze Fibula	Stackhouse	Fig. 1b	Private	<i>Y.A.J.</i> , xli, 1966, 363
Disc Brooch	Victoria C.	Plate 1a	Settle	Cave Hunting
Fibula Group S	Kelco Cave	Fig. 3f	Settle	No
Fibula Group V	Buckhaw Brow	Fig. 2a	Settle	No
Terret 'Donside'	Giggleswick	—	Settle	<i>Y.A.J.</i> , xxii, 1917, 237
Fibula Group T	Attermire C.	Fig. 3b	Settle	No
Cauldron	Crummackdale	—	B.M.	Mattinson & Palmer, P.P.S., iii, 1941
Bronze twisted wire fibula	Attermire C.	Fig. 1d	Leeds	<i>Yorks. Evening News</i> 29/4/1927
Tweezers and small tools	Victoria C.	Fig. 3c, d, h	Settle	No
Lead ingot	Dowkerbottom/ Victoria C.	—	B.M.	No. 48. 5-11.44
Lead Figure	Giggleswick	Plate 1b	Settle	No
Hafted iron knife	Victoria/ Dowkerbottom	—	B.M.	No. 57. 11-13.1
Gladius	Sewell Cave	—	Settle	<i>Proc. Univ. Durham Phil. Soc.</i> ix, 191
Chariot remains	Attermire C.	—	Settle	No
Denarius - SEVERUS ALEXANDER	Settle	—	Private	No

APPENDIX 2

TABLE A
CLASSIFICATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF FIBULAE

<i>Collingwood's Group</i>	<i>Victoria</i>	<i>Cave Sites</i>		<i>Kelco</i>	<i>Dowk' Btm</i>	<i>Other Sites</i>
A				S		
B						
C		S				
D						
E						
F						S - Attermire Camp East
P						
Q	SSSSS	S	S			
R	SSSSS BBB	SSS	SSS	SS		Stackhouse ¹ Langcliffe ²
S				S		
T		S				S - 'Settle Caves' Prob. Victoria
U						
V	S	SSS				
Wire	SSS	S, LEEDS	S			
Bronze						
Penann	SSSSSSSS	SSSSSSSSS	S	SSS	B	S - Hour Glass Type Attermire Camp East
Iron						
Penann	SSSSS	SSSS	S	S		
S and						
Dragonesque	SSS	SSS		SS	BB, Lit. ³	
Disc	10 - S	SS				
						Total 98

S — Find in the Pig yard Club Museum, Settle.
B — Find in the British Museum.
¹ & ² — In private collections.
³ — Lit. Ref. Arch. Ael. 3, v, 423.

TABLE B
LIST OF IDENTIFIED ROMAN COINS

ATTERMIRE CAMP EAST

Vespasian	69-79	3 Claudius II	268-270
3 Gallienus	253-268	6 Tetricus	270-273
Postumus	258-267	Constantine I	306-337
2 Victorinus	268-270		

These were found in a native pottery vessel.

ATTERMIRE CAVE

Domitian	81-96	Tetricus	270-273
Marcus Aurelius	161-180	Crispus	310
		All P.Y.C. Museum, Settle	

CRAVEN BANK, GIGGLESWICK

Constantine I	306-337	Gratianus	367-383
Constantine II	324-361		

These coins were found together with a Silver ring. All were deposited in Leeds City Museum, but the ring was lost during the war.

VICTORIA CAVE

Vitellius	69-70	2 Victorinus	268-270
3 Trajan	97-117	5 Tetricus	270-273
Hostilianus	250-251	Diocletian	284-305
3 Gallienus	253-268	Constans	333-350
2 Claudius II	268-270		
Hadrian	117-138	All P.Y.C. Museum, Settle	
		Brit. Speleo. Assoc., Settle	

VICTORIA OR DOWKERBOTTOM CAVE

2 Claudius II	268-270	Tetricus	270
		Brit. Museum Nos. 57.11-13.53, 54, 55	

JUBILEE CAVE

Crispus	310	P.Y.C. Museum, Settle	
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KELCO CAVE

Gallienus	253-268	P.Y.C. Museum, Settle	
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INGLETON

Antoninus Pius	138-161	Lambert, Ingleton	
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A statement credited to the writer in the *Y.A.J.*, clxiv, 1967, Archaeological Register has the find spot of this coin - Ingleborough. This is incorrect.

MARSHFIELD ROAD, SETTLE

Severus Alexander	222-235	Priv. Coll.	
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GIANT'S GRAVE, PEN-Y-GHENT

Gallienus	253-268	Skipsey, Settle	
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APPENDIX 3

There are pronounced scars about half a mile east of Attermire and Victoria Caves where the mineral veins have been removed by surface working.

'The minerals are galena (lead sulphide), anglesite (lead sulphate), calamine (now called smithsonite-zinc carbonate), malachite and azurite (both copper carbonates), with barytes, quartz and calcite. The barytes is usually stained purple and occurs in rounded masses of fine radiating crystals'.¹

Raistrick also points out that the only good mineral ore is associated with the shallowest workings and that no extensive surface mining has been continued successfully by deep shafts.

¹ Raistrick, A. (1938a), 115-150.

The mineral sulphide ores at the surface have been subject to natural oxidation, producing carbonates. It is these carbonates that could have been worked in prehistoric times. Coghlan suggests that an open wood fire would give a temperature of 600–700°C whilst malachite requires a temperature about a hundred degrees higher for smelting.¹ By increasing the draught to raise the temperature reducing conditions will be worsened. Nevertheless a kiln or fire capable of firing a pottery vessel will produce copper from malachite.

The Roman period is marked by the widespread introduction of zinc into copper alloys.² As zinc melts at 420°C calamine mixed with copper and reduced will give a copper-zinc alloy. There is no reason why both copper and zinc carbonate ores cannot be smelted together to produce a brass.

Whilst excavating at Victoria Camp (paper forthcoming) an amount of barytes was found on the surface. An elongated bowl was lined with clay and contained almost a hundredweight of barytes. The pieces all contain vughs with malachite and some haematite and goethite (the two latter minerals are both iron oxides).³ Sandstone seems to have been used to build up a low wall to the north (though this could be natural and in situ). The clay in the lower levels of the bowl was very much altered and very red, it also contained charcoal and a small amount of slag. The opening into the structure was from the west. This is considered to be a bowl furnace most likely to have been used for copper smelting. The circular adjacent huts yielded no dateable finds but some barytes identical to that found in the furnace was found in a hut wall. An associated burial mound had been opened previously and bronze studs an inch in diameter fitted on iron nails found. These were thought to be shield decorations and are now in the P.Y.C. Museum at Settle.

The proximity to mineral deposits must be of importance to the location of this enclosed site, situated as it is at 1500 ft. O.D. on a waterless plateau.

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¹ Coghlan, H. H. (1940), 49.

² Tylecote, R. F. (1962), 53.

³ The Malachite was confirmed by the Inst. Geol. Sc. Leeds, X-ray powder photo. NEX420.

THE ANIMAL REMAINS FROM PETERGATE, YORK, 1957-58

By M. L. RYDER

The remains to be described were excavated by Mr. L. P. Wenham of St. John's College York whose description of the site appears below. They were reported on in 1959, but only a summary of the findings was published (Ryder, 1961). Since the excavation report is still forthcoming and in order that the findings should be available for other workers in this rapidly advancing field, it has been decided to publish the following account separately.

Circumstances of the find

In 1957 and 1958 excavations were conducted on a site in the angle formed by Low Petergate, York and a narrow alleyway called Hornpot Lane.¹ Until 1936 the Fox Inn occupied the site; now an extension to the York College for Girls is built on it. Three trenches were dug down to the subsoil, 17 ft. below the modern surface. In one of these trenches at a depth of 5-7 ft. below the modern surface, in a later fourteenth century context, part of a roughly dug shallow pit lined with clay and wood was uncovered. In this pit nearly 200 horn cores, mostly of oxen and goats, were found together with portions of deer antlers. This appears to be one of the soaking pits associated with a horner's manufactory.² The horn cores and antlers are examined and discussed in the present paper.

In the same trench below the soaking pit, and in the other two trenches at similar depths, (i.e. between 5/7 ft. and 12 ft. below the modern surface) in an eleventh-fourteenth century context was a huge deposit of domestic rubbish – pottery, leather, metal and wooden objects, oyster and other shells, the skeletons of two horses besides numerous other animal and bird bones. The animal material in this is described below.

General description

The remains comprised an accumulation of bones, apparently mostly food remains, dating from the eleventh to the fourteenth century. Among these were three objects made of bone, a concentration of horn cores, the skeleton of a mouse and some leather. There was an accumulation of molluscan shells dating from the twelfth-thirteenth to the fifteenth century, thirty cockle shells and one oyster being found in a crevice between the slabs of the floor of a fourteenth-fifteenth century building. Finally, there were the remains of three horse skeletons of eleventh-twelfth century date.

The bones, although they had mostly been chopped, were less fragmentary than those found at Kirkstall Abbey (Ryder, 1959) and at St. John's Priory, Pontefract (Ryder, 1965) and included more complete bones. Some had copper and iron stains owing to the proximity of these metals in the soil. There were two pieces of calcined bone, and another had a patch blackened by fire. A number of bones were black presumably because of the blackness of the surrounding soil. And there was the lower jaw of a pig in which the teeth, but not the bone, were shiny black as if coated with tar. The cause of this is unknown; it is unlikely that this is a carbon deposit caused by a low fire because tooth enamel is readily destroyed by heat.

As at Kirkstall the bones showed no conclusive evidence of sawing, but some of the horn cores had clearly been sawn off, and two of the objects had been sawn.

¹ No full report yet published, referred to in *Journ. Roman Studies* xlix (1959), p. 109.

² Detailed discussion Leslie P. Wenham, 'Hornpot Lane and the Horners of York', *Annual Report of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society for 1964*, pp. 25-56.

OBJECTS MADE FROM BONE

1. *Peg*, 100 mm. (almost 4 ins.) long and about 11 mm. in diameter made from the limb bone of an ox or a horse (Plate I, J). This had been shaved into a roughly cylindrical shape, the cutting marks are still visible like adze marks on rough-hewn wood. The outer surface of the bone was discernible on one side and the inner surface (of the central cavity of the bone) on the other. The ends had been cut with a saw, and were smooth and flat. The object had apparently received little wear, and its use is unknown. It may have been a woodworking peg or possibly a toggle for leather harness, although there is no constriction in the middle.
2. *Rectangle* (Plate I, I) cut from a bone similar to that above, 88 mm. (about 3 ins.) long and about 20 mm. ($\frac{3}{4}$ in.) wide. But since sawn from a cylindrical bone the end view appeared arc-shaped and was in fact a quadrant, i.e. the two saw cuts were at right angles. In other words two saw cuts at right angles lengthwise down the bone would yield four pieces of this shape. The object had received little wear; all the edges were relatively sharp and the only use that can be suggested is as a scraper.
3. *Proximal portion of ox metacarpal (fore foot bone)*. This was about 120 mm. (5 ins.) long and had been roughly split in two vertically (Plate I, H). The two halves were discovered separately and found to fit later. Each half had had considerable wear after being split; all the edges were rounded and smooth. The posterior aspect of each half of the bone had an artificial hollow with a very smooth surface about one inch below the proximal end and when the halves were placed together these hollows formed a circular depression about $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch in diameter. The use is unknown; the hollows had apparently not been formed by finger wear because there were no corresponding worn parts on the opposite side of the bone. Neither had the halves been bound together as a handle for a tool since this would have destroyed some delicate parts still remaining in the central cavity.

SPECIES FOUND

MAMMALS

Horse: parts of 3 skeletons (detailed below) as well as some other bones which may have belonged to these, viz., fairly worn incisor tooth; ulna; femur and 2 metatarsal (foot) bones (measurements in Table II).

Ox, sheep, goat and pig: detailed in Table I; horn cores detailed below.

Red Deer: molar tooth. *Fallow Deer*: 3 molar teeth.

Roe Deer: sawn-off antler tine (branch) identified as Roe from its furrowed surface, although the furrowing is usually restricted to the beam (main stem) of the antler. Some of the bone had been shaved away from the outer part of the curve of the tine.

Unidentified deer: much degraded tine.

Since no other deer bones were found it is likely that these finds were associated with the horner's shop rather than with food remains.

Cat: 2 skulls, cranial parts only; 2 tibiae.

Mouse Sp.: part of skeleton (detailed below).

Man: fragment of femur, probably associated with the human skulls to be described elsewhere.

BIRDS

Domestic Fowl: 2 humeri; 3 radii; ulna; coracoid; rib; sternum; pelvis; femur; 4 tibiotarsi (one 108 mm. long).

Goose: 4 carpometacarpi; scapula; 5 humeri; 2 radii (one 135 mm.); coracoid; sternum; 2 tibiotarsus (one 135 mm.); tarsometatarsus (80 mm.).

Woodcock (Scolopax rusticola): humerus.

FISHES:

2 parts of the pectoral girdle, skull bone, 2 vertebrae 14 and 16 mm. in diameter. The second was one of the extreme anterior ones and therefore the largest of the body. These bones were similar in size to the smaller ones found at Kirkstall (Ryder, 1959) and therefore probably from freshwater, rather than sea, fish. On the other hand one large bone bearing a knife-cut has been identified as cod.

MOLLUSCAN SHELLS (all edible)

<i>Marine: Oyster (Ostrea edulia)</i>	147
<i>Scallop (Pecten maximus)</i>	1
<i>Cockle (Cardium edule)</i>	49
<i>Whelk (Buccinum undatum)</i>	1
<i>Terrestrial: Garden Snails</i>	
<i>(Helix aspersa)</i>	1
<i>(Cepaea nemoralis)</i>	1

THE RELATIVE NUMBERS OF THE DIFFERENT SPECIES

Where only small numbers of bones were found the actual numbers have been indicated in the list of species above. But bones from the food animals, ox, sheep and pig predominated and their relative numbers, very roughly 60%, 30% and 10% respectively, are shown in Table I.

Some authors consider that a more accurate percentage is obtained from the minimum number of animals represented by the array of bones found, and so such figures have been included in Table I for comparison. But this would appear to be less valid when there is a wide range of dates, and it is possible for such figures to be influenced greatly by the chance inclusion, owing to sampling error, of only a few examples of the same bone from a particular species. Thus the 23 sheep mandibles in Table I have so increased the sheep percentage expressed in this way that the relative order of sheep and cattle has been reversed.

It has also been pointed out that since different species vary considerably in size, the bone percentage does not indicate the weight of meat contributed. In order to estimate meat supply the number of bones is multiplied by an estimated relative body weight. In the present study 1,000 lb. has been taken for cattle, 100 lb. for sheep and 200 lb. for pigs. It must be emphasised that these weights are rough estimates, and that neither the absolute values, nor their relationship with one another, are known (see discussion in Ryder 1969a, p. 52).

Whether the number of bones, or the number of individuals is used, the same broad conclusion is obtained, viz., that although sheep might outnumber cattle, cattle contribute more meat owing to their larger size (Table I).

TABLE I
RELATIVE NUMBERS OF THE FARM ANIMALS

			<i>Ox</i>	<i>Sheep</i>	<i>Pig</i>	<i>Horse skeletons</i>		
						<i>No. 1</i>	<i>No. 2</i>	<i>No. 3</i>
Horned skulls	..	..	—	3	—	—	—	—
Polled skulls	..	..	—	3	—	—	—	—
Skull fragments	..	..	11	6	—	—	—	—
Upper jaws	..	..	12	4	—	—	—	1
Lower jaws (mandibles)	..	..	16	23	13	—	—	1
Incisors	..	..	1	—	—	—	—	2
Canines	..	..	—	—	3	—	—	—
Molars	..	..	13	12	—	—	—	—
Atlas	..	..	2	—	—	—	—	1
Axis	..	..	3	—	—	—	—	1
Other vertebrae	..	..	27	7	2	11	18	11
Ribs	..	..	?115	?57	?7 not in total	—	21	56
Scapula	..	..	19	11	—	—	—	—
Humerus	..	..	9	3	4	—	—	1
Radius	..	..	9	9	1	—	—	—
Ulna	..	..	6	3	—	—	—	1
Carpal	..	..	1	—	—	—	—	—
Metacarpal	..	..	10	7	—	—	—	—
Pelvis	..	..	7	10	—	—	1	—
Femur	..	..	13	3	4	—	2	—
Tibia	..	..	8	6	7	—	2	—
Calcaneum	..	..	4	1	fibia: 1	—	1	—
Astragalus	..	..	4	—	—	—	2	—
Cuboid	..	..	2	—	—	—	—	—
Tarsals	..	..	1	—	—	—	—	—
Metatarsals	..	..	8	4	—	—	—	—
Metapodia	..	..	11	2	8	—	—	—
Phalanges	A	..	4	—	—	—	—	—
	B	..	4	—	—	—	—	—
	C	..	2	—	—	—	—	—
Totals			207	117	41	365		
% number of bones			57%	32%	11%			
% based on number of individuals			34%	42%	24%			
Meat contribution % based on bones			91%	5%	4%			
Meat contribution % based on individuals			79%	10%	11%	(see text)		

THE AGE OF THE ANIMALS WHEN KILLED

Although apparently only one sheep skull, two metapodia and one radius were from young animals (about 2 % of the bones) it was estimated that very roughly 13 % of the ox bones and 40 % of the pig bones were from young animals. The criterion of youth was the lack, or incomplete fusion, of the epiphyses (Ryder, 1969a). The age group as judged from the teeth are given in Table II.

TABLE II

			one year to 18 months	18 months to 2 years	at least two	at least five	greater than five
<hr/>			<hr/>				
<i>Ox</i> mandibles teeth .. ..	..	..	—	1	7	10	—
	..	..	—	1	10	1	2
	Total		—	2	17	11	2
<hr/>			<hr/>				
<i>Sheep</i> mandibles teeth .. ..	..	..	2	7	11	2	—
	..	..	—	2	8	—	—
	Total		2	9	19	2	—
<hr/>			<hr/>				

There was a sheep mandible which was unusual because the permanent 2nd and 3rd molars were erupting at the same time as the 5th. The 5th was well above the bone surface, whereas the 2nd and 3rd had not yet appeared above it. The 1st, 2nd and 3rd molars are replaced in present-day sheep at the time when the 6th appears, i.e. between 18 months and 2 years, and it is suggested that in this particular jaw the 5th molar was late in appearing rather than that the 2nd and 3rd were early.

Four of the pig mandibles were from very young animals, and seven had the last molar erupting, being therefore about 18 months old. Only one pig mandible was from an animal older than 18 months.

THE SIZE AND TYPE OF THE ANIMALS

As on other medieval sites the bones were on the whole more slender (particularly those of sheep) and smaller than those of present-day animals. The ox metapodia were similar in size to those from Kirkstall, i.e. larger than the Celtic Ox, but smaller than modern cattle (Ryder, 1959). Measurements are given in Table III.

Apart from the single sheep horn core found, there were two horned sheep skulls, one of which was from a young animal because the horns were small. There were three skulls from hornless sheep, one of which had bony lumps that probably had scurrs (rudimentary horns) over them. Although there were equal numbers of horned and polled finds, polled skulls are more easily broken and it is thought that there may in fact have been relatively fewer horned sheep here than at Kirkstall, where the number of horned finds was greater than the number of polled finds.

TABLE III
Measurements in mm.

Goat horn cores

length	lateral width	<i>male</i>		length	<i>female</i>	
		anterior/posterior width			lateral width	ant./post. width
<i>c.</i> 180	32	49		130	21	29
180	33	50		130	20	28
190	35	50		150	20	30
190	35	43		150	20	29
190	25	38		150	20	28
200	35	50		180	20	30
250	35	55		180	23	33
				190	20	30

<i>Horse 2</i>			<i>length</i>	<i>proximal width</i>	<i>distal width</i>
radius	..	..	—	—	64
femur	..	..	380	109	82
			380	—	82
tibia	..	..	355	91	72
			355	91	72
<i>Horse 3</i>					
humerus	..		—	—	78
<i>Horse miscellaneous</i>					
femur	..	..	c.350	—	82
metatarsal	..		271	50	49
<i>Ox</i>					
humerus	..		—	—	58
			—	—	77
			—	—	75
					epiphysis
					incompletely fused
radius	..	..	245	75	62
					ulna not fused
tibia	..	..	c.340	—	broken and incompletely
					fused
metacarpals	..		c.165	50	missing
			168	—	—
			170	55	58
			172	46	49
			—	—	50
			—	—	53
			—	—	58
			—	—	59
			—	—	61
			c.175	48	chopped
Calf	..	..	—	32	—
			—	35	—
Calf/sheep	..		—	—	26 not fused
metatarsals	..		—	—	47
			—	38	—
			—	—	47
			212	43	c.48
			—	—	49
			—	—	54
			—	—	60
<i>Sheep</i>					
radius	..	..	127	—	—
			c.120	30	—
			—	30	—
			—	30	epiphysis missing
metacarpals	..		—	21	—
			120	22	25
			—	21	—
			—	—	23
			—	—	25
			100	21	—
			—	22	—
metatarsals	..		c.122	18	epiphysis missing
			c.125	19	epiphysis missing
			125	19	22
			—	20	—

There were 175 ox horn cores and 12 male and 11 female goat horn cores (Plate I and Table III).

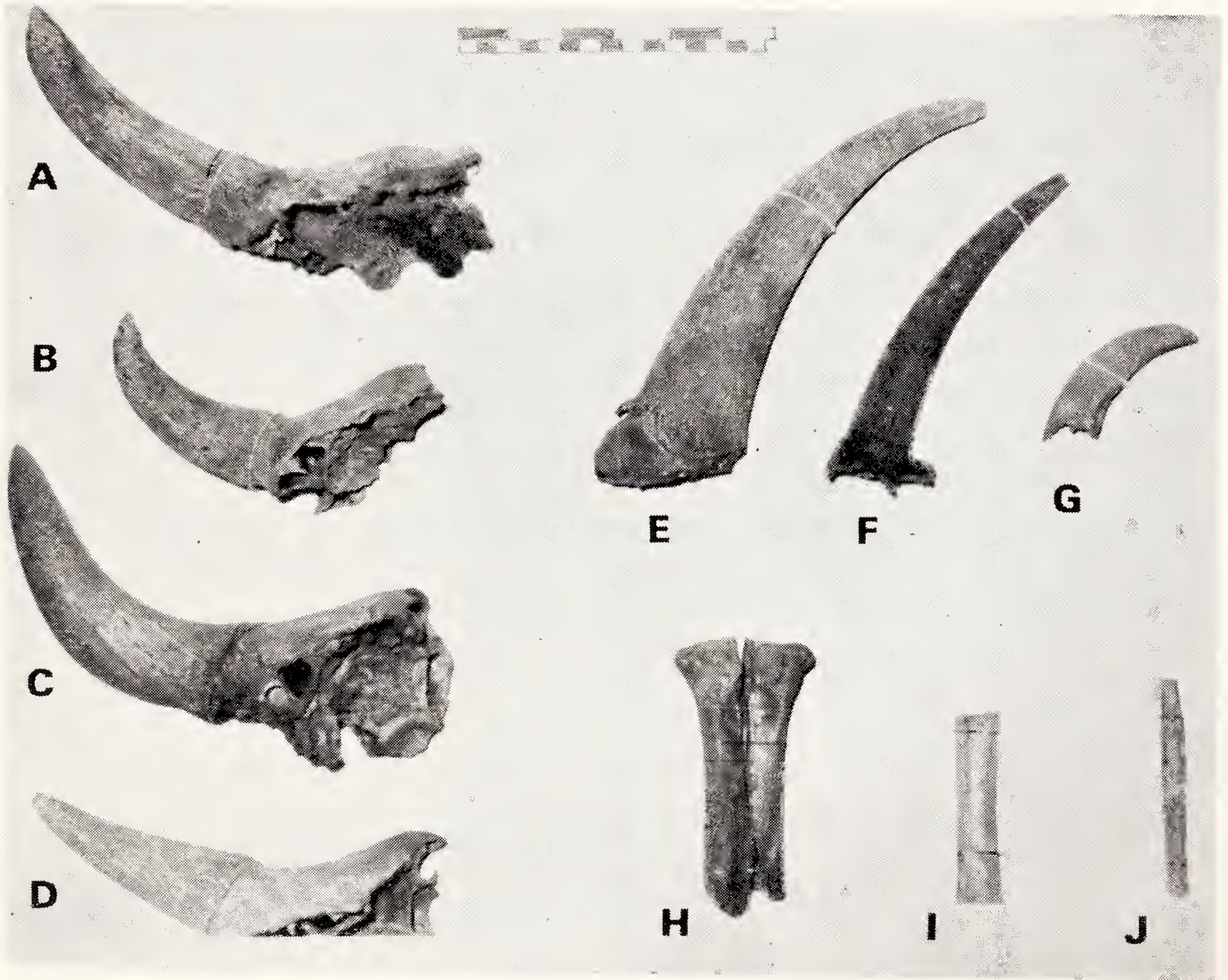


PLATE I. A, B, C and D ox horn cores of different shape; E (male) and F (female) goat horn cores; G sheep horn core; H, I and J objects made of bone (see text).

The ox horn cores

One of the ox and one of the goat cores had been sawn off close to the base; two of the ox and one of the goat cores had had their tips sawn-off; and there were three basal portions of ox cores about 2 inches in length from which the bulk of the core had been sawn. The sheep horn cores had been sawn half-way through and had then apparently broken off. The rest, particularly the ox cores, had a sizeable part of the skull attached to them, and some of these showed chopping marks. Measurements of the goat cores are given in Table III.

The ox cores were of interest because none was found at Kirkstall (Ryder, 1959) or Pontefract (Ryder, 1965) and there were sufficient for a more detailed study to be attempted. The main object of this was to seek variations that would indicate breed, age or even sex differences (there was no immediately obvious sex difference of size as in the goat cores). The majority were of similar shape and that in Plate I, A is typical. A few, particularly among the shorter ones, were curved sharply upwards (Plate I, B); a few, after curving sharply upwards, twisted in the terminal part in a posterior direction (Plate I, C); a few (Plate I, D) were flattened dorso-ventrally and were more straight than the rest. These variations would seem to suggest breed differences, but the small number of horns involved tends to lessen their significance and they might well be variations within a breed.

There were 107 cores that were sufficiently complete to be measured, and in these the length from the base to tip and the circumference at its broadest point near the base was determined to the nearest centimetre. The circumference of each core was of similar value to the length. The lengths ranged from 9 to 22 cm. and a frequency diagram of the lengths (Fig. 1) had a skew distribution indicating that the majority of the cores were short. A frequency diagram of the circumference measurements gave a similar pattern. There were thus no peaks like those found among ox foot bones from Kirkstall Abbey (Ryder, 1959) and nothing to suggest that the horns were from other than a homogeneous population. On the other hand it is possible that the skew distribution has arisen from two or more populations that have become hidden within it owing to overlapping of measurements.

The ratio of the length to the circumference of each core was then determined. The values ranged from 0.75 to 1.3, but these, too, showed no heterogeneity. All that could be gained from them was that longer cores had a tendency to be relatively narrower than the shorter ones. However, this trend was not marked, which explains why both the length and circumference distribution were skewed in the same direction.

It is suggested therefore that the animals from which these horn cores came were of a similar breed type showing no marked sex difference in horn size. The range of measurements may be associated with a range of ages. Some of the skull bones to which the smaller cores were attached were clearly from immature animals, and judged from the teeth found, the majority of the cattle were between 2 and 5 years old when killed (see section on age determination). Most of the cores may have been from bullocks (castrated males) killed for meat between these ages. Only the larger ones may have been from cows and bulls killed at greater ages. A modern Dales-type Shorthorn which was about 2 years of age, and probably a bullock, had a horn which was 18 cm. long; the core would probably have been 2–3 cm. shorter. The circumference was 17 cm. giving a length to circumference ratio of 1.05. From Fig. 1 it will be seen that this core is larger than most of the cores from York.

At least five of the skull parts attached to the cores had one to three holes in the parietal bone on the posterior aspect of the skull not far below the suture between the frontal and parietal bones. The holes penetrated the outer plate of the bone and entered the central cavity which is continuous with the cavity in the frontal bone. The inner plate surrounding the brain was not pierced. These holes had not been made after death, nor had they been caused by decay during burial.

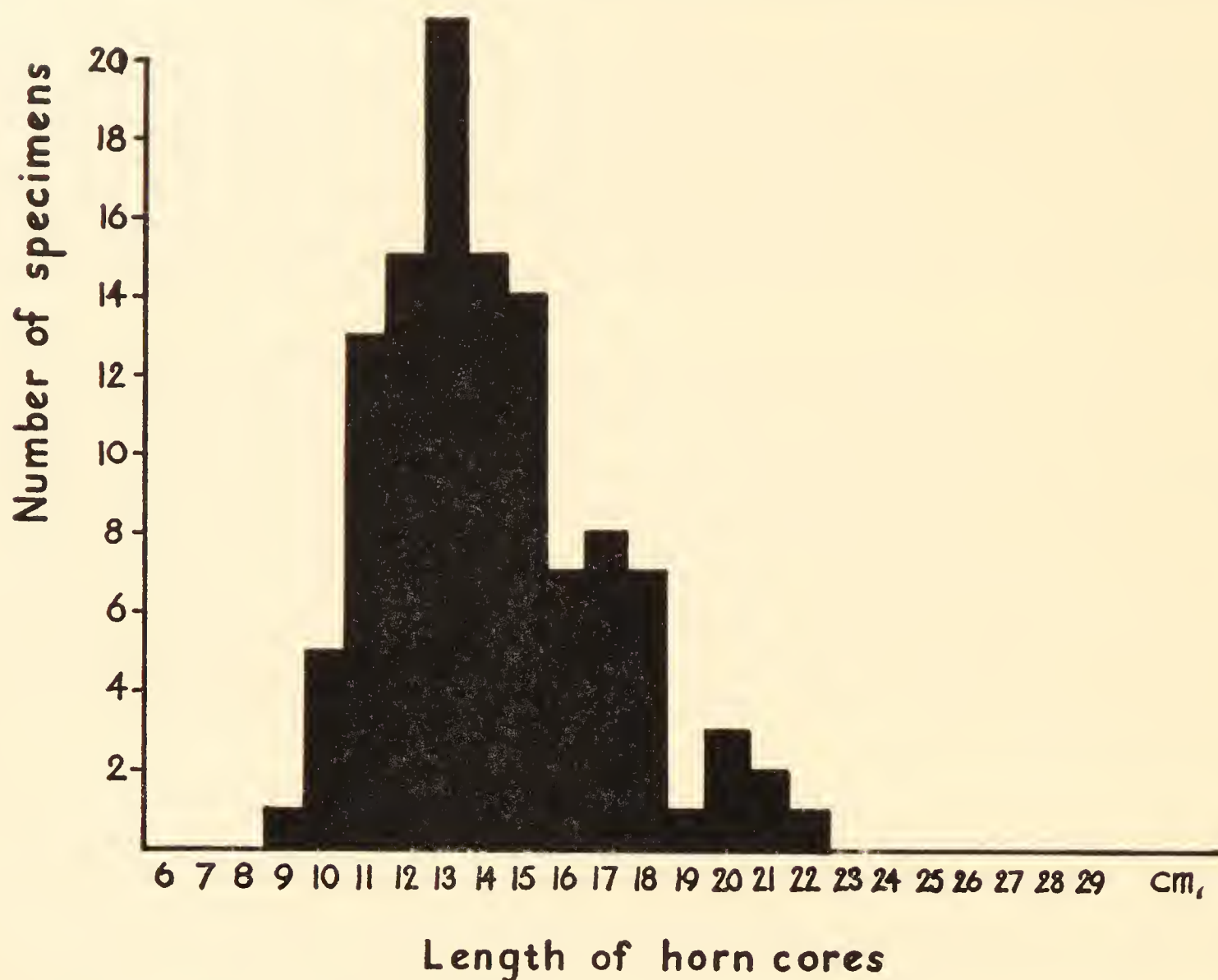


FIG. 1. Frequency diagram of the length of ox horn cores measured along the outer curvature of the horn.

Some of the skulls had holes which were in line with a smaller hole, 1 mm. or less in diameter, that was often at the base of a dimple, and was probably the opening for a blood vessel, but may have been an unnatural hole. Some of the holes were oval, being 1–2 mm. wide and up to 8 mm. long; in these the bone at the edges was thin. The largest holes apparently in the older skulls were about 8 mm. across, being either oval, triangular or circular in shape, and one of these had a short branch as if the edge had been eaten away. These holes passed vertically through 2–3 mm. of bone, and although the edges were straight they were somewhat rounded, apparently by growth.

There are several possible explanations for the holes:

1. They were man-made; i.e. bored while the animal was still alive in a primitive custom designed to drain the sinus within the bone. One could interpret those with straight edges through thick bone as having been bored not long before death which may have been the result of making the holes; those through thin bone would be in the process of healing. This theory is opposed by the fact that sometimes the edges of the hole were continuous with one of the septa between the inner and outer plates of the bone, thus suggesting that they had not been bored.
2. They were formed by a large parasite; this would explain the holes through thick bone, but this seems unlikely because no parasite that could make such holes is known today.
3. They may have been caused by a bacterial infection. Syphilis in man for instance causes *corona veneris* in the skull (and other bones) making them look as if attacked by worms.
4. They were caused by a deficiency disease similar to rickets in which the bone was incompletely ossified. This would explain those through thin bone, but apparently not those through thick bone which appeared to have had something in them preventing the edges of the bone from meeting.
5. They may have been caused by an acute inflammatory condition, the holes being due to increased vascularisation. Oxen wearing a yoke might be predisposed to this type of

condition. It would seem worthwhile examining skulls from oxen that have worn a yoke today to see if any have such holes.

The horse skeletons

The bones were well preserved, most of them being complete. The main ones are listed in Table I. In addition to these there were three sternal ribs and three sternbrae from horse 3. Measurements are given in Table III.

Two incisors with skeleton 2 were found to fit into the upper jaw of horse 3. Various lower jaw fragments of horse 3 were found to fit together so that a complete lower jaw with a full set of teeth was obtained. The space between the two mandibles was then found to be remarkably narrow, being at its least only 15 mm.

Most of the bones of horse 3 showed signs of immaturity; epiphyses were missing from, or incompletely fused to, the vertebrae and in the long bones and the pelvic girdle certain extremities were incompletely ossified. Different characteristics of the dentition (e.g., the incisors had a wide infundibulum) suggested that it had been between 5 and 7 years old, i.e. just beginning its working life. Using the measurements in Table III Mr. R. A. Harcourt calculated that the horses would have been 13-14 hands high.

The dentition was complete, although the last three molars projected only about 8 mm. above the lower jaw bone, whereas the first three sloped from 22 mm. at the anterior end, to 17 mm. at the posterior end of the third molar, the length of crown within the jaw was 75 to 80 mm. Canines were present in upper and lower jaws; these are more common in male and female horses, but the shape of the pelvis suggested female sex. Although the upper and lower canines did not meet, both showed wear, the lower ones more than the upper. This suggested that the animal had worn a harness or bit.

An interesting abnormality was the existence of a small subsidiary tooth behind the lower, left lateral incisor. This moved independently of the incisor and was therefore not part of it.

There was a small circular area on the maxillary plate supporting the roof of the mouth in which the texture was porous and the surface uneven. This could have been associated with an inflammation of the mucous membrane of the mouth, although it might have arisen from any ulcer, it could have been caused by an ulcer of a disease like glanders. No other pathological changes were found in the three skeletons, so this is the only clue to the cause of death.

Horse 2 had been older, yet smaller than horse 3 described above. Horse 1 had been similar in size to horse 2 but of a similar age to horse 3 because the vertebral epiphyses (mainly the anterior ones) were either missing or incompletely fused. It may be of significance that no feet bones were found; had the feet been removed for the hooves before burial?

Skeleton of mouse Sp.

This tiny skeleton represented expert archaeology in that it was received still embedded in the piece of earth in which it was found. Only the anterior part remained but most of the bones, including vertebrae, ribs, the scapulae and humeri lay in their correct position on the surface of the earth, which was 'micro-excavated' in search of other parts, when a radius and ulna, some phalanges and skull bones and a minute molar were retrieved.

The skeleton appeared to be that of a mouse. The humerus, in which the olecranon fossa was pierced, was about 7 mm., and the ulna about 8 mm. long. These bones were smaller than those of the house mouse with which they were compared, showing that the animal was young. The fact that the epiphyses were missing was no proof of immaturity because in rodents the bones continue growing throughout life. The molar (less than a cubic millimeter in size) was seen under the low power microscope to have four pointed cusps, which were so pointed that the tooth was at first mistaken for that of a shrew. In fact this lack of wear showed that the animal was very young.

Although this has been identified as a house mouse (*mus musculus*) it could possibly have been a harvest mouse; no comparison was made with a skeleton of this.

Pathological changes

The lesion in the horse skull has already been described. In addition to this there was part of a sheep tibia which had apparently been broken and healed before death. The fragment had broken again after death in such a way as to give a longitudinal section of

the shaft. From this, new growth of bone could be seen inside and outside the original bone, which appeared as a lighter coloured line traversing the new growth. Had this been a diseased and not a fractured bone the original bone is unlikely to have been distinguishable. Finally, one fowl tibiotarsus had a small circular growth of new bone in the medial surface at the distal end. A similar growth was found on a fowl tibiotarsus from Pontefract (Ryder, 1965).

The holes in the ox skulls have already been described, but it is not known whether or not they are pathological.

MICROSCOPIC EXAMINATION OF FRAGMENTS OF WOOL CLOTH

The samples examined, dated by L. P. Wenham as 1200 ± 50 years, are now in the Castle Museum, York, and were supplied by Mr. R. Patterson. He regarded them as high quality cloth in keeping with ownership by Jews, the 2-ply wool stitching (sample 8) being regarded as supporting this conclusion and a possible association with the Jewish massacre of 1190 was suggested.

The overall brown colour of most of these samples, which is usually associated with natural coloration of the wool is apparently due to discoloration since few fibres with pigment granules were observed under the microscope, and these only in the coarsest fibres of the hairy samples. No. 4 was the only sample showing evidence of dye, however, appearing red to the naked eye, and Mr. Patterson associated this with York's famous Cloth of Scarlet.

Fibre diameter measurements are shown in Table IV. The methods used and criteria for determining the different fleece types are given by Ryder (1969b). Most of the yarns had a primitive skewed-to-fine diameter distribution but with relatively high means and modes. Four were hairy medium wools, a type seen today in the hairy Soay, and three were generalised medium wools, typical of the woolly Soay. These probably represent the fine wool of medieval England. Only one had a more modern symmetrical distribution, being typical of the true medium type seen today in the longwool. This compares with a sample examined previously and dated 1400, which had a few naturally pigmented fibres (Table IV). These samples show that the longwool, or a primitive type of longwool, existed in the Middle Ages. Three had coarser hairy fibres and were identified as true hairy types. These were of the same type as, but not quite as coarse as, the modern Swaledale.

On the whole therefore, although from relatively fine cloths, the wools were much coarser than the Saxon wools reported on by Ryder (1969b).

TABLE IV
WOOL FIBRE DIAMETERS (MICRONS¹)

<i>Specimen No.</i>	<i>range</i>	<i>mean</i>	<i>mode</i>	<i>diameter distribution</i>
1. warp (S)	14 – 52 2 of 66	29	22	skew-fine (hairy medium)
weft (Z)	16 – 56	30	24	skew-fine (generalised medium)
3.	10 – 52 60 & 64	25	20	skew-fine (hairy medium)
4. scarlet, warp (both Z)	12 – 50 54 & 56	25	16	skew-fine (generalised medium)
weft	14 – 54 2 of 60, 64	27	20	skew-fine (hairy medium)
7.	S 12 – 50 54	27	24	skew-fine (generalised medium)
	Z 20 – 54	36	40	symmetrical (true medium)
8. S ?warp	18 – 66 2 of 70, 72	44	–	continuous (hairy)
Z ?weft	12 – 64 72	36	20	skew-fine (hairy)
9. both Z (a)	18 – 66 70 & 80	35	30	skew-fine (hairy)
(b)	14 – 36 50, 56 & 66	23	20	skew-fine (hairy medium)
1400	14 – 66	37	34	symmetrical (true medium)

¹ One micron (μ) = 0.001 mm.

MICROSCOPIC EXAMINATION OF SHOE LEATHER AND STITCHING

A fragment of leather found among the bones was examined microscopically. The fragment was black, fairly brittle and somewhat degraded, but after being softened and sectioned by the method of Ryder (1963) a microscopic examination showed moderately well-preserved cow hairs embedded in the leather. The hairs had little pigment, and so could have come from a white or grey animal (or patch on an animal), but nothing was found which would help with the elucidation of breed type in the discussion of the bone finds. However, our knowledge of hair type and follicle grouping in cattle is not so advanced as it is in sheep (Ryder, 1969b), in which breed type can often be suggested from a similar examination of parchment (Ryder, 1963).

Some of the pieces of shoe stitching were clearly leather, but some could possibly have been bits of yarn made from flax fibres. However, when the latter were mounted on microscope slides the fibres could not be separated easily as they can be in a yarn, and when a piece was sectioned and stained, a microscopic examination confirmed that the fibres were collagen fibres from leather and not flax fibres.

DISCUSSION

The excellent preservation of bones as well as leather and textiles on this site is interesting. The wetness has helped by excluding air, but it would seem that the conditions were neither very acid nor very alkaline. Had the soil been very acid the bones would have been attacked; and had it been very alkaline the leather would have been destroyed. Perhaps the acid from the decaying organic matter neutralised the alkali from the surrounding limestone, and produced a slightly acid medium which enabled the leather to be preserved, but which was not strong enough to damage the bones.

The species found were similar to those found at Kirkstall and Pontefract although they occurred in different proportions, and there were fewer wild animals such as deer used for food. Geese as well as fowls seem to have been important items in the diet of medieval York.

Even though it is likely that many of the ox skull fragments were associated with the horners shop and not with food remains, the figure of about 60% ox bones is far less than the figure of 90% found at Kirkstall (Ryder, 1959). Sheep bones form a bigger proportion, about 30% as opposed to 5% at Kirkstall, although it is possible that some of these bones, particularly the skull parts, could have been from goats. These proportions compare with 30% ox and 45% sheep at Pontefract (Ryder, 1965) and 30% and 60% sheep at Wharram Percy (Ryder, 1961, 1971). Sheep outnumbered cattle in most village sites reviewed by Hurst (1971). At both these sites sheep bones formed a much higher proportion than at Kirkstall, and at Wharram Percy the sheep bones far outnumbered the ox bones.

The cattle seem to have been killed at a younger age than at Kirkstall. Most were killed at about two years, and apparently few were killed over the age of five. Most of the sheep were killed at the age of two as at Kirkstall, but fewer were killed over two and more under two than at Kirkstall. Most of the pigs were killed at about 18 months as at Kirkstall, but a number of pigs were killed (or died) very young at York.

Because no ox horn cores were found at Kirkstall it was thought that they might have been hornless. Now the possibility arises that the horns were removed to be sent to a horner's shop like the one found on the present site. The records of Meaux Abbey mention horned cattle.¹

The ox horn cores are of interest because hardly anything is known about the appearance of medieval cattle. This short-horned stock may not have been the direct forerunners of the famous northern short-horn which George Culley wrote about in 1786 because according to Trow Smith (1957) these originated, at least in part, from Dutch imports into Lincolnshire in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, from which county they spread northwards.

¹ *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa*, III (Rolls Series 43, 1868), xvii.

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THE RABBIT WARRENS OF EAST YORKSHIRE IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES

By A. HARRIS

Several recent studies have drawn attention to various aspects of rabbit farming in Britain from medieval times onwards. Both Joan Thirsk and David Grigg have discussed warrens briefly in the context of regional types of agriculture and changing rural economies in the county of Lincoln.¹ Elspeth Veale has indicated the nature of some of the factors, including class distinctions and changes in fashion as expressed in dress, which influenced demand for the products of a warren,² whilst a related aspect of the subject is mentioned in Sir Francis Hill's study of Georgian Lincoln, where it is recognised that 'whether rabbits reached the markets by orthodox channels or not they were cheap, and nearer to the means of the poor than other meat'.³ Catherine Linehan and D. P. Dymond, on the other hand, have chosen to emphasise the character of the archaeological remains which sometimes indicate the site of a former rabbit warren.⁴ As far as the writer is aware, however, there exists no study which seeks to bring together these different yet related themes within a particular regional setting. The present paper is an attempt to fill this gap for a part of Yorkshire in which warrens were once both numerous and important. Most of the evidence reviewed below is drawn from the eighteenth century, when rabbit warrens reached their greatest extent in eastern Yorkshire, and from the nineteenth century, which saw their swift decline and virtual extinction, although some remarks on earlier events are also included.

Sources of information

Inspection of Ordnance Survey maps published at a scale of 1:25,000 or larger reveals a number of place-names which incorporate some reference either to rabbits or to warrens. Many of these names, like Coney Hill, Coneygarth Hill and Rabbit Dale, are attached to natural features. Others, like Warren Farm and Warren House, are applied to isolated farmsteads. A very few, of which Allerthorpe Warren and Gardham Warren are examples, afford a more immediate link with the past, since they designate tracts of land that can be shown to have been used at one time for the commercial production of rabbits (Fig. 1).

Place-names apart, however, the modern map contains few indications that areas such as these ever existed, still less that they were once extensive. Yet even in 1808, when the task of ridding the district of its warrens had already begun, some 10,000 acres lying in twenty different places were still devoted to rabbit warren in the East Riding alone, and there were numerous warrens also in other parts of eastern Yorkshire.⁵ By about 1850, however, most of the warrens had vanished, and to find out more about them it is necessary to turn to maps published before that date and to a variety of documentary evidence. Whilst the available sources of information are scattered and not infrequently imperfect in some way, they provide nevertheless a general picture of warren economy and also enable certain aspects of it to be studied in greater detail.

The local sheets of the First Edition of the Ordnance Survey Six-Inch series are helpful in this respect, since they were surveyed between 1849 and 1853, when a handful of warrens still remained in production and many had disappeared only within the previous

¹ Joan Thirsk, *English Peasant Farming*, 1957, pp. 93, 95, 164, 171, 261; David Grigg, *The Agricultural Revolution in South Lincolnshire*, 1966, pp. 70, 105, 156.

² *The English Fur Trade in the Later Middle Ages*, 1966, especially pp. 176-7.

³ *Georgian Lincoln*, 1966, p. 104. I am indebted to Miss Janet Blackman for drawing my attention to this reference.

⁴ Catherine D. Linehan, 'Deserted Sites and rabbit warrens on Dartmoor, Devon', *Medieval Archaeology*, 10, 1966, p. 113; D. P. Dymond in *East Anglian Studies*, ed. Lionel M. Munby, 1966, pp. 23-5.

⁵ H. E. Strickland, *A General View of the Agriculture of the East Riding of Yorkshire*, 1812, p. 246.

two or three decades. Occasionally warrens are marked on tithe maps and estate plans, and they are depicted also on the county maps of Greenwood (1817) and Bryant (1829).

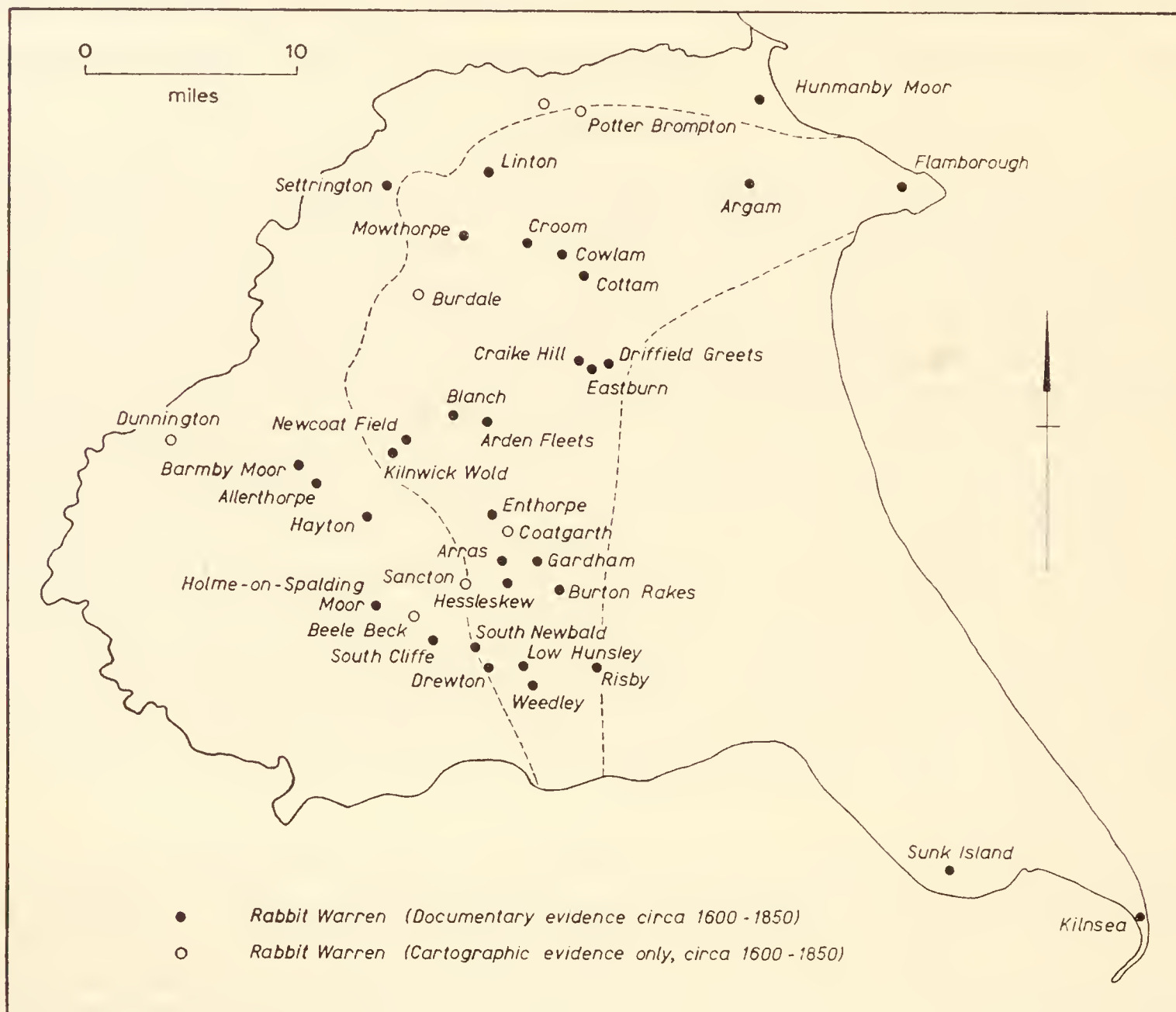


FIG. 1.

The distribution of rabbit warrens within the East Riding of Yorkshire, c. 1600–1850. This map, which presents a composite view of commercial rabbit farming, has been compiled principally from references which occur in the records of Quarter Sessions and in various collections of estate papers in the East Riding Record Office.

Whether they aroused indignation (as was frequently the case) or merely curiosity, the rabbit farms at least attracted attention, and between about 1780 and 1815 several accounts of their character and organisation appeared in print. The best of these, by Marshall and Strickland, review the subject generally whilst providing numerous details of local interest.¹

Although some warrens shared a common boundary and others were largely encircled by rough pasture, almost all came into contact with improved land. That their presence under these circumstances constituted a nuisance was widely recognised, for in spite of attempts to restrain the rabbits by means of sod walls and wooden palings and by compelling warreners to dig up and destroy any burrows that might appear outside the circuit of the walls, it proved quite impossible to prevent the rabbits from escaping and causing serious damage to nearby crops and grass. In time, as agricultural improvement became widespread, rabbit warrens were looked upon as an affront to a well-conducted neighbourhood, and the pressures for their elimination increased accordingly. Like Sir Christopher Sykes, of Sledmere, who in 1789 complained that 'the Depredations of

¹ William Marshall, *The Rural Economy of Yorkshire*, ii, 1788, pp. 261–8; Strickland, *op. cit.*, pp. 246–52.

Rabbits upon the Estates in the Neighbourhood of Warrens are beyond all description, and only known to those who live as I do in the midst of them', some improving land-owners committed their thoughts on the subject to paper.¹

The warrens attracted attention also in a very different quarter. According to Strickland, they enticed into their vicinity 'a set of thieves and poachers ready for executing any species of villany'.² The record of their misdeeds, as set down in the files of Quarter Sessions, sometimes includes topographical details of considerable interest besides indicating the presence of an active warren. Also valuable in this connection are the leases, surveys and account books belonging to the estates on which warrens were planted. A number of such documents survive, notably for the Wold estates of Arras, Hunsley and Warter, all of which contained extensive warrens during the eighteenth century.

Archaeological and other remains of rabbit warrens

East Yorkshire retains few physical traces of its warrens, unlike some other parts of the country where rabbit farming was also once important. Whereas earthen boundary banks and the isolated lodges which housed the warreners are not uncommon in Breckland, for instance, features of this sort are rare in eastern Yorkshire, though some at least survived until comparatively recently.³ When Mortimer compiled a map of 'Ancient British Intrenchments and Tumuli . . . on the Yorkshire Wolds' in the 1880's, the limits of Burdale Warren were marked by a sod wall, which Mortimer plotted on his map.⁴ In June 1969, when the site was visited, few traces of this boundary bank could be found, even with the help of aerial photographs.⁵ Over much of its length it now appears to have been completely erased, although its line is marked in some places by modern field boundaries and by minor breaks of slope and crop marks. J. G. Rutter, however, has recently drawn attention to a series of earthworks in the North Riding parish of Allerston which are believed to be 'connected with the enclosure of the area as rabbit warrens in the 18th century'.⁶ It is occasionally possible also to discover traces of rabbit tipes, a form of trap which was widely used during and after the late eighteenth century.⁷

At Tollingham, some two miles south-south-east of Holme upon Spalding Moor, there can still be seen the remains of a warren which was in production as late as 1851-2. Part of Tollingham Warren now lies beneath the runways of an airfield and most of the remainder has been brought under cultivation. Within a short distance of Tollingham farmstead, however, a rough field path leads to a hummocky island of sandy ground which is covered with a profusion of grasses and heather and pitted with old rabbit burrows. When the district was surveyed during the making of the first Ordnance Survey six-inch maps, this corner of Tollingham formed part of an extensive warren occupying several hundred acres (Fig. 2).

¹ *Letter Book of Sir Christopher Sykes, 1775-90*, p. 105 (typescript at Sledmere House). DDGR 20/1 [E]ast [R]iding [R]ecord [O]ffice is an entertaining answer by the owner of a warren in reply to protests about the damage caused by rabbits. A recent estimate suggests that at 20 to the acre and over a period of eighteen months, rabbits are capable of reducing the sheep-carrying capacity of land by as much as 27 per cent and liveweight gain by 64 per cent. (Gordon Winch, 'Wild Rabbits: Time for re-appraisal', *Country Life*, 19 June 1969, p. 1629).

² Strickland, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

³ Dymond, *loc. cit.* It is not unusual in east Yorkshire for a farmstead to occupy the site of a warrener's house, though in all the examples known to the writer the building of the farmstead was accompanied by the destruction of the old house.

⁴ This map, which was published in Fimber on behalf of Robert Mortimer in 1886, is in the Yorkshire Museum, York. I owe my knowledge of it to Mr. H. G. Ramm, but I am grateful also to Mr. John Bartlett, Mr. O. S. Tomlinson and Mr. Mervyn Edwards who assisted in finding it, and to the staff of the Yorkshire Museum for allowing me to inspect it.

⁵ CPE/UK 1839, Nos. 3157-60 cover the area of the warren. Traces of the sod wall may be detected on the ground by the side of the road that leads from Burdale to Wharram-le-Street.

⁶ *Transactions of the Scarborough and District Archaeological Society*, i, no. 4, 1961, p. 24.

⁷ These traps are described by Strickland, *op. cit.*, p. 251. According to Mr. Ramm, the site of a rabbit tipe in Wetwang, marked by Mortimer in 1886, was still visible in 1965 in the form of a patch of thistles. Rabbit tipes appear on O.S. 6 ins. sheets 208, 223 (1855), near Holme upon Spalding Moor.

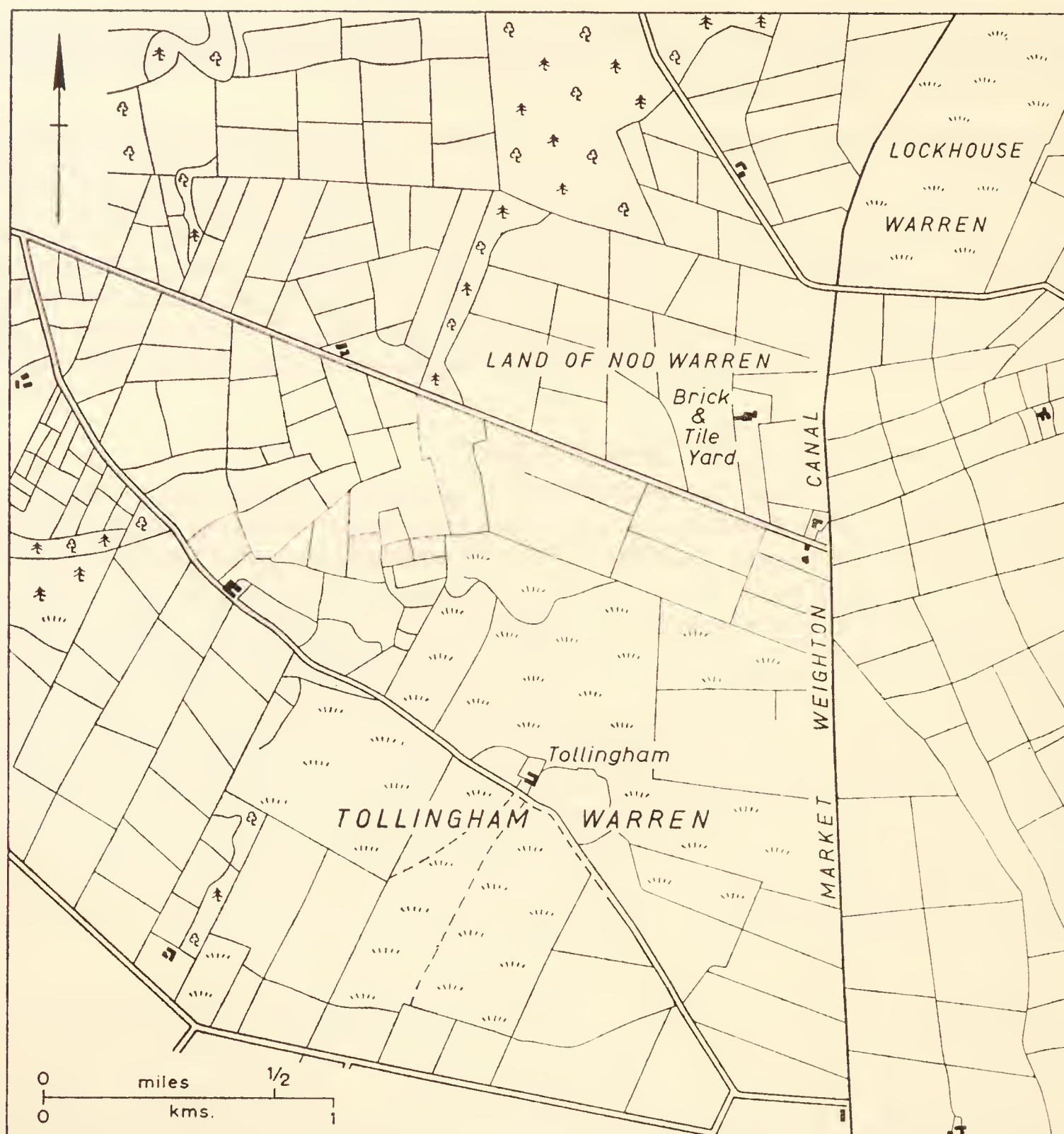


FIG. 2.

Warren farms were a familiar feature of the agricultural scene in the sandy lowlands which make up parts of the Vale of York. Tollingham, near Holme upon Spalding Moor, remained largely under rough pasture and devoted to rabbit production until the second half of the nineteenth century. This map, which is based on the Ordnance Survey 6 ins. sheets of 1855, shows a landscape in the process of being transformed. Though active warrens remain, some parts of these have been reclaimed, while other warrens are marked only by a place-name.

In districts which have been almost constantly under the plough for many years, however, it is hardly surprising that there should be little more than an occasional earthwork, an unusually shrubby hedge or an awkwardly-shaped field to indicate the position of the walls and palings which formerly bounded the warrens. Events at Eastburn, near Driffield, indicate the thoroughness with which the old landscape was transformed. When Eastburn Warren was reclaimed in 1849–50, the tenant of the farm ‘levelled 6 miles of warren sod-walls and planted 20 miles of quick fences’.¹ The rough pasture of the warren was replaced by arable fields, the warrener’s house gave place to a group of buildings more appropriate to the new system of agriculture, and access to the farm was improved by the construction of accommodation roads. The result, as Fig. 3 indicates, was a new landscape in which very little of the old survived.

¹ H. M. Jenkins, ‘Eastburn Farm’, *Journ. Royal Ag. Soc. England*, Series 2, v, 1869, p. 404.

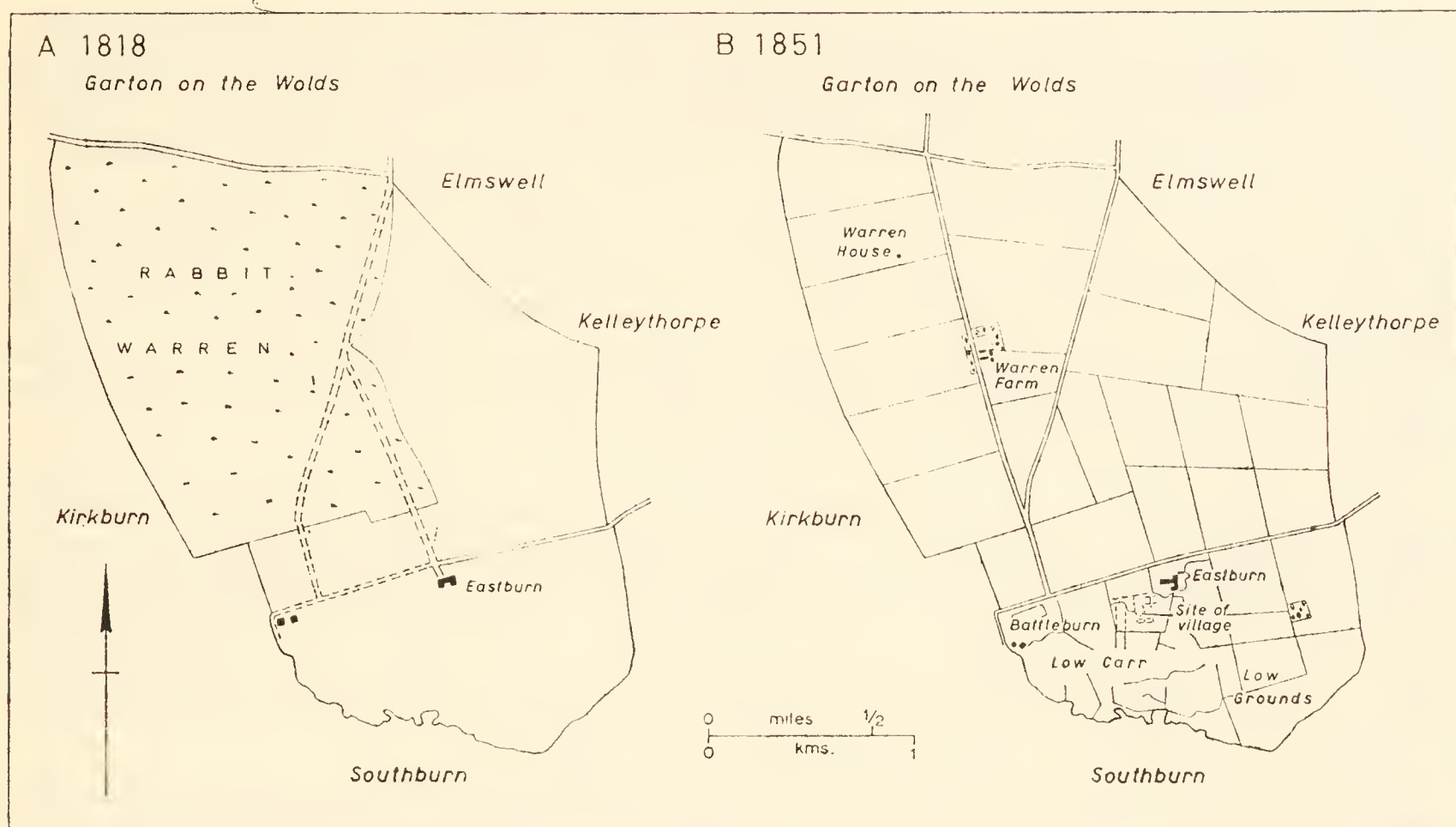


FIG. 3.

Eastburn, near Driffeld, in 1818 and 1851. Map A, which has been re-drawn from Greenwood's *Atlas*, shows Eastburn Warren in its declining years. There was a warren in Kelleythorpe also, and there is some evidence that the warren part of Eastburn Farm had once occupied a larger area than is shown here. Map B, which is based on the First Edition of the Ordnance Survey 6 ins. series, shows the farm as it was shortly after the destruction of the warren in 1849–50.

The distribution of warrens

Figure 1 shows the position of warrens within the East Riding during the period c. 1600–1850. Had the map been extended to cover a somewhat larger area, symbols would have appeared also in the lowlands near York, in the Howardian Hills near Castle Howard, and on the high ground that flanks the Vale of Pickering along its northern edge. Of the forty warrens shown on this map, no fewer than twenty-six lie on the Wolds, twelve are in the Vales of York and Pickering and only two in Holderness.¹ Whilst it would be unwise to attach too much weight to these figures, there is no reason to doubt that they reflect, at least in broad terms, the situation as it actually was. The strong lands of Holderness and those parts of the Vales of York and Pickering which were floored largely by clay had few warrens. Moreover, within these lowland areas, the warrens reveal a preference for light land derived mostly from sands and gravels. On the Wolds they are associated particularly with the higher chalk country which above about 200 ft. O.D. is free from boulder clay. Warrens were not entirely absent from the lower, clay-covered Wolds it is true, but of the handful that were found there, few were situated wholly on clay. The warrens which lay in the vicinity of Eastburn, for example, were associated with an occurrence of chalky gravels, which there break the continuity of the clay mantle. Immediately beyond the East Riding the pattern was very similar, warrens occurring most frequently on patches of sand within the lowlands and on light soils, formed particularly over Corallian rocks, within the nearby uplands. An examination of the reports produced for the Board of Agriculture between 1793 and 1815 suggests that similar features might be expected to emerge if distribution maps were compiled for other counties.² Nor is this surprising, for as Henry Poland expressed it, the rabbit is 'adverse

¹ After this map had been drawn, Dr. K. J. Allison drew my attention to the presence of a warren in 1666 at Brunton Hill, close to the boundaries of Harpham and Little Kelk, in Holderness (Univ. of London, Senate House, Kelk MSS in Fuller Collection). Brunton Hill is formed by sand and gravels in an area which was well endowed with common pasture in the seventeenth century.

² Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, Gloucestershire and Norfolk, for example.

to marshy and wet districts' and 'thrives best on sandy and dry soils'.¹ Strickland drew a further distinction between rabbits bred on sand and on calcareous soils: 'Rabbits bred on sand are much inferior, both in skin and carcase, to those which are bred on the chalky soil of the Wolds; the higher indeed and the more exposed the situation, the better they are'.²

Whilst an account in these terms goes some way towards explaining the distribution of warrens, it leaves unanswered several important questions. Rabbit warrens were not planted in an empty countryside, but in one that had been settled and farmed for centuries. The planting of a warren thus meant more than simply finding a site on which rabbits might be expected to thrive. Rather it involved the acquisition or use of suitable land under circumstances which permitted comparisons to be made with other enterprises and alternative forms of land management.

Some of the land devoted to rabbits had been used previously as common grazing, some had formed part of common arable fields, and some had been farmed in severalty, either as sheep walk or arable land. In spite of this diverse background, the majority of the places affected appear to have shared the characteristic of being difficult and costly to improve except by turning them into rabbit farms. The nature of the difficulty is well illustrated by an account of Low Hunsley, a farm of about 400 acres on the southern Wolds. In the winter of 1802 the owner, Thomas Duesbery, of Beverley, explained why the estate continued to be used principally as a warren:

[Low Hunsley] 'is naturally suited and intended for [rabbits], from the nature and quality of the Soil, from a great part of it being hill Side, from its being difficult and expensive to raise fences upon, to get Manure to, and to carry the produce from, from its bleak and exposed Sitⁿ, from the bldgs being small and inconv^t for o^r purposes and indeed for almost evry reason wch can occur to make it eligible to occupy it as a warren'.³

Some of these same attributes are mentioned in accounts of warrens elsewhere in the district. A part of the common of Allerston, 'being full of Vallies which render it very inconvenient for culture', was said to be 'best adopted for Rabbits'.⁴ At Burdale about half the farm consisted of 'dale land', which is distinguished from the remainder of the holding in a detailed estate plan drawn up in 1849.⁵ And the gravelly land of Eastburn was so sterile that, according to H. M. Jenkins in 1869, 'tradition says it would not even grow twitch'.⁶

Some observers were concerned less with particular cases than with the wider issues involved in using land for rabbits in preference to something else. By the middle of the nineteenth century it was generally accepted that warrens were an anachronism, and appropriate only as 'a *dernier* resort for weak land' as J. A. Clarke put it.⁷ As late as the first decade of the nineteenth century, however, several writers had sounded a different note. Joseph Plymley could find no fault with the opinion of the late Mr. Lloyd, of Aston, whose communication on rabbits he reproduced in the *General View of the Agriculture of Shropshire*. 'If a piece of land suitable to the purpose was to be set apart for a warren, it is probable that the profit would be equal to any other mode of husbandry, if not beyond it'.⁸ Arthur Young was more circumspect, but he ventured the opinion that by planting a warren 'the investment of a small capital yields an interest that nothing else will'.⁹ William Marshall pointed out that not only were there profits to be won but costs to be avoided by means of warrens. 'There are, perhaps, few sandy or other loose-soiled hills, which would not pay better in rabbit-warren than under any other course of husbandry',¹⁰ he wrote in 1795, and far from regarding warrens as a last resource on such land, Marshall presented them as an alternative to full enclosure.¹¹

¹ Henry Poland, *Fur-Bearing Animals in Nature and in Commerce*, 1892, p. 279.

² Strickland, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

³ E.R.R.O., DDDU 10/69.

⁴ North Riding Record Office, ZDS/t (undated, but late eighteenth century).

⁵ Plan of Burdale Warren, 1849, in the Estate Office, Birdsall.

⁶ Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 403.

⁷ 'The Farming of Lincolnshire', *Journ. Royal Ag. Soc. England*, Series 1, xii, p. 362.

⁸ Plymley, 1803, p. 268.

⁹ *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Lincoln*, 1799, p. 393.

¹⁰ *The Rural Economy of Norfolk*, i, p. 371.

¹¹ *The Rural Economy of Gloucestershire*, ii, 1789, p. 82.

The ability of land to pay better under warrens explains why not all the areas used for this purpose were equally 'barren' or 'sterile'. This point was appreciated by both Marshall and Strickland. The latter observed that whilst it was 'a generally received opinion' in 1808 'that a great proportion of most of the warrens would produce nearly 50 per cent more money per acre in cultivation than under warren', it was believed also 'that all land which is not worth more than 10s. per acre, according to the present value of land for cultivation, is more profitable in warren, although it actually produces less money'.¹ The reasons for this, Strickland added, were to be found in 'the very great expenses attending arable land in seed, labour, tithes, and taxation, for most of which, land in the state of warren is exempted'. According to the same author, the rent of 'the better sorts' of Wold land was about £1 per acre, though some 'would be dear at one-eighth of that sum'. The rent for land in the lowlands was anything from twelve to thirty shillings an acre.²

It will be apparent from Figure 1, however, that a further degree of selection must have operated within areas which might be regarded as being at risk on account of their physical character. At their most extensive, the warrens of the East Riding probably occupied about 15,000 acres, and there may have been a further 3,000 acres close to, but beyond, the administrative county. But a figure of 18,000 acres represents only a small proportion of the area occupied by hungry, light or hilly land within this district.

The distribution of warrens seems to have been influenced in detail by a number of factors. Although common-field villages were numerous throughout the warren districts, fewer than half the warrens shown on Figure 1 were actually situated in such places. Where they did occur it would seem that they were unwelcome. At Settrington, for instance, where successive lords of the manor had possessed a warren since at least the early years of the sixteenth century, the rabbits eventually became a scourge, damaging crops and young trees alike. When the manor was surveyed for Elizabeth I in 1600, the tenants let it be known that they had suffered long enough and that they 'could be contented amongst them to pay the rent to her majestie to have the coneyes destroyed'.³ At a still earlier period they had evidently taken matters into their own hands, for by destroying large numbers of rabbits they had compelled Sir Francis Bigod to move the warren from its place on the commons to a new site near the village, where it could be subjected to close supervision.⁴ Its ultimate fate is unknown, but nothing more is heard of a warren at Settrington after 1600. Opposition to rabbit farming may therefore have reduced its incidence in common-field villages.

Furthermore, warrens made considerable demands on the available resources of land. Rabbits were a relatively inexpensive commodity and it was necessary to breed and sell them in great quantities if a warren was to be made to pay. Moreover, the working costs of a warren did not rise in direct proportion to an increase in size and productive capacity.⁵ For these reasons rabbit farms tended to be large, the average size in east Yorkshire during the eighteenth century probably being about one thousand acres. It is thus of some significance that several of the warrens in common-field villages are known to have been situated in places which were well endowed with common pasture. The inhabitants of Settrington enjoyed the use of a large common without stint.⁶ Barmby Moor possessed a great common in which were '1,000 acres of ground and more',⁷ whilst the commons in the vicinity of Holme upon Spalding Moor were amongst the largest in the East Riding.⁸ The availability of large tracts of land held in severalty also appears to have been of some importance in the case of common-field villages, for where they were not obviously associated with extensive commons, warrens invariably occupied estates of this nature. Not infrequently these were situated on the periphery of the township.

¹ Strickland, *op. cit.*, p. 24. For Marshall's opinion see *Yorkshire*, ii, p. 261.

² Strickland, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-3.

³ H. King and A. Harris, 'A Survey of the Manor of Settrington', *Y.A.S. Record Series*, cxxvi, 1962, p. 31.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 31-2.

⁵ This statement is based on Young, *General View . . . Lincs.*, pp. 382-93 and figures for Low Hunsley in E.R.R.O., DDDU 10/69.

⁶ 'Survey of Settrington', p. xiv.

⁷ [B]orthwick [I]nstitute of [H]istorical [R]esearch, York, RVII H, 4250, 1691.

⁸ They extended to 7,000 acres according to the Enclosure Act of 1773.

A considerable number of warrens occupied land within a depopulated settlement, as Table I below indicates. Although one or two of these places retained common fields and a small number of freeholders in the seventeenth century, in most of them the land was already held in severalty and property had become concentrated into the hands of a single landowner. The history of these settlements has in most cases still to be unravelled. As a group, however, they lent themselves readily to a type of activity that required for its successful prosecution both ample space and compact holdings.

Some weight must be given also to the possibility that when rabbit farming proved successful in one place it would, if other circumstances permitted, tend to encourage a similar development in neighbouring parishes, either by example or because of its effect on nearby estates. Almost half the warrens shown on Fig. 1 lay within adjacent parishes and some were separated from each other only by an earthen wall, an unfenced road or a strip of pasture. In what was almost certainly an extreme case, 'perhaps three or four thousand acres of tolerably good land, lying together' had been planted with rabbits to form the three great warrens of Cottam, Cowlam and Croom.¹ A grouping of warrens such as this suggests the further possibility that there may have been a link between rabbit farming and the pattern of landownership in the district, but there is little to indicate that this was in fact so.² It is difficult to assess how far the presence of a warren near by encouraged the belief that any other improvement was out of the question so long as rabbits held the field, although there are grounds for believing that this may have been an important consideration. Thus in Allerston it was thought that land almost surrounded by warrens 'must by the Vicinity to the neighbouring Warrens, lose most of its produce, if not converted into a Warren'.³

The development of rabbit farming in east Yorkshire

It is easier to discover where warrens were situated than to find out when they were created. The relevant information is set out below in Table I.

TABLE I

<i>First recorded before 1700</i>	<i>First recorded between 1700 and 1760</i>	<i>Recorded only after 1760</i>
*Arras (17th century)	*Argam (1758)	Holme on Spalding Moor (1773, but probably older)
Barmby Moor (1655)	Blanch (1749)	
Brunton Hill, Harpham Moor (1666)	Burton Rakes ('formerly a warren', 1722, but active 1762)	Lockton (Nth Riding) (1788)
*Gardham (1687)	*Cottam (1732)	
Hayton (1610)	*Cowlam (1743)	*Mowthorpe (1772)
*Hunsley (1685)	Craike (Creyke) Hill (1700)	
Kilnsea (1421)	*Croom (1744)	South Newbald (1777)
*Linton (1602)	Dalby (Nth Riding) (1743)	
*Risby (1592)	*Drewton (1749)	
Settrington (1537, but already ancient)	*Driffeld Greets and Kelleythorpe (1719)	
	*Eastburn (1729)	
	*Enthorpe (1750)	
	Flamborough (1758)	
	Arden (Harding) fleets (1739)	
	Hessleskew (1717)	
	Hunmanby (1713)	
	Kilnwick Wold (1718)	
	Newcoat Field (before 1749)	
	South Cliffe (1760)	
	Sunk Island (1711)	
	*Weedley (1752)	
	Yearsley (Nth Riding) (1749)	

* Settlement listed in M. W. Beresford, 'The Lost Villages of Yorkshire', *Y.A.J.*, xxxviii, 1952.

¹ Marshall, *Yorkshire*, ii, p. 262.

² The Land Tax returns for 1783 show that Cottam, Cowlam and Croom were in different ownership and occupation. Inspection of the returns for other places in the East Riding suggests that landownership may have influenced distribution in the case of the group of warrens in Eastburn and Kirkburn though not elsewhere.

³ North Riding Record Office, ZDS/t.

This suggests that most of the warrens known to have been in existence about 1750 had been planted during the previous fifty or sixty years. Certainly few were created after 1760, and by the end of the century the acreage of land under warren was declining.¹

As early as 1700 some warrens had begun to assume an air of permanence. Rabbits had been bred commercially at Barmby Moor since at least 1655 and at Gardham, Hunsley and possibly Arras since the sixteen-eighties.² The warrens at Kilnsea and Linton, which survived into the eighteenth century, were almost certainly even older. The former had been in use during the fifteenth century: at Linton 'grounds enclosed for breeding and keeping of Conies' are mentioned in 1602.³

Not only do these references provide a link, albeit a tenuous one, with a still older local interest in the rabbit, but they suggest also that the principles governing the selection of land for use as warren were much the same both before and after 1700.⁴ Gardham, Hunsley, Eastburn and Kelleythorpe, for example, were occupied in severalty by the end of the seventeenth century and only one freeholder survived in Arras in 1653.⁵ All these places had been farmed at one time from a settlement which had vanished by 1700. Risby still retained its common fields and village at the end of the sixteenth century, but the Ellerker family were then busily engaged in enlarging their estate in the township and their park was gradually extended at the expense of the village fields.⁶ The village itself had disappeared by the end of the eighteenth century. The presence of large commons in Barmby Moor, Holme and Settrington has already been noted.

The advantages to be gained by forming a warren appear to have been taken into account fairly generally when an improvement was contemplated on light land during the first half of the eighteenth century. 'One part of this land seems very convenient for a Coney Warren, wch might be a good improvement', Lord Bathurst's agent in Wetwang advised his master about 1740.⁷ Sir John Pennington's land steward in the East Riding was less enthusiastic, though he was soon to become involved in creating a warren at Blanch, on the Warter estate. 'I see little probability of it being let again at the rent it now is for a Sheep walk', he wrote of Blanch in 1749, 'nor Indeed for ought I can perceive at present, that there is much likelihood of making half the rent in gates, and for these Warrens they are new things to me, tho' its likely to let for most money that way'.⁸ The Dean and Chapter of York had come to the same conclusion a few years earlier. Robert Knowsley, the lessee of the church estate in Cottam, argued a case for favourable terms when his lease came up for renewal in 1732, but the facts were against him: 'by his improvement in planting a warren there, the estate is worth a great deal more', the lease book records conclusively.⁹

How much land went out of cultivation or was converted from sheep walk and rough pasture as the warrens were extended is not known, and one is compelled to particularise. In Cottam and Arras the arable fields and pastures of an already diminished settlement were appropriated to warren. Conversion was preceded in Cottam by a decision to effect economies on the Dean and Chapter estate by pulling down most of the houses, thus saving money on repairs.¹⁰ In Arras, where 800 acres of unenclosed land had been farmed in the mid-seventeenth century by a single freeholder and a tenant of the Constables, of

¹ 'Nearly one-fourth of the warrens, which existed in the East Riding about forty years ago, have been broken up, and not more than two or three have been since established . . .' (Strickland, *op. cit.*, p. 247).

² Draft agreement for lease of a warren at Barmby Moor, Johnson to Smith and Oliver, 1718 (document at Kilnwick Percy Hall, abstract by courtesy of Mr. N. Higson): E.R.R.O., DDHO 31/5 (Gardham); DDDFF 1/36 (Hunsley); DDEV 3/117 (Arras).

³ DHO 2/1, pp. 45-6 University library, Hull (Kilnsea); B.I.H.R. RVII H 91, 1602 (Linton). I owe the Kilnsea reference to Mr. G. de Boer.

⁴ ' . . . the earliest trace of what was later to become a profitable export trade in [rabbit] skins can be found in the export of 200 skins from Hull in 1305' (Elsbeth M. Veale, 'The Rabbit in England', *Agricultural History Review*, v, pt. 2, 1957, p. 85).

⁵ E.R.R.O., DDEV 3/70.

⁶ B.I.H.R., RVII G 2654, 1592.

⁷ E. Maule Cole, 'Notices of Wetwang', *Trans. East Riding Antiq. Soc.*, ii, 1894, p. 74.

⁸ E.R.R.O., DDWA 12/2(a), 7 March 1748/9.

⁹ Dean and Chapter MSS., York, SI(1) A, p. 96.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

Everingham, conversion to warren apparently followed the acquisition of the remaining freehold by the Constable family.¹ Arable land and sheep walks, though apparently not lying in common field, were involved also in the making of a warren at Driffild Greets.² On the other hand, much of Eastburn had been turned into meadow and pasture before the close of the seventeenth century.³ In Warter a great tract of sheep walk was appropriated for warren.⁴ Fragmentary though it is, the evidence indicates that both arable farming and livestock husbandry must have been affected by these events. Since most warrens carried sheep but seldom had much land under the plough, it is likely that crop production was in fact more affected than livestock husbandry. Conversion to warren was almost certainly one of the factors responsible for an increase in the acreage of land devoted to grass within east Yorkshire after 1700.⁵

The warren economy

Some of the more obvious features of the warren economy are illustrated in Table 2.

TABLE II

<i>Warren</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Land Use</i>	<i>Total area of warren estate</i>
Arras	1803	Warren	c.860 acres
		Arable	
		Seeds, old and new	
		Meadow	
		Old grass	
		Whins	
		Roads etc.	
Blanch	1780	Warren and 'several closes of arable, meadow and pasture, Sheep Walks and Sheep pasture'.	c.800 acres
Cottam	1844	Warren	2,540 acres
		Arable	
		Grass	
		Woodland, roads etc.	
		Whins	
Cowlam	1783	Warren	1,900 acres
		Sheep walk	
		Arable	
Hessleskew	early 19th century	Warren	446 acres
		Outside the warren walls	
Low Hunsley	1787	Warren	389 acres
		Arable	
		Meadow	
Mowthorpe	1789	Warren, arable, meadow and pasture land	2,000 acres

¹ For Arras see the writer's 'Some Maps of Deserted Medieval Villages in the East Riding of Yorkshire', *Geographische Zeitschrift*, Oct. 1968, pp. 182-7.
² E.R.R.O., DDHO, 39/1 and 39/2.
³ B.I.H.R., RAS 21B/7, 21B/14.
⁴ E.R.R.O., DDWA 7/1. The lease comprised a dwelling house, outbuildings, and 811 acres in 'several Closes or parcels of Meadow or Pasture Ground and Sheep Walks and Sheep Pastures'.
⁵ E.R.R.O., DDHO/20/36 contains some comments on this subject.

As Sir Christopher Sykes remarked, 'The Value of a Warren . . . cannot Easily be ascertained, because it varies very considerably as Sheep are always kept in them, and Land is taken out and Sown with Corn 2 or 3 Years, and then laid down with Grass Seeds . . .'.¹ It was usual also to reserve a small plot of ground for whins, or furze, which were fed to the rabbits in the winter and used for capping the warren walls. On most rabbit farms, about one-eighth or one-tenth of the acreage of the holding might be kept under the plough, although the proportion used in this way shows a tendency to increase towards the end of the eighteenth century, when restrictions on ploughing-out old swarth were relaxed somewhat. The tithe survey of 1844 indicates that in Cottam there was then considerably more land under the plough than was devoted to rabbits, but this was unusual.

Figures showing the number of rabbits carried on a warren are not hard to find, but unfortunately it is very rarely that these cover more than a single year. However, they give an idea of the scale of operations on individual warrens. Mowthorpe carried 2,000 couple, both in 1788 and 1816;² at Arras there were 4,000 couple in 1769 and at Eastburn 3,700 couple.³ A warren in Holme on Spalding Moor carried a breeding stock of 1,200 couple in 1819.⁴ The rabbits were so numerous on Hunmanby Moor, where the Osbaldeston family held a warren, that they were said to run 'like flocks of sheep'.⁵ The detailed figures cited in leases, however, dispel any suggestion that descriptive phrases such as this were either usual or of much practical value. Both landlord and tenant needed to know how many rabbits were present, at least in round numbers, and to this end rough-and-ready checks were carried out during the slaughtering season and a more detailed survey was made whenever the warren changed hands.

So long as the acreage under the plough remained relatively small, working costs also remained small. On many Yorkshire warrens the day-to-day management rested in the hands of a warrener, though extra help was sometimes sought during late autumn and winter, when killing was in progress, and at times of peak labour demand, such as sowing and harvesting. The warrener was often a hired man who occupied the warren house and was paid an annual wage for his services. This was the case at Low Hunsley. John Levitt, who leased the estate from Duesbery, lived 'at a distance from the farm, near Howden', and paid a man to look after it for him.⁶ Not all warrens were managed in this way however. William Dowthwaite, who became lessee of Blanch in 1749, moved to his new farm from Yearsley in the North Riding, where he had farmed 'about £65 a year and milk'd about 30 Cows, and had also a Warren there Rented at £12 a year'.⁷

Although a few warrens were kept in hand, the majority were leased out for a period 'between seven and twenty-one years. It was usual when forming or replenishing a warren for the landlord to allow a period of two or three years to elapse before demanding the full rent, presumably in recognition of the fact that it required time for the ground to become productive. Thus when Blanch was leased for twenty-one years in 1749, the lessee agreed to pay £70 per annum for the first two years and £100 per annum for the remainder of the term.⁸ And when Thomas Smith and William Oliver, of Thorpe-le-Street, took a warren at Barmby Moor in 1718 for a term of nine years, they agreed to pay Henry Johnson, of York, the lord of the manor, a rent of £20 for each of the first three years and thereafter £50 per annum.⁹ The landlord had usually to wait therefore before receiving the full benefit of the improvement. In most years between 1715 and 1749 Blanch yielded about £80 per annum in rent to the Penningtons as sheep walk. Its value as a warren was much the same to begin with, but in due course increased first to £100 and then, in 1770, to £150 per annum.¹⁰

¹ *Letter Book of Sir Christopher Sykes, 1775-90*, p. 105.

² E.R.R.O., DDSY 38/134, 38/148.

³ E.R.R.O., DDEV 3/120 (Arras); DDHO 29/2 (Eastburn).

⁴ E.R.R.O., DDX 160/6.

⁵ Public Record Office, E134 12 Anne, Trinity, no. 9.

⁶ E.R.R.O., DDDU 10/69.

⁷ E.R.R.O., DDWA 12/2(a).

⁸ E.R.R.O., DDWA 7/1.

⁹ Lease at Kilnwick Percy, abstract by courtesy of Mr. N. Higson.

¹⁰ E.R.R.O., DDWA 14/4, 14/6, 14/9, DDWA 10/48.

The costs of establishing a warren were generally regarded as being the responsibility of the landlord. At Barmby Moor in 1718, Henry Johnson agreed not only to build a warrener's house, but also to furnish 600 couple of common grey rabbits to replenish the warren, provide traps to kill vermin and, in the event of a 'general rott', to pay for a further 300 couple of rabbits.¹ When a warren changed hands it was usual for the incoming tenant to purchase the breeding stock on the holding at a price that was determined by two or more 'understanding persons'.² At the termination of the lease any deficiency or excess in numbers was established by means of a further valuation.

The nature of the warren economy can best be illustrated further by an examination of particular examples. Arras and Low Hunsley have been selected for this purpose as, despite the fact that both were situated on the Wolds, many aspects of warren farming are reflected in their character and organisation. Moreover, both are well documented.

Arras, a farm of 860 acres, contained between 500 and 600 acres of warren during the second half of the eighteenth century.³ The warren part of the holding was bounded by an earthen wall which was periodically repaired by means of sods of earth dug from nearby fields. Apart from this wall, however, 'there was no subdivision fence of any kind' within the 500 acres and 'rabbits came up to the House'. This house, which stood alone, was occupied by the lessee of the Arras estate, and if the practice elsewhere was followed, either the house or its outbuildings would be used for storing nets, guns, traps and other equipment as well as the skins of rabbits awaiting despatch to the furriers. Beyond the warren wall, but still forming part of the estate, were a number of fields which were partly under tillage and partly given over to rough pasture and whins. Before 1770 little more than 70 or 80 acres were under the plough, but thereafter until the end of the century, when large sections of the warren were brought under cultivation, the quantity was usually about 200 acres. The rent of Arras, which had remained unaltered at £50 per annum since the late seventeenth century, was increased in 1758 to £100, apparently following an increase in the size of the warren, and later rose again to £120.⁴ In June 1768 the farm was leased for £280 per annum by James Stephenson, of Cote Garth in the parish of Etton and John Dales, a furrier, of Pocklington.⁵ This lease is of unusual interest because it throws a little light on the activities of the furriers who purchased skins from the warrens. If the number of occasions on which furriers are mentioned in leases is regarded as being of some significance, then the situation in Arras was exceptional, most leases being made out to persons who are described simply as yeomen. It is not unlikely, however, that the influence of furriers made itself felt in less obvious ways. When the lease of Blanch was under discussion in 1749 William Dowthwaite, one of the prospective tenants, travelled to Warter to view the farm. With him on that occasion, according to Sir John Pennington's land steward, was 'his son and another person who is a furrier'.⁶

Hunsley comprised about 380 acres.⁷ The warren part of the farm was cultivated from time to time 'by taking out and laying down alternately', unlike Arras where the improved fields were situated outside the warren walls. Only about 40 acres were normally ploughed at Hunsley, as it was thought that 'more wo^d lessen ye herbage for ye Rabbits'. The farm produced in 1801 about 2,300 couple of rabbits, a clip of wool from between 60 and 80 sheep, and about 60 lambs. The warrener, who was the only hired man on the farm for most of the year, also kept a cow, 'about 5 or 6 young Beasts and one or 2 foals'. No expenses were incurred in marketing the rabbits, since these were 'fetched from Hunsley by the purchaser', and tithe was paid only on crops and on livestock other than rabbits. Tithe payments never exceeded £10 a year before 1788 and even during the period 1791 – 1801, when more land than usual was under the plough, they averaged little more than £20.

¹ Lease at Kilnwick Percy.

² A good example occurs in E.R.R.O., DDSY 38/148 (Mowthorpe).

³ Except where otherwise stated, this account is based on E.R.R.O. DDEV 59/54; DDEV 3/134 and DDCV 116/parcel 90, 164/parcel 94.

⁴ E.R.R.O., DDEV 58/117, 58/118, 58/139; DDEV 3/97; DDEV 59/43.

⁵ E.R.R.O., DDEV 3/98.

⁶ DDWA 12/2(a), 24 March 1748/9.

⁷ This account is based on E.R.R.O., DDDU 10/69, and DDDU 10/55.

A summary of the tenant's income and expenditure reveals a net profit in 1801 of £117 10s 0d. This was the balance after spending an estimated £50 on warrener's 'meat and wages', £20 on 'Food for Rabbits in a hard Winter and charge of fencing and other incidents', and £100 on rent; but earning £287 10s 0d by the sale of 2,300 couple of rabbits at 2/6 per couple. This was a favourable return, however, as may be seen from some figures for earlier years. During the previous eight seasons, the earnings from rabbits had varied between £90 15s 0d in 1799 (when there had been a hard winter), and £270 16s 0d in 1800. Assuming that costs during this period were about the same as in 1801, the warren would have yielded a clear profit to the tenant in five out of the nine seasons for which figures are available, and a net profit over the entire period of almost £200. Unfortunately these figures are incomplete, most notably in their omission of any reference to crops and livestock other than rabbits. In spite of this deficiency, they reveal quite well the essential characteristics of the warren economy: its low labour costs, its comparative freedom from tithe, and its ability to yield a profit in return for a modest annual investment.

Markets and marketing

According to Strickland, a warren in good heart might be expected to produce each season about 10 couple of rabbits to the acre.¹ The few figures which have come to light on this aspect of rabbit farming suggest that Strickland's estimate was if anything optimistic. Even so, the warrens of the East Riding alone probably yielded between 100,000 and 150,000 couple of rabbits annually in their heyday. At prices current in 1768, these would have been worth between £4,000 and £6,000: in 1808, when there were fewer warrens but higher prices, the value would have exceeded £16,000 at a yield of ten couple and £13,000 at eight couple to the acre.² These figures must be treated with some caution, however, since they are based on the price of common grey rabbits and although most of the local warrens were in fact stocked with this breed, a small number carried the less hardy but more valuable silver-greys, whose fur was exported to the Far East.³

After slaughter, the carcasses were sold for meat in the industrial towns of the West Riding and in York, Hull and other towns of eastern Yorkshire. In Strickland's day the rabbits were conveyed to these places in 'covered carts, containing from six to eight hundred couples strung on rods, and suspended across the cart one tier above another'.⁴ The skins were dried before being sold to furriers. These men, who cut the fur from the skin and sometimes combined the trades of furrier and hatter, were to be found in most of the large centres of population within the district, as directory entries testify. Smaller places which retained market functions or which were conveniently situated close to warrens also attracted furriers. Thus William Goodlad, who is described as a furrier in 1756, lived in South Cave, whilst John Dales, Stephenson's partner at Arras, came from Pocklington.⁵ There were furriers in Stamford Bridge also during the late eighteenth century.⁶ Although some of the rabbit fur was used locally, it was also sent to other parts of the country, especially to London and Manchester.⁷

The decline of the warrens

By the middle of the nineteenth century most of the warrens had been cleared and their sites transformed into cultivated farms. At Low Hunsley only the deeply-cut valleys which had provided ideal burrowing grounds for rabbits remained uncultivated by 1820, and some parts even of these had been planted with woodland. By about the same date

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 248.

² Prices derived from Quarter Sessions files and from Strickland, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

³ John Tuke, *General View of the Agriculture of the North Riding of Yorkshire*, 1794, p. 70; Young, *General View . . . Lincs.*, p. 382; Marshall, *Yorkshire*, ii, p. 265.

⁴ Strickland, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

⁵ DDBA 4/24. A William Goodlad owned land in the fields of South Cave in 1759.

⁶ Marshall, *Yorkshire*, ii, p. 268.

⁷ For hat-making see P. M. Giles, 'The Felt-Hatting Industry, c.1500-1850 with particular reference to Lancashire and Cheshire', *Trans. Lancs. and Cheshire Antiq. Soc.*, lxix, 1959, especially pp. 106, 111. There are comments on the local markets for fur in Reginald W. Jeffery, *Thornton-le-Dale*, 1931, p. 297, footnote.

Arras had become a corn and sheep farm with more than 700 acres under cultivation. Driffeld Greets, according to one account, had assumed 'the appearance of a prairie' by 1849.¹ Reclamation did not proceed everywhere at the same pace, however, and in the sandy lowlands especially warrens survived until well into the nineteenth century: indeed, on many light-land farms rabbit-catching continued to keep a man busy and provided a regular source of income until the advent of myxomatosis in 1954.

TABLE III

Arras	..	..	..	..	..	reclaimed 1791 – 1823
Blanch	..	..	..	..	..	reclaimed c.1801–13
Burdale	..	..	..	..	..	reclaimed after 1849
Coatgarth	..	..	..	..	..	reclaimed after 1817
Cottam	..	..	..	..	..	reclaimed after 1850
Cowlam	..	..	..	..	..	reclaimed by 1844, active in 1783
Driffeld Greets	..	..	..	..	..	reclaimed after 1817
Eastburn	..	..	..	..	..	reclaimed 1849–50
Hessleskew	..	..	..	..	..	reclaimed after 1817
Holme upon Spalding Moor (Burton's Warren)	..	..	..	..	..	reclaimed c.1820
Holme (Tollingham)	..	..	..	..	..	reclaimed after 1850
Hunmanby Moor	..	..	..	..	..	destroyed 1740
Low Hunsley	..	..	..	..	..	reclaimed c.1803
Mowthorpe	..	..	..	..	..	reclaimed after 1816
Potter Brompton	..	..	..	..	..	reclaimed after 1828
South Cliffe	..	..	..	..	..	reclaimed after 1830
Warter (Newcoat Field)	..	..	..	..	..	destroyed by 1749
Yearsley	..	..	..	..	..	destroyed in 1748/9

It has not proved possible to trace the history of every warren shown on Figure 1, but certain features emerge fairly clearly from the evidence available (Table 3). One is that whilst many – and possibly most – warrens were reclaimed only after 1800, others had disappeared much earlier. The destruction of the warren on Hunmanby Moor, for example, resulted from an agreement between William Osbaldeston, the lord of the manor of Hunmanby, and the freeholders of the township. According to the articles which ratified the agreement Osbaldeston was to destroy all rabbits on his warren, 'or so many of them as could be taken before the 25th Day of March 1740', and in return was to be allowed to enclose a section of the moor on which the freeholders claimed a right of common.²

The role of enclosure in hastening the end of the warrens is, however, debatable. There is no doubt that some landowners seized the opportunity afforded by enclosure to clear and convert a warren on their land. Thus the reclamation of Thomas Duesbery's warren at Low Hunsley followed upon the enclosure of common fields in the neighbouring settlement of Riplingham, where he also held property. Hunsley was affected by the act which enclosed Riplingham only in respect of tithe, but it lay adjacent to that place and to some of Duesbery's new allotments there.³ Similarly, the destruction of Blanch warren, also during the first decade of the nineteenth century, came only after the general enclosure of Warter, in the course of which some 7,000 acres of Pennington land were organised into new farms.⁴ Moreover, it is reasonable to assume that the spread of enclosure throughout the warren districts acted as a stimulus to change, if only because landowners whose interests were divided between warrens and other land – and this was often the case – found that rabbit farms added to the costs of establishing hedges and keeping crops free from predators, as well as creating what Strickland called 'bad neighbourhood'. On the other hand, enclosure in itself was not a guarantee that a warren would shortly vanish, as is shown by the survival of commercial rabbit farms in the vicinity of Holme upon Spalding Moor long after the district had been enclosed.

¹ *Hull Advertiser*, 13 July 1849.

² Yorkshire Archaeological Soc. Library, Enclosure Acts (60C9), vol. i.

³ Registry of Deeds, Beverley, CA p. 180; Enclosure plan of Riplingham, City Reference Library, Hull.

⁴ E.R.R.O., DDWA 7/54; Registry of Deeds, Beverley, BT p. 32, BG p. 455, CQ p. 315 (Warter Enclosure).

There were in fact more fundamental causes than enclosure at work undermining the old warren economy. It was no longer the case after 1800, as it had been thirty or forty years earlier, that farmers had 'no other notion of breaking up old grass, but that of immediately ploughing out its very heart and trusting to chance for a renewal of fertility'.¹ The warrens, and more particularly those which did not require costly schemes of under-drainage to bring them into productive use as arable farms, were the principal beneficiaries of the Norfolk system of husbandry and its local variants. By means of a succession of fodder crops and cereals, folded sheep and yard-fed cattle it was found possible to work successfully land which would have been considered at one time scarcely worth the cost of cultivation. Far-reaching changes in the farming systems of the light-soiled districts are probably the most important reason for the disappearance of the warrens, though the rabbit itself, of course, did not disappear.² Even at the end of the nineteenth century, when great quantities of rabbit fur were used in the manufacture of capes, caps, muffs, boas and other articles of dress and rabbit skins continued to find their way to hatters and glovers, it was possible for Henry Poland to assert that 'the Rabbit is the great fur-producing animal of the kingdom'.³ But by that time such of this country's requirements as were not met by imports were coming increasingly from estates on which rabbits formed a useful and often valuable, but nevertheless secondary, source of income.

Since this paper was written, Dr. John Sheail has discussed some of the source material which is available to historians who may be interested in the rabbit ('Historical Material on a Wild Animal – the Rabbit', *The Local Historian*, vol. 9, no. 2, 1970). I have profited from a discussion of the subject with Dr. Sheail, though at too late a date to incorporate additions here.

¹ Arthur Young, *A Six Months Tour through the North of England*, 1770, p. 183.

² Rabbits continued to provide an income on many estates where they were not bred for the purpose. Examples occur on the Sledmere and Burton Constable estates (E.R.R.O., DDCV, parcels 73 and 74 Sledmere, and DDCC 130/34, Burton Constable).

³ Poland, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

PERSONAL MOBILITY IN SOME RURAL PARISHES OF YORKSHIRE, 1777-1822

By B. A. HOLDERNESS

Among the most difficult problems facing the historian interested in population mobility before the Census period is the unsuitability of English parish registers as source material.¹ No precise or consistent information can be obtained about the birth-place or status of the majority of individuals appearing in the registers. Mobility can be unravelled to some extent by the extremely laborious process of family reconstitution, but movement across parish boundaries generally creates great difficulties. In aggregate, migration may be inferred from the difference between crude totals of natural increase and the actual growth of population, but this method can tell us nothing of the range of migration, nor its social consequences. However, several parishes, chiefly in the Plain of York, possess registers in which, for a fairly brief period, considerable additional information about parishioners was given. An example of what at best a baptismal entry according to a new formula might reveal can be taken from the Saxton in Elmet register of 1791:²

'Rebecca, 1st dau. of Robert Westwood of Saxton, Taylor, son of Thomas Westwood of Kelfield, Husbandman, by Rebecca his wife, dau. of John Pallister of Stillingfleet, Farmer (and) Frances, dau. of Isaac Cawthorne of Miclefield, Lab^r by Elizabeth his wife daughter of Samuel Goodall of Milford, Collier, (born) May 30; (bapt.) June 5.'

Unfortunately, the period in which these useful data are provided is restricted to the end of the eighteenth century. The reform of registration was similar in different parishes; it emanated from a directive of Archbishop Markham at the Midsummer visitation of 1777, and in some parishes the new régime began immediately.³ Others began at later dates, either in the aftermath of visitational activity between 1777 and 1779, or when a new register book was started or a new incumbent was inducted in the parish. The majority of Yorkshire parishes never adopted the pro forma at all. Those which followed the new practice most consistently were situated in or near the Plain of York within about fifteen miles of York in which few registers have yet been printed. In many of the townships, where the reform was inaugurated, the new practice did not endure for any length of time, often merely for weeks or months rather than for years. There are ten published registers, with data protracted enough to provide tolerably reliable statistics, one of which, Addingham in Wharfedale, is too remote from the others to be considered here. Not every family was supplied with a brief lineage, but most of those who were not were evidently strangers, reticent about their antecedents who came from beyond the quite considerable range of local gossip.⁴

From these data, it is possible to analyse the mobility of different occupational groups within the rural community at a period when the West Riding was undergoing rapid demographic and industrial changes. Within the small scope offered the evidence is as

¹ J. T. Krause, 'The Changing Adequacy of English Registration, 1690-1837', D. V. Glass & D. E. C. Eversley, eds., *Population in History* (London 1965); J. T. Hollingsworth, *Historical Demography* (London 1969) passim.

² G. D. Lumb, ed. *The Parish Registers of Saxton in Elmet* (Yorkshire Parish Register Society, 1932), p. 137.

³ It is referred to in P. M. Tillott, ed. *The Registers of Braithwell*, vols. 2-6 (Parish Register Section, Yorks. Archaeological Society, 1969), p. 4. Cf. F. Smith and D. E. Garner, *Genealogical Research in England & Wales*, i, 145-6 (Salt Lake City, 1956).

⁴ Yorkshire Parish Register Society (or its successor, the Parish Register Section of the Yorks. Archaeological Society) vols. 36, 39, 56, 66, 93, 96, 119, 124, 129, 131.

precise as we are ever likely to obtain, and thereby rather better than calculations of the turnover of surnames in particular parishes as a yardstick of personal movement.

The ten parishes or townships to be considered in detail are: Acomb (W.R.), Askham Bryan (W.R.), Aughton (E.R.), Riccall (E.R.) and Cowthorpe (W.R.), all of which lie in the middle of the Plain, astride the Ouse, Carlton by Snaith at the southern end of the Plain of York, on the fenny soils of the Lower Ouse, Saxton in Elmet, by Tadcaster, near the western extremity of the plain, Raskelf and Easingwold, on the western slopes of the Hambledon Hills overlooking the Plain in the North Riding. All except Easingwold were essentially agricultural townships with a few service trades for the local farming community. Easingwold is a market town, which in the late eighteenth century possessed quite a flourishing leather-working industry as well. Acomb, and to a less extent Askham Bryan and Riccall, are near the city of York. Nevertheless their registers display no evidence of incipient suburbanisation and references to York parishes are hardly more numerous than to others in the vicinity.

As Table I indicates, trends in particular parishes varied somewhat, owing in part to the small numbers of parishioners generally involved. Nevertheless, the aggregates may well provide a reasonable average. The nine places do not form a contiguous or close-knit region, but they are similar enough in their general structure and in their demographic trends to allow us to use the aggregate totals with some confidence.

The registers under the new régime were not perfect. Occupational status was generally given, but there is no certain evidence how far individuals successively described in different occupations, actually changed their position in the community or were in fact engaged in more than one enterprise. Moreover, the place of origin was not always given. Table I indicates that those of unknown origin formed a small percentage of all the individuals, except in a few villages, especially Carlton, and for the most part were insufficient seriously to distort the data.

Table I reveals a considerable amount of quite long-range migration. About 18% of 2,268 individuals came from ten miles or more away from the respective townships in the sample. Since some of the 'unknowns' must have travelled equal distances this figure is obviously a minimum. Perhaps more than 20% of all men and women migrated from beyond ten miles. The method of migration is not clear, since there is no information about intervening stopping-places. The links connecting the place of residence of an individual's father and the parish of registration may have been tenuous, or there may have existed a strong personal connection, say in the form of relatives already settled and prepared to keep an eye on the newcomer. The distance travelled by 'long-range' migrants was not excessive. Over 80% came from within 40 miles, and a slightly larger percentage from within Yorkshire. More than half were drawn from similar parishes in the Plain or neighbouring agricultural regions. Of the few from outside Yorkshire, the majority came from Durham, N.W. Lincolnshire or North Nottinghamshire.

Migration from within a ten-mile radius (38%) was obviously a very important feature of the general demography of village life in the period. Since there are no special motives for immigration in any of the townships, with the possible exception of Easingwold, which distinguish them from their neighbours, we must assume that this short-range migration affected the whole region with about equal intensity.

Before examining the trends in different occupational groups, we must consider the mobility of the womenfolk. The proportion of women whose fathers were parishioners of the place of registration was significantly less than that of the men, and the numbers drawn from outside the adjacent settlements were also larger. Many incomers brought wives with them, but if that alone were the explanation, there would in fact have been fewer women strangers recorded, because a number of the men who immigrated married widows or girls of their new townships. At least from the seventeenth century, the range of choice of marriage partners in England was wide by European standards, often extending to fifteen miles or more. In part of Nottinghamshire, 26% of all recorded

marriages were between persons from different villages in 1770–1800.¹ The social and geographical obstacles in the choice of marriage partners discussed by Professor T. S. Ashton were real in eighteenth century conditions, but the various inhibitions were never powerful enough absolutely to prevent ‘mixed’ marriages.² The greatest divergences in the origins of married couples in the Plain of York occur among farmers and tradesmen. It is reasonable to expect substantial farmers and tradesmen, in seeking advantageous marriages, to look beyond the immediate vicinity for themselves or for their children. Advantageous marriages, however, were not entirely confined to the already well-endowed. Restrictions upon contracting marriages between different social classes were certainly applied in the eighteenth century, but there is some evidence to suggest that one of the most significant blessings conferred by widows with money was to provide poorer, but not necessarily socially inferior, men with a start in life. Such marriages of convenience were rare events and seldom if ever enabled labouring men to rise in the social scale. These registers also convey the impression that in some instances marriage influenced the choice of occupation in a more general way. At Easingwold in particular, there are enough examples of men pursuing the same trade or holding the same status not as their own fathers but as their fathers-in-law, to imply that it was not merely fortuitous. How many of them, one wonders, married their masters’ daughters?

In each of the three occupational groups the varying degree of personal mobility is quite clearly demonstrated. Among farmers the pressures to move about the countryside were somewhat less powerful than among other social groups. A high proportion lived where their fathers had lived, and where they themselves had been born, in many cases where the information is provided, on the self-same farmsteads. The incentives to stay put are evident. In only two parishes, Easingwold (34%) and Askham Bryan (38%) was the percentage of farmers whose fathers lived in the same parish less than half of the total. Farmers, whether tenants or owner-occupiers, already possessed a considerable stake in the soil. When tenants were leaseholders, stability or at least a measure of security was guaranteed over a fairly long period, and leases were often renewed for more than one term. Tenants at will seldom suffered eviction for reasons other than a prolonged failure to pay rents or for execrable farming, and many families of such tenants held their farms for generations. The parishes considered consisted of a mixture of substantial farms beside smaller units interspersed with numerous smallholdings. The central area of the Plain contained few farms above 300 acres and many under 100 acres. The typical enterprise was a smallish family-sized unit of mixed arable and pasture, in which consolidation appears not to have progressed very far even by the mid-nineteenth century.³ Nevertheless, the long-term stability of the farming community cannot be assumed, even from the data in Table I, since farms passing down for more than three or four generations in the eighteenth century were exceptional. Many farmers left their occupations not so much by the direct pressure of inclosure or consolidation, which were slow-maturing even when they can be proved to have been actively at work upon rural society, as by periodic short-term recessions which afflicted the industry in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Even if depressed conditions went no deeper than to remove the inefficient, their effects on the turnover of tenancies were still notable, especially in the periods 1730–1750 and 1815–1850. Bankruptcy, distraint by the landlord, or merely the instinct to cut losses by quitting, played a major part in interrupting the continuity of landholding. Others were usually found ready enough to enter vacant farms, and, except in extraordinarily difficult periods, as in the early 1820’s or early 1830’s, for instance,

¹ D. E. C. Eversley, ‘Population, Economy and Society’, Glass & Eversley, *op. cit.*, p. 40; J. D. Chambers, ‘The Vale of Trent, 1670–1800’, (*Economic History Review*, Supplement, 3, 1957), p. 29. A century earlier (1670–1700) the proportion was only 10.8%; Eversley, *loc. cit.*, pp. 412–13, states that marriages between partners of different parishes were more frequent in the eighteenth than the nineteenth century. Cf. also S. Sogner, ‘Aspects of the Demographic Situation in Seventeen Parishes of Shropshire, 1711–60’, *Population Studies*, xvii, 1963, p. 132.

² T. S. Ashton, *The Economic History of England: The Eighteenth Century* (London 1955), pp. 5–7.

³ R. Brown, *General View of the Agriculture of the West Riding*, (1799), p. 16, Appendix pp. 40, 42, 47; the size of farms is given for counties in the Census Reports from 1831, and in the annual *Agricultural Statistics* from 1867 onwards, all of which indicate the parcellation of landholding in the West Riding generally, and the small size of farms in the Vale of York.

when the turnover was rapid, often established dynasties of farmers themselves. Between 1777 and 1812 few serious recessions in agriculture occurred. It was generally a prosperous period for the commercial producer, with the exception of a few years around 1780, when a short, sharp slump of prices was widely reported. With freeholders, the constancy of occupation was almost certainly rather greater, but in areas similar to the Plain, analysis of changes in property-owning in the eighteenth century indicates that the market for land among owner occupiers and wealthy tenants was fluid.

It is interesting to observe that farmers were less likely to be drawn from parishes within ten miles than labourers or tradesmen. It is reasonable to assume that the newcomers usually entered their new parishes at the same time as they entered their farms. They were attracted by specific vacancies. Applications for farms during the eighteenth century are known often to have been sent from considerable distances, and the relatively large percentage (16.7%) of farmers from more than ten miles away appears to indicate a similar phenomenon around York.¹ Moreover, several of the newcomers were from areas in which agricultural conditions were rather different. Wold farmers apparently did not shun the Plain simply because it was unlike their own locality, and landlords were presumably more interested in the applicant's general reliability and his ability to pay the rent, than in his detailed knowledge of regional farming conditions and techniques.

The degree of social mobility in the farming community is less easy to establish. The occupational status of grandfathers was less regularly given than their places of residence, so that status changes over two generations cannot always be estimated. However, at Carlton, out of 26 farmers whose fathers' occupations were given, 21 were farmers, one a miller, one a blacksmith and three described as labourers. At Raskelf, all but one of 25 farmers were farmers' sons, and at Easingwold the information survives for 52 farmers, of whom 37 were described as sons of farmers or yeoman, eight as of labourers and the rest of tradesmen (one skinner, two innkeepers, two tailors, one miller and one cordwainer). In an area where farm service still flourished and where it could still be described almost as a form of agricultural apprenticeship, the numbers passing up the social scale from day-labourers to farmers of any species were small. As a source of information about social mobility, however, the registers are of strictly limited use. They provide no data of the size or wealth of particular farmers, although it appears that the individuals described as farmers who descended from labourers occupied smallholdings for the most part. The bulk of the farmers in the region, and those of local importance, were almost invariably recruited from farming stocks. Individuals whose occupations changed through time in register entries from 'labourer' to 'farmer' were few. Only about nine or ten seem genuinely to have advanced in the social scale during their own lifetime. By the end of the eighteenth century, the opportunities for social mobility even in a region of remaining small farms and board service appear to have been severely restricted.

The migration of tradesmen indicates a similar general pattern. An established and steady livelihood again acted as an incentive to stability. However, there were differences. The term comprehended all occupations from millers, butchers and general dealers, whom one would expect to have been relatively wealthy, to small jobbing artisans, tailors, shoemakers, weavers, etc., who were often distinguished from labourers only by an acquired skill. Indeed, at Easingwold it is possible that journeymen and perhaps other craft labourers were included in the tally of 'tradesmen', especially among the cordwainers who formed a rather large body in the town's population. Moreover, many tradesmen in all walks of life were also farmers or smallholders, and the distinction between a craft occupation and agriculture was not at all sharply delineated. The social mobility of tradesmen presents the same difficulties as for the farmers. Of 25 tradesmen at Carlton six pursued the same business as their fathers, four were the sons of farmers, five labourers, two of mariners and the rest descended from men in other occupations, including one blacksmith who was the son of a schoolmaster and a schoolmaster

¹ For some evidence of tenants' applications for farms, see B. A. Holderness, 'Rural Society in S.E. Lindsey, Lincolnshire, 1660-1840', (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Nottingham University, November 1968), pp. 475 ff. Some applicants were prepared to travel upwards of sixty miles to obtain tenancies.

descended from a weaver. There appears to be no particular pattern of mobility. One miller was the son of a miller, another of a farmer and a third was described as the son of a labourer, and much the same diversity occurred elsewhere. At Raskelf, the status of their fathers is provided for 15 of the tradespeople – four labourers, four farmers and seven tradesmen – but again the trades were not necessarily the same in successive generations. At Easingwold, where trades-families were numerically very important, the situation more or less repeats itself. Out of 166 individuals, 54 were in the same occupation as their fathers, 38 were the sons of farmers, 28 of labourers and 46 the sons of men in other trades or professions. Changes of occupation in successive generations, as well as in the few cases recorded of changes in one lifetime, as a rule involved transfers to similar types of craft employment, between wheelwrights, carpenters, shoemakers, tailors, weavers, flax dressers and other varieties of the same kind of jobbing artisans, rather than upwards into the rural *bourgeoisie* of attorneys, surgeons, druggists, mercers, farmers, millers and butchers, who were generally recruited from their own stratum or from among the farming community. The vertical social mobility of rural society is outweighed by horizontal movements, although social advance of a kind is certainly recorded, as the number of day-labourers whose sons become farmers or tradesmen indicates.

Inheritance obviously played a considerable part in maintaining the comparative constancy of the 'commercial' population of rural communities. Those living in parishes in which their fathers had also dwelt formed a substantially larger proportion than those of the labourers. Well-endowed tradesmen with large capitals in plant or stock-in-trade probably felt about as much incentive to migrate as the farmers, although they were much less directly dependent upon the soil. Younger sons, of course, were apprenticed out in similar or even different trades, or left to seek a fortune on their own, and the evidence of social changes just mentioned in many cases was concerned with the younger sons whose brothers inherited the family business. There is no means of knowing how long a particular enterprise typically remained in the hands of one family, generation after generation, but as in the case of farmers long-period stability was perhaps the exception rather than the rule. Except for millers, who were dependent upon the availability of a large fixed plant – often rented – artisans and shopkeepers possessed a large proportion of their capital in the form of movable assets. They were restricted in movement chiefly by the accumulation of good-will around which their businesses necessarily revolved, and by the location of their trades in relation both to existing demand and existing competition. Since there are several instances in the parish registers here studied of men migrating only to pursue the same occupation as their fathers in the new place, even the wealthiest tradesmen, given a sufficiently pressing aversion from staying in a particular village, had no real difficulties in transferring their businesses elsewhere, and opportunities to re-establish themselves, given the necessary capital, were probably quite considerable.

The group described as labourers was more volatile with respect to its geographical mobility. There is little surprising about this. It seems clear that virtually all those included under this heading were 'day-labourers', and as a body are described in some local registers as 'day-talers' (*datallers*). Work therefore had to be sought wherever available, and movement in and around the parish or settlement was commonplace. The mobility of pre-industrial populations is well-established in general principle, and it is reasonable to expect families or individuals with an insecure livelihood to migrate in search of improved opportunities. Farm servants, few of whom are referred to in the registers, moved freely about the countryside to find or change employment, in the intervals between engagements. Farm service remained a regular feature of agricultural employment north of the Humber and Dee until late in the nineteenth century. It was not at all uncommon for young persons to be sent outside the parish, sometimes over a considerable distance, to board under farmers' roofs just as their contemporaries were bound apprentice to merchants or craftsmen, sometimes with similar results.¹ As an

¹ Even in the early twentieth century North Midland Statute (hiring) Fairs still flourished and were attended by diverse groups of labourers looking for engagements. Cf. the entertaining description in Fred Kitchen, *Brother to the Ox* (London, 1940), pp. 98–99. H. E. Strickland, *General View of the Agriculture of the East Riding* (York 1812), p. 262, declared that it was the custom for disengaged servants to tramp about from fair to fair until taken on again.

incentive in promoting individual migrations farm service was considerable in northern England. A glance at one of the marriage registers from these parishes in comparison with the extended baptismal records may perhaps give some indication of the influence of service, since considerable numbers of young single persons, described therein as 'of this parish' in fact had established themselves only by sojourning, undoubtedly, though it is rarely explicit, as a result of farm or indoor service.

Married labourers with cottages and families were naturally less willing to uproot themselves unless driven out or induced by significantly better opportunities. Nevertheless, cases of poor removals from all over the country indicate that even married labourers often went off to find work, either taking their dependants along, or leaving them behind in the parish of settlement as insurance against becoming suddenly chargeable in alien surroundings. In spite of the comparative smallness of Yorkshire farms and the survival of board service, day-labourers in agriculture and in other rural occupations were apparently quite numerous by the later eighteenth century. The virtually landless cottage was a feature of Yorkshire villages in the Plain as it was in villages of southeast England. The main differences were that in the North day-labourers were less degraded, since they formed an obviously smaller proportion of the total rural population than in Hampshire, West Norfolk or Hertfordshire, for example, received considerably higher weekly wages and for the most part possessed substantial gardens and/or 'cattle-gates', or pasture for a cow and other livestock. Their cottages were certainly often poor and overcrowded, but, in relation to opportunities for employment, they were tolerably well distributed. There were few villages in which landlords and farmers could effectively keep down the poor rates by refusing settlements or pulling down labourers' cottages. 'Close' parishes, as Robert Brown intimated, existed in the West Riding in the 1790's, but by comparison with the Wold region and much of Midland and Southern England, the problem was neither extensive nor severe.¹ None of the nine townships can be described as 'close', although Cowthorpe was very small, and in at least two, Saxton (Hawke) and Carlton (Stapylton) there lived important magnate families.

The particular pattern of geographical mobility among labouring families differed somewhat from place to place. For the most part, the numbers involved are too small to give a reliable picture, but the rather diverse experiences of Easingwold and Carlton are perhaps worth mentioning. The particularly low percentage of labourers in the former township who lived where their fathers had lived may perhaps be explained by its position as both an important local market centre and small manufacturing community. Its direct influence spread further than any village, and the opportunities for employment in a still largely rural setting were somewhat larger than elsewhere in the neighbourhood. Small country towns were growing in importance between 1750 and 1850, as the reliance upon itinerant pack-men or general fairs waned and as the towns which survived from the numerous market centres of earlier centuries consolidated their position as major service-centres for an agricultural hinterland. This may explain why two-thirds of the town's labourers should have come from beyond the immediate neighbourhood of its adjacent villages. Why Carlton should have remained, comparatively speaking, 'inward-looking' it is impossible to say. It certainly drew in individuals from all around the neighbourhood, but three-fifths of the labourers who were settled at Carlton came from the ancient, extensive parish of Snaith, in which Carlton itself was a part. In general, however, a proportion of about one-third of labourers living where their fathers had lived seems to be a reasonable average for rural villages in the Plain of York, with about half as many from beyond the ten-mile radius of the places of registration. The majority of labourers came from within ten miles, unlike the migrants among the farmers and tradespeople.

¹ R. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 13. Deficiency of cottage accommodation in the W.R. is not elsewhere mentioned as a serious obstacle to settlement, although John Tuke, *General View of the Agriculture of North Riding*, p. 42, thought that there were not enough cottages near the farms, and in the East Riding the problem was serious, especially in the uplands, Strickland, *op. cit.*, p. 42. The negative evidence in, e.g., Sir Francis Doyle's *Report on Yorks. & Northumberland to the Poor Law Commissioners' Inquiry into the Employment of Women and Children in Agriculture*, 1843, may itself be significant. The poor quality of rural cottages in Yorkshire was more often complained of.

If the day-labourer had fewer incentives to remain in one place or one job than farmers or other 'business men', the motives which might lead the general labourer into relatively distant parts, at least in one removal, were equally less obvious. As far as one can judge, most of the labourers who did move took the same kind of employment as they had followed before.

The agricultural labourer remained an agricultural labourer, and the parishes which supplied the labouring men in these examples were in virtually every respect the same as the receiving centres. The registers give no information about transfers from one sort of wage employment to another, nor about a steady migration from agricultural to industrial types of work. The social mobility of labourers can only approximately be estimated. Younger sons of farmers or tradesmen evidently were often reduced to the status of day-labourers for want of better opportunities. At Easingwold, 39 farmers' sons were described as labourers; 31 were descended from tradesmen and 42 from labourers. At Raskelf there were two descended from farmers, three from tradesmen (all weavers) and 13 from labourers; and at Carlton, the figures were: farmers' sons 10; tradesmen's four; labourers' 23. These figures corroborate the view that opportunities for advancement were rather restricted by the late eighteenth century. Whilst a farmer's son might well end up as a 'day-taler', the son of a labourer had generally to content himself with a life of wage-earning.

How far does the evidence of geographical mobility bear out Redford's view of progressive migration over short distances? Redford was thinking in terms of migration whose objective was long-term, of the gradual townward drift of wanderers following the inducements of higher wages.¹ The registers reveal nothing of any 'straight-line' migration towards urban or industrial centres. Redford assumed a degree of emigration from the North and East Ridings into the West during the early nineteenth century which would obviously have affected the demography of parishes favourably situated in relation both to 'metropolitan' centres such as York or Hull and to the growth-points along the Aire and its tributaries.² More detailed evidence of the pattern of migration and population growth in Yorkshire suggests that the West Riding at any rate provided little attraction at least before 1850.

It is necessary to say something of population growth in the West Riding if only very briefly. From a county sparsely peopled in 1700, the Riding had become the third most densely-populated county in England by 1801 with 212 persons per square mile. Much of the growth took place after 1750. In the West Riding, there were few 'metropolitan' influences upon population, as in the case of London, Liverpool, Manchester and even Hull in the East Riding. From a comparatively early date, towns like Sheffield certainly attracted migrants, although according to an important article by Buckatzsch, Sheffield's sphere of influence was mostly localised in the adjacent area of South Yorkshire and North Derbyshire.³ The slower growth of industry in Yorkshire in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, by comparison with Lancashire, and the existence of a large and populous group of mixed agricultural and industrial villages between the chief urban concentrations of the Riding and the purely rural settlements, reacted against direct straight-line migration into Leeds or Sheffield or the other towns.⁴ It has already been mentioned that York appears not to have exerted an undue influence upon its surrounding countryside, but without data of mobility from urban parishes in the city, the assumption cannot be proved. By 1811, York with 19,000 inhabitants, was still the fourth largest town in Yorkshire, after Leeds, Sheffield and Hull, none of which exceeded 40,000 people. York's position in relation to the Plain must obviously have been influential, although it was not expanding nor did it possess the growth potential of the

¹ A. Redford, *Labour Migration in England, 1800-1850* (Manchester 1926), *passim*.

² *Ibid.*, p. 165; *13th Annual Report of the Registrar-General*, pp. 196-7, demonstrated that as late as the 1840's the W.R. was gaining less than Lancashire or the East Riding by this kind of migration.

³ E. J. Buckatzsch, 'The Place of Origin of Immigrants into Sheffield, 1624-1799', *Econ. H.R.* 2nd Ser. II, 1950, p. 145, indicates that the proportion of apprentices migrating to Sheffield who came from about 40 miles away 1624-49 was 6.4% and in 1775-99 8%, whereas those from less than ten miles made up 47.5% and 48.7% respectively in the two periods.

⁴ P. Deane and W. A. Cole, *British Economic Growth, 1688-1959* (Cambridge 1962), pp. 106 ff.

textile towns. Its attraction is difficult to quantify. Arthur Young's collection of agricultural wage rates in 1769 suggests that wages in the vicinity of York may have been high by comparison with the rest of the Plain of York. Wages at Stillingfleet were notably higher than those quoted for Wilberfoss, Kiddal in Elmet and Woolley.¹ If accurate, the figures imply that York exerted considerable influence over the local labour supply in the later eighteenth century. Its position, on a larger and more important scale, was analogous to that of Easingwold for which data of mobility have been analysed.

A complete analysis of Yorkshire wage regions between 1750 and 1850 has not yet been undertaken, but from the published data of agricultural or general wage rates, local and regional variations were obviously of some importance. Redford's assumption that 'agricultural labourers were most highly paid round the textile districts of Lancashire and the West Riding', upon which much of the concept of a steady townward drift was based, needs some amendment.² In Yorkshire, as Dr. Gilboy showed, high wages were to be found not only in industrial areas, but also in fundamentally agricultural regions like the East Riding or Ryedale, and the lowest wage rates were by no means confined to the remotest corners of the county.³ Industrial development in the North was certainly the prime mover in the region's transformation from a low to a relatively high wage agrarian economy, but its effects were widely diffused over purely agricultural areas like Lincolnshire, Westmorland and the North Riding as well as near the new towns. The notion of concentric stages of migration with a bustling new town at the heart of the web cannot properly be applied to Yorkshire in and around 1800, because the dispersion of zones of high wages, the most palpable attraction to migrating labourers, was not closely related to the development of manufacturing.⁴

In any event, the most relevant issue in dealing with the type of migration revealed in Table I is not to decide to what extent Acomb or Carlton or Riccall acted as staging posts in the movement of country people into Leeds or Halifax, Normanton, Stanley or Whitkirk, but to analyse demonstrable patterns of mobility. In the context of a group of villages, it is convenient, and not very misleading, to think of the people as 'milling about'. Regionally, there was an ebb and flow across parochial boundaries, with newcomers absorbed into the system, usually but not exclusively at the outer edges. No region of England, except in the most unusual circumstances, was actually sealed off from migration; each and every parish possessed its own demographic hinterland and offered inducements whose influence faded with distance. Buckatzsch reckoned that in the long term some regions and some kinds of community had a more constant population than others, but in all there was a degree of geographical mobility.⁵ The incentive to come and settle often depended upon the operation of a counterbalancing tide of emigration, although many parishes offered special advantages or disadvantages, particularly for cottagers, such as the relative stringency in applying the Settlement Laws, the presence or otherwise of speculative cottage-builders, the general availability of any kind of accommodation, new or old, quite apart from wage rates or the opportunities for employment and the existence of uninclosed commons and waste.

Personal mobility was in no sense a consequence nor even a symptom of industrialisation in England. The ebb and flow of migration even affected particular family stocks,

¹ A. Young, *A Tour in the North* (London 1770), vol. i, pp. 134, 141, 144, 194: vol. iv, pp. 298-4 in which Young attempted to give a monetary valuation to payments in kind and board lodging.

² Redford, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

³ E. W. Gilboy, *Wages in Eighteenth Century England* (Cambridge Mass., 1934), ch. v.

⁴ Cf. the discussion of the effects of urbanisation, etc., upon wages and migration in Lancashire in J. D. Marshall, 'The Lancashire Rural Labourer, 1800-1833', *Trans. Lancs. and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, lxx, 1961. Wage data for Yorkshire may be found in Young, *loc. cit.*; W. Marshall, *Rural Economy of Yorkshire* (London, 1788); the county agricultural reports to the Board of Agriculture; the Answers to Rural Queries in the Appendices to the *Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Administration of the Poor Laws*, 1833, PP 1834, vol. 31.

⁵ E. J. Buckatzsch, 'The Constancy of Local Populations and Migration in England before 1800', *Population Studies*, v, 1951, pp. 64-68; D. E. C. Eversley, in Glass and Eversley, *op. cit.*, p. 398, has suggested that in the northwestern part of a sample of Worcestershire parishes, the constancy of names was greater than elsewhere.

who are shown in the registers through a long period as coming and going and then reappearing, after having moved around the vicinity perhaps for generations. But it is hardly significant that short distance migration should have involved some re-migration, since there is no means of knowing how deliberate such returns may have been. It is merely one of diverse patterns of migration, about which it is as difficult to generalise as it is to quantify them. The changeover of village populations, as for instance, rate-books, taxation papers, even parish registers illustrate, was a marked, if slow-maturing fact of demographic evolution. Table I does not reveal a wholesale turnover of population within a generation. It would have been a staggering discovery if it had done so. With some 40% of all individuals ostensibly born and bred in the place of registration where they were married or had children baptised, one might assume that the English village population was typically stationary, and that individuals only moved for relatively powerful motives from their native places. Such a view overlooks the issue of long-term constancy or mobility. Of the 886 persons whose fathers were resident in the nine parishes, no more than 40%, and probably less, seem to have had ancestors living in the place at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Some families, it is true, had a very long connection with particular parishes, but they were usually the more substantial, generally farmers and perhaps freeholders, with a large stake in the community. Beneath the ranks of the squirarchy, it was the static family which was exceptional in the countryside, not those who moved once or several times.

The patterns of personal mobility discussed in this paper are already well-known features of agrarian society in and before the eighteenth century. The most which we can claim is that this statistical information provides some means of quantifying or isolating trends of geographical mobility. The picture which emerges is of village communities regularly refreshed by influx from similar settlements lying at a comparatively short distance away. The ebb and flow of people affected each of the principal status-groups but migration was most pronounced among labouring families. What happened in the Plain of York seems broadly to have been typical of agrarian villages elsewhere in England.¹ Not only was such geographical mobility reproduced in countless other villages at the same time, but it had probably changed little for generations, and so remained at least until the age of extensive and regular depopulation in the later nineteenth century, when, although overlaid by emigration, the ebb and flow can still be discerned. The nature of social mobility was probably more variable through time and the opportunities also differed in various parts of the country, but by the eighteenth century, even in Yorkshire, where farm service and small farms persisted, social advancement was already very limited.

Much remains to be done on the social history of rural Yorkshire during the period of gradual industrialisation, in the West Riding, and this article will have served its purpose if it prompts economic historians or demographers to investigate the Yorkshire parish registers which show evidence of improved registration at the end of the eighteenth century, of which there must be a reasonable number yet unprinted. It would be interesting merely to find out how many registers of this quality were kept, and whether there are enough to permit a detailed demographic study of an entire, close-knit geographical region during the generation from 1778 to 1812.

¹ See for example, W. G. Hoskins, 'The Population of an English Village, 1086-1801', *J. Leics. Archaeol. Soc.* 1957; A. Constant, 'The Geographical background of Inter-Village Population Movements in Northants. and Hunts., 1754-1948', *Geography*, 1948; L. M. Marshall, *The Rural Population of Bedfordshire 1671-1921* (Bedfordshire Historical Society, 1934), *passim*; S. A. Peyton, 'Tudor Lay Subsidy Rolls', *English Historical Review*, xxx, 1915 also emphasises the volatility of populations, pp. 246 ff.

TABLE I
GEOGRAPHICAL MOBILITY OF OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS IN THE
PLAIN OF YORK, 1777-1812

Places of residence of fathers whose infants were baptised in the respective parishes.

A. FARMERS:		Residence of Fathers					
Township		Place of Reg.	Adj. Vills.	Within 10 miles	Further	Unidentified	Nos.
Acomb ..	..	18	3	5	3	—	29
Askham Bryan ..	..	9	3	2	9	—	23
Aughton ..	..	18	5	1	1	—	25
Carlton/Snaith ..	..	23	5	5	6	1	40
Cowthorpe ..	..	6	—	2	—	—	8
Easingwold ..	..	24	9	23	13	1	70
Raskelf ..	..	18	2	4	—	1	25
Riccall ..	..	21	5	5	6	—	37
Saxton/Elmet ..	..	16	3	3	4	—	26
TOTAL I		153 (54.1%)	35 (12.4%)	50 (17.6%)	42 (14.8%)	3 (1.1%)	283
THEIR WIVES:							
Acomb ..	..	10	3	7	7	2	29
Askham Bryan ..	..	8	—	8	7	2	25
Aughton ..	..	7	6	8	4	—	25
Carlton/Snaith ..	..	20	7	2	8	4	41
Cowthorpe ..	..	2	1	2	3	—	8
Easingwold ..	..	21	10	22	17	1	71
Raskelf ..	..	9	3	8	6	—	26
Riccall ..	..	18	8	7	3	1	37
Saxton/Elmet ..	..	14	3	3	6	—	26
TOTAL II		109 (37.8%)	41 (14.1%)	67 (23.3%)	61 (21.1%)	10 (3.4%)	288
Aggregate Total I & II		262 (45.9%)	76 (13.3%)	117 (20.5%)	103 (18.1%)	13 (2.3%)	571
B. TRADESMEN:		Residence of Fathers					
Township		Place of Reg.	Adj. Vills.	Within 10 miles	Further	Unidentified	Nos.
Acomb ..	..	6	3	5	3	1	18
Askham Bryan ..	..	11	3	6	2	3	25
Aughton ..	..	13	2	3	2	—	20
Carlton/Snaith ..	..	10	9	6	7	10	42
Cowthorpe ..	..	2	1	1	—	—	4
Easingwold ..	..	90	12	45	47	3	197
Raskelf ..	..	10	—	3	3	2	18
Riccall ..	..	31	7	4	5	—	47
Saxton/Elmet ..	..	13	3	3	1	—	20
TOTAL III		186 (47.7%)	40 (10.3%)	76 (19.5%)	70 (17.9%)	19 (4.8%)	391
TRADESMEN'S WIVES:							
Acomb ..	..	8	2	3	4	1	18
Askham Bryan ..	..	9	3	10	2	2	26
Aughton ..	..	5	6	6	2	1	20
Carlton/Snaith ..	..	15	7	8	4	8	42
Cowthorpe ..	..	1	—	2	—	1	4
Easingwold ..	..	67	18	61	42	10	198
Raskelf ..	..	8	3	3	4	—	18
Riccall ..	..	11	10	13	13	—	47
Saxton/Elmet ..	..	7	4	5	4	—	20
TOTAL IV		131 (35.8%)	53 (13.5%)	111 (28.2%)	75 (19.1%)	23 (5.6%)	393
Aggregate Total III & IV		317 (40.4%)	93 (11.9%)	187 (23.9%)	145 (18.5%)	42 (5.3%)	784

C. LABOURERS:

Residence of Fathers

<i>Township</i>	<i>Place of Reg.</i>	<i>Adj. Vills.</i>	<i>Within 10 miles</i>	<i>Further</i>	<i>Unidentified</i>	<i>Nos.</i>
Acomb	7	4	8	6	4	29
Askham Bryan ..	14	3	9	3	5	34
Aughton	8	5	5	9	—	27
Carlton/Snaith ..	34	13	15	3	12	77
Cowthorpe	3	—	2	2	—	7
Easingwold	30	14	54	35	2	135
Raskelf	8	1	5	10	4	28
Riccall	28	16	21	9	4	78
Saxton/Elmet ..	12	2	18	4	3	39
TOTAL V	144 (31.8%)	58 (12.5%)	137 (30.2%)	81 (18.1%)	34 (7.6%)	454
THEIR WIVES:						
Acomb	10	3	3	7	6	29
Askham Bryan ..	7	1	13	8	5	34
Aughton	13	4	8	4	—	29
Carlton/Snaith ..	26	8	21	9	13	77
Cowthorpe	4	—	1	2	—	7
Easingwold	49	12	47	25	2	135
Raskelf	11	6	8	3	—	28
Riccall	28	14	31	8	—	81
Saxton/Elmet ..	15	9	9	6	—	39
TOTAL VI	163 (35.4%)	57 (12.4%)	141 (30.6%)	72 (15.6%)	26 (6.0%)	459
Aggregate Total V & VI	307 (33.6%)	115 (12.4%)	278 (30.4%)	153 (17.0%)	60 (6.6%)	913
Grand Total – Men	483 (42.8%)	133 (11.8%)	263 (23.1%)	193 (17.1%)	56 (5.0%)	1128
Grand Total – Women	403 (35.3%)	151 (13.3%)	319 (28.0%)	208 (18.2%)	59 (5.2%)	1140

N.B. More women are recorded because of the instances of re-marriage by heads of families.

THE 1801 CROP RETURNS FOR SOUTH YORKSHIRE

By DAVID G. HEY

In the late summer of 1801 the Home Office, increasingly worried about the strain of the French wars, sent thousands of printed forms to the ministers of each parish, asking for a detailed and accurate return of all the crops that were just about to be harvested. They now survive in bundles in the Public Record Office¹ and provide a most useful set of local statistics with which to compare the 'General View' of the agriculture of the West Riding, prepared for another government department – the Board of Agriculture. In 1793 Messrs. Rennie, Brown and Shirreff had toured the West Riding, and Brown's subsequent report was published in 1799.² How far their impressions were sound ones can be checked against these Home Office figures.

The returns can also tell us something about regional variations in arable farming. Lines of enquiry for the present article have been suggested by Professor W. G. Hoskins' analysis of the Leicestershire returns and by Dr. Thirsk's use of the Lincolnshire ones.³ How far, and in what ways, was South Yorkshire different to the heart of Midland England and to the various districts of Lincolnshire? And going on from there we can examine the returns to see what regional differences there were within South Yorkshire itself.

South Yorkshire can be usefully divided into four different zones, whose physical geography has led to important historical differences from the time of the first settlers right through to the Industrial Revolution and the present day. In the extreme west, large parishes embraced numerous small hamlets and isolated farms on the foothills of the Pennines. Next came the smaller hills and milder climates of the coal-measure sandstone outcrops, with both nucleated villages and dispersed settlements; an area that was beginning to be radically affected by the Industrial Revolution. Further east, the narrow magnesian limestone belt offered a sudden and dramatic change; for here was rich farming land, favoured by the early colonists and soon divided up into small, compact village-parishes. Finally, in the east, the parishes stretched out over the marshes and the settlement pattern was again a mixture of both the nucleated and the dispersed. The minister of Fishlake wrote, 'The Land of this Parish, a small part excepted, is a strong clay, on a wet bottom, and is found very unproductive in a wet season – it proved particularly so in the years 1799 and 1800.' These four areas, then, formed the broad pattern, but, as Brown pointed out in his report, there was considerable variation of soil-type within them. The similarities, however, were more important than local differences.

The returns have been examined for the South Yorkshire parishes that form the Deanery of Doncaster, an area that is almost identical with the two wapentakes of Staincross and Strafforth & Tickhill, but which includes a small part of Osgoldcross as well. Returns survive for 56, that is nearly three-quarters, of these parishes and chapelries, with only the low-lying area to the east being under-represented. There, only the three neighbouring parishes of Fishlake, Kirk Bramwith, and Barnby Dun provide us with any information. In the extreme west there are only four returns, but as they were all large parishes or chapelries, they do in fact give an almost complete cover. Nearly all the coal-measure and limestone parishes have extant returns.

¹ P.R.O./H.O./67/26. Crown Copyright material in the Public Record Office is reproduced by permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.

² Robert Brown, *General View of the Agriculture of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, 1799.

³ W. G. Hoskins, 'The Leicestershire Crop Returns of 1801', *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological Society*, xxiv; J. Thirsk, *English Peasant Farming*, 1957. The absence of early inventories for South Yorkshire prevents a long-term comparison on these lines. See also W. E. Minchinton's article in *Agricultural History Review*, 1, 1953.

The first question we need to ask is: 'How reliable are the figures that survive?' Any government enquiry of this sort was bound to arouse suspicions, especially at a time when there were so many disputes about tithes and when so many taxes were being levied to pay for the war. The Curate of Worsbrough wrote, 'I have us'd all my Endeavours to make this Return a correct one, but from the Backwardness of the Farmers in giving me Information & from their evasive Answers to my Inquiries I have Reason to think that the Number of Acres is considerably less than it ought to be'. The minister of Conisbrough felt the same, and the Vicar of the large parish of Laughton-en-le-Morthen ran into worse trouble; 'I am truly sorry I have to acquaint your Lordship that many of the Farmers and Land-Holders in my Parishes are not willing to make the Returns of their Crops pr. Acre as desired by Government. I have used what Means I cou'd but to no Effect.' On the other hand, the minister of Mexbrough wrote, 'I believe this Report to be accurate, & it was given cheerfully in this Parish', and the Curate of Badsworth completed his form with the note: 'This is an accurate return'. Some ministers seem to have gone to a great deal of trouble; the Curate of Bradfield 'called public meetings of the Inhabitants and spent several days in going amongst the Farmers; still, for want of information I have been obliged to compute the quantity of Acres of Corn, in several farms, from the quantity of Acres in the whole Farm'. Only at Tickhill, Hemsworth, and Woolley were the acreages given in round figures; about half the parishes record half-acres and quarter-acres, while the ministers of Kirk Bramwith and Barnburgh went to the trouble of including roods and perches. The farmers may have been reluctant, but the ministers generally seem to have been conscientious. The impression that one gains from the figures and from the numerous comments on the forms is that a great deal of trouble was taken to ensure that the returns were correct.

The basic limitation of the returns is that they deal only with crops. This gives us a biased picture, as arable farming was not the predominant type of husbandry in South Yorkshire. Brown wrote, 'A great part of the West Riding is exclusively kept in grass . . . corn is raised upon the inferior or moorish soils', and, 'The West Riding may be considered as a great feeding district'.¹ Sometimes the ministers were at pains to point this out: 'The Chapelry of Bradfield is more proper for breeding sheep & other cattle than growing corn'; 'Penistone is very extensive yet there is little Land upon the Plow in Comparison, the Farms in general being grazing and Stock Farms'; while on the coal-measures, in Hoyland, 'More Land is cultivated with Grass than Corn'; and, at Cawthorne, 'Tis the Custom of the Country to have a third part of the Farms in Grass'. Brown includes in an appendix some returns to the Board of Agriculture for 1795, which enable us to work out the proportion of grassland to arable for twenty South Yorkshire parishes (some of which are not included in the 1801 returns). As in Leicestershire, the proportions varied considerably from parish to parish (only one-seventh at Marr, but three-quarters at Felkirk), but as a generalisation it can be said that one was likely to encounter less grassland the further one went to the east. No returns survive for the Pennine foothills, but about one-half of the land on the coal-measures was under grass, with a little over a third on the limestone, and slightly less than that in the marshlands. This bears out Brown's remark that the land east of a line from Wakefield and Barnsley to Rotherham (about the middle of the coal-measures) was 'principally employed in raising corn', with the highest proportion of the land used in this way being in the far eastern part around Thorne.²

The next question to ask is: 'How typical was the harvest of 1801?' As far as quality was concerned it appears to have been somewhat better than the harvests of the two preceding years. At Tankersley, 'This year all the different kinds of grain are more productive than usual'. At nearby Barnsley, 'The Crops (were) generally very abundant', and six limestone parishes reported 'good' and 'very good' harvests. But 1801 seems typical enough as far as quantity was concerned. At Fishlake, 'It is the decisive Opinion of the most intelligent Farmers of the Parish that their Crops of the present Year are equal in quantities to the Crops of the two said preceding Years, and far superior in qualities to either'.

¹ Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 1 and p. 119.

² Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

FIGURE 1. THE 1801 CROP RETURNS FOR THE PENNINE FOOTHILLS

<i>Parish or Chapelry</i>	<i>Wheat</i>	<i>Barley</i>	<i>Oats</i>	<i>Potatoes</i>	<i>Peas</i>	<i>Beans</i>	<i>Turnips/ Rape</i>	<i>Rye</i>	<i>Total</i>
Bolsterstone ..	252	22	496	10	13	0	57	0	850
Bradfield ..	705	58	1,728	130	115	0	120	0	2,856
Ecclesall ..	632 $\frac{1}{4}$	82 $\frac{1}{4}$	934 $\frac{1}{4}$	42 $\frac{1}{4}$	4	2	546	0 $\frac{3}{4}$	2,243 $\frac{3}{4}$
Penistone ..	753 $\frac{1}{2}$	117 $\frac{3}{4}$	1,412	23	31 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	197 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 $\frac{3}{4}$	2,545
Total: 4 ..	2,342 $\frac{3}{4}$	280	4,570 $\frac{1}{4}$	205 $\frac{1}{4}$	163 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	920 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	8,494 $\frac{3}{4}$
% ..	27.6	3.3	54.0	2.4	=	2.0	10.9	0.1	

FIGURE 2. THE 1801 CROP RETURNS FOR THE COAL-MEASURES

Parish or Chapelry	Wheat	Barley	Oats	Potatoes	Peas	Beans	Turnips/ Rape	Rye	Total
Badsworth	..	211½	305¼	15¾	32½	54	76¾ (14R)	1¼	1,192
Barnsley	124	183	6	0	33	82	0	797
Bolton-upon-Dearne	..	104	164	0¼	41	74¾	87	0	946½
Cawthorne	..	61	228	4	35½	76	79	0	1,043½
Darfield	690¼	467½	0	111¾	141½	625¾	0	3,428¾
Darton	117¾	266¾	2	34	116¼	177¾	0	1,484½
Ecclesfield	..	172	826¾	32¾	35½	36	263½	2¼	2,500
Felkirk	354	277¾	7½	=	163¼	234¾	5	1,852¼
Handsworth	..	74	307	8	46	8	92 (all T)	1	989
Hemsworth	..	220	190	10	80	79	52	0	1,291
High Hoyland	..	98	367¾	10	43¾	23	75 (all T)	1½	967
Hoyland	29¼	203	3¼	16	23¾	34¾	4¾	605
Mexborough	..	90	142	6	=	79	74	0	607
Rawmarsh	..	51	262	5	32	40	106	2	921
Royston	..	711	674	12	55	215	656 (46R)	1	3,876

FIGURE 2 CONTINUED

Parish or Chapelry	Wheat	Barley	Oats	Potatoes	Peas	Beans	Turnips/ Rape	Rye	Total
Silkstone	..	81	590	12	29	98	85	0	1,760
South Kirkby	..	382½	444½	15	50	155½	189½	1½	2,248½
Tankersley	..	31	165¾	5	9	5	25	0	548¼
Thribergh	..	60½	105½	0	24¾	21	17½	0	366¼
Thurnscoe	..	82	138¾	1¾	44½	43	48½	0	653
Tinsley	2	88	4½	6	13	34	0	369½
Treeton	82	341	2	27	11	111	7	1,006
Wales	43½	115½	2¾	28½	0	22	0	392½
Whiston	..	123¾	202½	4	35½	15	128¾	0½	1,119½
Wickersley	..	52½	45	4½	36	20	59	6¾	424
Woolley	140	112	12	=	50	136	30	680
Worsbrough	..	82½	145	4¾	15	87	111¾	0	905¾
Total: 27	..	4,270½	7,357¾	190¾	868	292½	3,684½	64½	32,973½
%	..	45.0	22.0	0.6	=	8.0	11.2	0.2	

FIGURE 3. THE 1801 CROP RETURNS FOR THE MAGNESIAN LIMESTONE BELT

<i>Parish or Chapelry</i>	<i>Wheat</i>	<i>Barley</i>	<i>Oats</i>	<i>Potatoes</i>	<i>Peas</i>	<i>Beans</i>	<i>Turnips/ Rape</i>	<i>Rye</i>	<i>Total</i>
Adwick-le-Street ..	410	272	221	8	=	87	79 (all T)	0	1,077
Aston ..	530	130	298	5	70	32	142	0½	1,207½
Barnburgh ..	301-1-13	94-1-0	196-0-29	3-3-20	=	82-1-23	36-2-0	0	714-2-5
Braithwell ..	415	124	298	4	=	160	72	4	1,077
Brodsworth ..	480¼	176¾	210½	5¾	36½	0	129½	0	1,039¼
Burghwallis ..	190½	45½	93½	11½	6	30	5½ (all T)	4	386½
Conisbrough ..	637	253	247½	6¾	35¾	86¼	122	1½	1,389¾
Edlington ..	125	90	35	2	26	9	40	0	327
Frickley-with-Clayton ..	235½	58	99¼	4¾	5	67¼	30¾	1	501½
Harthill ..	412	144¾	348	4	40¾	10	38¼	0½	998¼
Hickleton ..	160	53	63	2	18	16	28	0	340
High Melton ..	162	77	97	0	21	6	17	0	380
Hooton Pagnell ..	533	159¼	153¼	2¾	41¼	73½	86¼	1	1,050¼
Hooton Roberts ..	165	65	86½	1	21	0	58	3	399½
Maltby ..	557½	231	291	4	112½	0	47½	0	1,243½

FIGURE 3 CONTINUED

Parish or Chapelry	Wheat	Barley	Oats	Potatoes	Peas	Beans	Turnips/ Rape	Rye	Total
Marr ..	300	197	155	5	24	0	80	0	761
Stainton ..	336½	100	192½	2	50	17	60½	0	758½
Thorpe Salvin ..	144	94	155	2¾	14¾	0	72¼	0¾	483½
Tickhill ..	350	500	300	20	= 150	=	200 (all T)	50	1,570
Todwick ..	259	124	180	6	13	0	57	0	639
Warmsworth ..	204	79¼	51	3	6	42½	33½	0	419¼
Wickersley ..	200½	52¼	45	4½	36	20	59	6¾	424
Total: 22 ..	7,108-0-13	3,120	3,816-0-29	108-2-20	577½ 479-1-23 = 1,466-1-23	409½	1,494½	73	17,186-3-5
% ..	41.4	18.2	22.2	0.6	8.5		8.6	0.4	

FIGURE 4. THE 1801 CROP RETURNS FOR THE MARSHLANDS

<i>Parish or Chapelry</i>	<i>Wheat</i>	<i>Barley</i>	<i>Oats</i>	<i>Potatoes</i>	<i>Peas</i>	<i>Beans</i>	<i>Turnips/Rape</i>	<i>Rye</i>	<i>Total</i>
Barnby Dun	..	339	139	61	38	39	109	33	1,146
Fishlake	..	80	448	26	9	330	26	17	1,859
Kirk Bramwith	..	31-1-16	262-2-20	11	7	186 $\frac{3}{4}$	24 $\frac{3}{4}$	3-0-16	902 $\frac{1}{2}$
Total: 3	450-1-16	849-2-20	98	54	555 $\frac{3}{4}$	159 $\frac{3}{4}$	53-0-16	3,907 $\frac{1}{2}$
%	43.2	21.7	2.5	=	15.6	4.1	1.3	

FIGURE 5. THE 1801 CROP RETURNS FOR SOUTH YORKSHIRE AND LEICESTERSHIRE

<i>Parish or Chapelry</i>	<i>Wheat</i>	<i>Barley</i>	<i>Oats</i>	<i>Potatoes</i>	<i>Peas/Beans</i>	<i>Turnips/Rape</i>	<i>Rye</i>	<i>Total</i>
South Yorkshire: %	..	13.0	26.5	1.0	7.7	10.0	0.3	
Leicestershire: %	26.0	25.0	-	8.5	11.5	-	

Figure 5 shows that the only important difference between the acreages devoted to crops in Leicestershire and in South Yorkshire concerns the returns for wheat and barley. The combined totals are almost identical, but in South Yorkshire there is far more emphasis on wheat than in Leicestershire or most of Lincolnshire. This is the only serious inaccuracy in Brown's report. He claimed that the barley crop amounted to half the wheat that was grown, whereas in 1801 it was under a third. And although he was right in saying that hardly any rye was grown, he fails to mention 'That species of Corn called Meslin (a Mixture of Wheat & Rye) which is generally used for Household Bread in this Neighbourhood [Bolton-on-Dearne], & of which a considerable quantity is grown, (and which) is included in the account of Wheat'. Meslin or maslin is mentioned by other ministers, and at Badsworth it accounted for a third of the wheat crop, though this seems to have been unusually high.

It may be that there was some large-scale conversion from pasture to arable during the war years, and this could conceivably affect the comparison between 1801 and the survey of 1793. Certainly, the Ecclesfield figures show that considerably more wheat was grown in 1801 than during 1778 and 1779,¹ though figures for the other crops remained stable. But Brown is not challenged on this when Marshall reviewed his report in 1808.² The few comparisons that can be made with the 1795 returns quoted in Brown's appendix do not clear the picture. More wheat and barley was grown in 1801 (at the expense of oats and beans) at Darton, Fishlake, and Whiston, but at Conisbrough and Hooton Roberts nothing had changed, while at Frickley and at Marr more arable had been converted to grass. There is insufficient evidence here with which to generalise.

Brown was correct in saying that oats was the principal fodder crop in all areas. On the Pennine foothills it covered half the acres that were cultivated; which is obviously what one would expect in this bleak area. The returns also confirm Brown's statement that few peas and beans were grown, except in the marshlands where beans were much more popular than elsewhere. One would have liked more statistics for this part, for there is quite a contrast between Barnby Dun and its two neighbours. Everything points to Barnby Dun being untypical in replacing beans with turnips, for the heavy clay lowlands remained predominantly 'wheat and bean' areas until they were adequately drained, while turnips tended to be a crop of the lighter lands. Perhaps the explanation lies in better drainage at Barnby Dun. If we go across the border into Lincolnshire we find that peas and beans accounted for 30.0% of the crops of 34 marshland parishes, while turnips and rape only totalled 6.6%.³

The importance of the turnip in the Agricultural Revolution seems to have been over-stressed, both in Leicestershire and South Yorkshire. Only a tenth of the arable land was devoted to its cultivation, though it was slightly higher than this in the Lincolnshire clays, and considerably higher on the uplands. Brown was as depressed as Arthur Young was a generation earlier⁴ with the manner of its tillage, though he 'saw some fields very well dressed, and carrying good crops, particularly to the Southward of Wakefield',⁵ in the area where the Marquis of Rockingham could exert his influence. There seems to have been considerable variation in local practice. Darfield had 625 acres, or 18.3%, devoted to turnips, but there were several places with only 4%. They were certainly being grown in increasing numbers at Ecclesfield, but the fact that they did not always produce wonderful results can be seen from the comment of the Curate of Burghwallis: 'Our Land we find will not do well after Turnips. Potatoes are much more approved of if plenty of Manure is use (*sic*) with them, so much so that Farmers frequently invite People to plant Potatoes in their Land for the Manure they use wth them'. At Ecclesfield, the acreage of potatoes had quadrupled since 1778-79, but, unfortunately, the statistics for most parishes in both South Yorkshire and Leicestershire are quite

¹ Tithe Account Book, Ecclesfield Parish Records.

² William Marshall, *Review & Abstract of the County Reports to the Board of Agriculture*, - 1. Northern Dept., 1808.

³ Thirsk, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

⁴ Arthur Young, *A Tour through the North of England*, 1, 1770.

⁵ Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

useless. No less than twelve ministers pointed out that potatoes were usually grown in gardens for a family's own use, and the crops were usually not recorded in the returns. Brown says that they were grown in considerable quantities in the east and that all places grew some, but as far as the 1801 returns are concerned we are safest in ignoring the statistics altogether.

Hardly any rape or rye was grown in South Yorkshire, but there were large acreages sown with crops that the Home Office did not ask about. The 1795 figures include hundreds of acres of clover, though there was less grown in the West Riding than elsewhere. Ecclesfield's Tithe Account Book refers to lentils, and the Curate of Silkstone reported that, 'Peas are always sown with Lentils for Horses' Eatage'. And in many places there was a significant acreage of flax (line). Ecclesfield grew 60 acres of it in 1779, but the only reference to it in the 1801 returns was the estimate of the minister of Tickhill that 50 acres of 'Line & Rape' were grown in his parish. Probate inventories for the earlier eighteenth century suggest that both hemp and flax were widely grown, while the workhouses of both Sheffield and Ecclesfield had at one time or other been organised for the spinning of flax. There may well have been others, for production increased, and in the late eighteenth century Barnsley became the centre of a flourishing linen industry.

Fortunately, we can make up for this deficiency by consulting the *Sheffield Register* for 10 September 1790, and 9 September 1791.¹ A complete list is printed of all the people who claimed the parliamentary bounty on flax grown between 1786 and 1791, together with the amount of flax and the names of the farms, and often the fields, where it was grown. The figures are interesting and significant. 26,022½ stones were grown on the coal-measures, 23,111½ stones in the marshlands, 2,139½ stones on the Pennine foothills, but only 494½ stones on the limestone. In his *Rural Economy of Yorkshire*,² Marshall says that flax requires a rich, dry soil, but as it interfered with the harvest and was believed to exhaust the soil, it was not so much grown on existing arable land as on old grassland. This seems to be well borne out by these figures. It may well be that the closing years of the eighteenth century did see a significant conversion of pasture to arable, but in South Yorkshire this was confined to certain well-defined areas, and flax may have claimed more of the new acres than did wheat.

This, then, is the general picture of arable farming in South Yorkshire at the beginning of the nineteenth century. We must stress again the importance of animal husbandry for which no statistics are available, and emphasise the local variations within the four physical zones, and, indeed, the variations between one farm and another within the parishes that make up the zones. But the statistics provide the general picture against which these variations can be seen.

¹ Sheffield City Library. The first column names the parishes where the farmers resided, but it is essential to work out the figures from the final column which names the parishes where the flax was grown.

² William Marshall, *The Rural Economy of Yorkshire*, ii, pp. 69–77, 1788.

THE RECORDS FORMERLY IN ST. MARY'S TOWER, YORK — PART III

By B. A. ENGLISH AND C. B. L. BARR¹

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¹ Mrs. English prepared an earlier form of appendix VI and collaborated with appendix IX; Mr. Barr is responsible for the completion of appendix VI and for the remaining appendices in this part. Part I was published in *Y.A.J.*, part 166 (vol. xlii, 2), 1968, pp. 198-235, and part II in *Y.A.J.*, part 167 (vol. xlii, 3), 1969, pp. 358-386. For abbreviations used in parts II and III additional to those employed in part I (above, pp. 234-5), see below, p. 515. Addenda and corrigenda to parts I and II are at pp. 516-518.

APPENDIX IV

OFFICIALS OF THE LIBERTY OF ST. MARY'S

By C. B. L. BARR

(a) CHIEF STEWARD (salary £5)

1541–1551/3 Sir Thomas Heneage

The post of chief steward appears to have been created in order to provide a superior for William Maunsell (above, pp. 353–7), who since the dissolution of St. Mary's Abbey in 1539 had in effect held all the surviving offices pertaining to it, possibly because he was felt to be in sole possession of too much responsibility, or because, ten months before his death on 11 December 1541, Maunsell was seen to be failing, but more probably the position may have been created to give a *locus standi* to the new holder, who already in 1535 had been in receipt of a corrody of £5 p.a. in the gift of the crown payable by St. Mary's and doubtless wished the payment to continue after its dissolution (*Val. eccl.* v, p. 6). On 21 February 32 Hen. VIII, 1540/1, Sir Thomas Heneage (Sidney Lee in *D.N.B.*, art. Heneage, Sir Thomas, d. 1595, his nephew; A. R. Maddison (ed.), *Lincolnshire pedigrees*, ii (Harl. Soc. li, 1903), pp. 481–2; Somerville, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 424; D.K. ix (1848), appx ii, pp. 223–4) was appointed to the office of 'capitalis senescalli' at a fee of £5 by letters patent (witness, Sir Richard Rich, chancellor of the Court of Augmentations) (P.R.O. LR 1/172, f. 205, and E 315/235, f. 35r; *L.P. Hen. VIII*, XVI, 1540–41, p. 714); on 10 January 1541/2, after Maunsell's death, he received in addition the post of bailiff and collector of rents (below, p. 473). He may have ceased to hold the chief stewardship in or before 1551, when the subordinate post of understeward was upgraded to steward on Holme's appointment, or he may have retained it until his death on 21 August 1553 (Thomas Allen, *The history of the county of Lincoln*, ii (1834), p. 68; M. Stephenson, *A List of monumental brasses* (1926), p. 285). Heneage began his career as gentleman usher to Wolsey, after the latter's fall became gentleman of the privy chamber, keeper of the privy purse and groom of the stole to Henry VIII, and actively supported Cromwell's ecclesiastical policy. After being attacked by a mob while engaged in suppressing Louth Park Abbey near Lincoln in October 1536, he was knighted in October 1537 (Shaw, ii, p. 50). Among many other grants of ex-monastic lands he was granted Overton Hall, former residence of the abbot of St. Mary's, 17 April 1540; with his wife Catherine he leased it to John Herbert by indenture, 27 October 1546; they sold it back to the crown in 1549. He held Belthorpe manor, and by indenture of 6 December 1546 leased it to Rowland and William Herbert; Heneage afterwards returned it to the crown by exchange. He held Myton Close, formerly owned by St. Mary's. All three properties were eventually held by John Herbert (above, pp. 368–9). Heneage had a farm at Swinefleet, which after his death passed to one Simon Gunby of Goole (*Yorkshire Star Chamber*, i, p. 142).

1557–1571 (?) Sir Nicholas Fairfax

Appointed chief steward, with all the profits except the fee of £5 due of old, 24 June 1557 (P.R.O. C66/912, m. 1; *C.Pat.R.* 1555–7, p. 387); this unsalaried appointment may have been simply *honoris causa*, or possibly steward Holme was regarded as requiring a superior. Mentioned in office in 1565 (*C.S.P. Dom.* 1601–3, *Add.* 1547–65, p. 568), and presumably continued to hold it until his death on 30 March 1571. Sir Nicholas Fairfax (John Bilson, 'Gilling Castle', in *Y.A.J.* xix (1907), pp. 112, 124–133, 188–192; Foster, *Yorkshire pedigree*, i, *W.R.*, Flower-Norcliffe, p. 118; Cliffe, pp. 67, 225, 385; *L.P. Hen. VIII*, X–XV, 1536–40, *passim*; Dodds, index) was born c.1498, educated at the Middle Temple, succeeded his father Thomas as lord of Walton and Gilling Castle in 1520, was knighted after 9 November 1531 (Shaw, ii, p. 48), first joined and then turned against the Pilgrimage of Grace, was a commissioner for the second survey of chantries, etc., in Yorkshire in 1548 (Page, *Chantry certificates*, ii, p. 371; H.M.C. *Various collections*, ii (1903), p. 56n.), a member of the Council of the North 1548–53 and 1555–71 (Reid, pp. 169, 492; J. J. Cartwright, *Chapters in the history of Yorkshire* (1872), p. 19), J.P. for the N.R. in 1530, 1536, 1538–40 and 1559 (Gleason, p. 225), sheriff of Yorkshire 1531–2, 1544–5 and 1561–2 (Drake, *Eboracum*, pp. 353–4; *List of sheriffs*, p. 163; Cooper, pp. 352–3), and M.P. for Scarborough in 1541/2 and for the county in 1547 and 1562/3–1566/7 (*Return*, i, pp. 374, 406; Park, pp. 18, 187; Smith, pp. 1, 44; Gooder, ii, pp. 5–8; Hinderwell, *Scarborough* (1798), p. 135, and 2nd ed. (1811), p. 157). His elder son Sir William Fairfax was bailiff and collector of St. Mary's from 1570 (below, p. 473).

(b) UNDERSTEWARD AND CLERK OF THE COURTS (salary £5)

1539 (?) – 1541 William Maunsell

Maunsell (above, pp. 373–4) was appointed receiver of St. Mary's in December 1539 (*L.P. Hen. VIII*, XIV, 1539, ii, p. 244), and by virtue of this was regarded as holding every office in the former abbey under chief steward Heneage from February 1540/41 (above, (a)); he died 11 December 1541. Named as predecessor of Thomas Oglethorpe in the office of understeward and clerk of the courts, 1542, of William Holme in that of steward and keeper of the courts, 1551, and of John Herbert in that of keeper of the palace or manor of St. Mary's, 1541 (below).

1542 – 1550 (?) Thomas Oglethorpe

Appointed understeward and clerk of the courts at a fee of £5 in place of Maunsell by letters patent, 10 January 33 Hen. VIII, 1541/2 (P.R.O. LR 1/172, f. 250, and E 315/235, f. 56r; *L.P. Hen. VIII*, XVII, 1542, p. 691). A person or persons of this name was or were described as married and lately a clerk of the

APPENDIX IV: CONSPECTUS

(a)	(c)	(b)	(d)	III B	(h)	(e)	(f)	(j)
Chief Steward	Steward and Keeper of Courts	Under-Steward	Clerk of Courts	Keeper of Evidences	Bailiff and Collector of Marshland or Whitgift and Airmyn	Bailiff and Collector of Profits	Collector or Receiver of Rents	Keeper of Palace and Site
1539-41 William Maunsell								
1541-51/3 Sir Thomas Heneage	1551-8 William Holme 1559-91 Thomas Williamson	1542-50(?) Thomas Oggethorpe		1542-55 Reynold Beseley	?-1553 Hugh Hope	1541 William Maunsell 1542-45/6 Sir Thomas Heneage 1546-69 John Herbert (?1543-?)1548/9-63/4-? (1568) Thomas Lawson [1553 William Rice] 1570-81/2 Sir William Fairfax		1541-69 John Herbert
1557-71 Sir Nicholas Fairfax				1555-63 R. & E. Beseley 1563-99 Edward Beseley	1553-77 Thomas Davie sen.			
	1591-4 Tristram Farley 1594-1614+ George Hunter			1599-1605 Edward Bee	1577-9 Thomas Davye jun. 1579-? Francis Wayte 159-? to ? Hugh Hodgeson			1571-1602 Freeman Young
				1605-25 Edward Bee		1581/2-90 Peter Lawson 1590-97 Henry Mason 1597-1604 Robert Nelson 1604-8 Thomas Gunson 1608-16 Francis Darley	1581/2-97 Sir Wm Fairfax	1602-11 Richard Redman
	1625-40 Sir John Bankes			1625-35 Henry Sandwith	1617-24 Thomas Savile 1624-33 William Gray			1611-13 Francis More 1613-36 John Moore
				1636-44(?) John Ranson	1633-7 Ralph Saunderson 1637-? Thomas Reynolds			1636-43 Christopher Stephenson 1643-4 John Stainforth 1645-53+ Edward Stockdale 1655(?)-1660 Robert Lilburne 1660-61 Humphry Harward 1661 Robert Bruce 1661-5 Richard Harland 1665 Henry Darcy
	1640-43/7 William Wyvell 1643/7-47 Sir Robert Barwick 1648-? William Wyvell [165-? Sir Thomas Harrison] 1661-9 Richard Collins 1669-94 Christopher Hildyard 1694-1702/3 Benjamin Norcliffe			1666-77 Joseph Scudamore 1677-97 Nicholas Battersby 1697-1703 John Blackbeard	1661-63/4 George Usher 1664-1703 Stephen Godfrey		1660 to 167- Christopher Hanby	GOVERNORS 1665-82 John Lord Frescheville 1682-9 Sir John Reresby
	1703-1722 Thomas Adams			1703-1718 William Whitehead 1718-35(?) Francis Taylor				LESSEES 1687-8 Sir Henry Lawson (1689)-1692-8 Robert Waller [?-1718 Sir William Robinson] 1718-49 Sir Tancred Robinson (1749-?)1750-70 Sir William Robinson 1770-89 Lady Dorothy Robinson [1789-92 Sir Norton Robinson] 1792-1828 Thomas Lord Grantham

kitchen in the household of the deceased duke of Richmond, 25 July 1536 ('Oglethorpe', *L.P.Hen.VIII*, XI, 1536, p. 72) and as feodary of the Duchy of Lancaster in Yorkshire, 1542–50 (Somerville, p. 519); the last date may be conjectured to be that of his retirement or death.

Thomas cannot with certainty be identified in the pedigrees of Oglethorpe in Foster, *Yorkshire visitations*, pp. 275, 314, 315; Dugdale-Davies, pp. 151, 262; Dugdale-Clay, ii, p. 298, and iii, pp. 465–7. The most likely person is the Thomas Oglethorpe, of Beale and Brandsby, second son and heir of John Oglethorpe of Oglethorpe; this Thomas married Jane or Janet (died 1569), daughter of Henry Vavasour (died 1515) of Hazlewood and sister of John Vavasour (died 1548) (in addition to the Oglethorpe pedigrees the match is in the Vavasour pedigrees in Foster, *Yorkshire pedigrees*, ii, *W.R.*; Flower-Norcliffe, p. 330; Foster, *Yorkshire visitations*, p. 237; Dugdale-Clay, ii, p. 226). It may not be irrelevant that John Vavasour's grandson, also John (died 1609), had before 1564 married Ellen, daughter of Sir Nicholas Fairfax; Fairfax and Vavasour were associated in political-religious action in 1568 (*Y.A.J.* xix, p. 131, cp. also pp. 149 and 189).

From 1551 the office of understeward was upgraded to the rank of steward (below, section (c)), and the office of clerk of the courts, titularly dormant from 1550 but in fact apparently combined with the keepership of the courts which was held in conjunction with the stewardship, was in 1605 restored and combined with that of keeper of the evidences (above, appendix III B).

(c) STEWARD AND KEEPER OF THE COURTS (fee £5)

1551–8 William Holme

Appointed to the office of 'senescalli et custodis curiarum' in place of Maunsell (witness, Sir Richard Sackville, chancellor of the Court of Augmentations), 8 February 5 Edw. VI, 1550/51 (P.R.O. LR 1/177, ff. 86v–87r and LR 1/179, f. 179); paid the fee of 100s. in the receiver's accounts for c.1555 to 1557–8 (P.R.O. LR 6/122/5–7). William Holme, wax chandler, was admitted a freeman of York by patrimony, 1520–21 (Collins, *York freemen*, i, p. 243). He served as city chamberlain in 1528–9 (*id.* p. 249), as sheriff in 1535–6 (Drake, p. 364), and as lord mayor in 1546–7 (Collins, p. 265; Drake, p. 364; [Christopher Hildyard], *A list . . . of all the mayors . . . of York* (1664), p. 32; James Torr, *The antiquities of York city* (1719), p. 75). He was M.P. for the city in 1547, 1555, and 1557–8 (*Return*, i, pp. 377, 395, 399; Park, p. 49; Smith, pp. 54–55). He was master of the Guild of St. Christopher and St. George in York in 1533 (Y.M.L. D. & C. muniments, Chapter acts, 1504–43, f. 356r; *Yorkshire Star Chamber*, ii, pp. 26–33; V.C.H. *York*, p. 147 summarises this *cause célèbre* but does not name Holme), and, *ex officio* as an alderman, was admitted one of the brethren of St. Thomas's Hospital without Micklegate Bar, 1551 (Skaife, *Corpus Christi Guild*, pp. 300–1, with note t, adding 1553 and 1554 to the dates on which he was elected M.P.). He is frequently mentioned in the York corporation house-books (Raine, *York civic records*, iii–v). His will, dated 10 September, was proved 5 December 1558 (Borthwick Institute, Wills, XV.iii, f. 229; *Index of York wills*, 1554–68, p. 83). He died 18 October, and was buried in St. Denys's, Walmgate, where there is a brass with an inscription describing him as 'vice admiral betwixe Humber and Tine, stewarde of Sainte Marie Abbei lands, colector for Neubrough' (Drake, p. 305; Park, p. 49; Mill Stephenson, 'Monumental brasses in the city of York', in *Y.A.J.* xviii (1905), pp. 51–52).

1559–91 Thomas Williamson

Appointed in place of Maunsell, Beckwith (steward before the dissolution, see pp. 366–7 and p. 485), and Holme, on the recommendation of the Treasurer (William, marquis of Winchester), Chancellor, Sub-treasurer and Barons of the Court of Augmentations, 6 November 1 Eliz., 1559 (P.R.O. LR 1/178, ff. 136v–7r); paid the fee of 100s. in the receiver's accounts for 1563–4 and 1581–2 (P.R.O. LR 6/122/8, 9); ceased to hold office by 21 June 1591, when his successor was appointed. One of the name was St. Mary's bailiff of Helmswell at a fee of £1 in 1535 (*Val. eccl.* v, p. 6). The steward was perhaps the same who was bailiff of Scarborough in 1584, represented by a deputy because of his recusancy (P.R.O. SP 12/180, art. 78; *C.S.P.Dom.* 1581–90, p. 176, not giving the name; Baker, pp. 357–8); his wife, also a recusant, was Ann, daughter of Tristram Teshe, notary and principal registrar of the archbishopric of York (so described on the tombstone of his wife Margaret, buried in York Minster in 1537: Drake, p. 495) and receiver general of attainted lands in Yorkshire from 1538 until his forfeiture in 1544 (*L.P.Hen.VIII*, XII, 1537, i, p. 602; XIII, 1538, i, p. 408; XIX, 1544, i, p. 503; Richardson, pp. 53, 276; Foster, *Visitations*, p. 181). A Thomas Williamson of 'Hucknaltorkard', Notts, whose will is dated 25 January 1590/91 and was proved 28 April 1591, is probably a different man, despite the coincidence of dates (Borthwick Institute, Wills, xxv, f. 871r; *Index of York wills*, 1585–94, p. 139).

1591–4 Tristram Farley

Appointed in place of Williamson, on the recommendation of the Treasurer (Lord Burghley), 21 June 33 Eliz., 1591 (P.R.O. LR 1/187, f. 119r–v); his will, dated 26 August 1594, was proved 8 November 1594 (Borthwick Institute, Wills, xxvi, f. 24; *Index of York wills*, 1594–1602, p. 36), and he was buried at St. Olave's on the day of his death, 6 November (Mrs. F. Harrison and W. J. Kaye (edd.), *The parish register of St. Olave, York* (Y.P.R.S. lxxiii, 1923), p. 47). Perhaps related to a Richard Farley, advocate of the ecclesiastical court at York in 1541 (J. S. Purvis, *Notarial signs* (1957), p. xiv), who in 1535 was an auditor of St. Mary's with a fee of £5 (*Val. eccl.* v, p. 6), and was paid a fee of £4 for an unspecified post at the abbey in the receiver's accounts from 1548–9 to c.1555 (P.R.O. LR 6/122/1–5); Edmund Farley, one of Edward VI's commissioners visiting York Minster in November 1547 (Y.M.L., D. & C. muniments, Chapter acts, 1543–58, f. 48v; *The statutes, etc., of the cathedral church of York*,

2nd ed. (1900), p. 66); Nicholas Farlaye of Yorkshire, returned as a recusant in 1577 (Patrick Ryan (ed.), 'Diocesan returns of recusants for England and Wales, 1577', in *Miscellanea*, xii (Catholic Record Soc. xxii, 1921), p. 32); John Farley, notary public, 1581 (Purvis, *op. cit.*, pl. 63); etc.

1594-after 1614 (1625 ?) George Hunter

Appointed in place of Tristram Farley, on the recommendation of the Treasurer (Lord Burghley) and Chancellor and Subtreasurer of the Exchequer (Sir John Fortescue), 21 November 37 Eliz. I, 1594 (P.R.O. LR 1/187, f. 407r-v); paid in the receiver's account for 1601-2 (P.R.O. LR 6/122/10). The patent, void on the death of Elizabeth, 24 March 1602/3, was renewed, on the recommendation of the Treasurer (Lord Buckhurst) and Chancellor and Subtreasurer of the Exchequer (Sir George Home), 12 July 1/36 Jac. I/VI, 1603 (P.R.O. LR 1/192[191], f. 316r-v). Court rolls of the 'Pallacium Ebor', subscribed 'P(er) Georgiu(m) Hunter sen(eschallum) ib(ide)m', survive for the years 1609-1614 (P.R.O. SC 2/211/161; cp. *List & index of court rolls preserved in the P.R.O.* (Lists & indexes, vi, 1896, repr. 1963), pp. 333-4).

1625-40 Sir John Banks

Appointed on the recommendation of the Treasurer (James, baron Ley, later earl of Marlborough) and Chancellor and Subtreasurer of the Exchequer (Sir Richard Weston, later 1st earl of Portland), countersigned by William 'Mynterne' (above, pp. 361-2), 16 June 1 Car. I, 1625 (P.R.O. LR 1/200, f. 247v). On 2 June 1624 Sir John Coke, as master of requests, had an audience with the king about the petition of the tenants of St. Mary's for the confirmation of their charter (H.M.C. xii, *The manuscripts of the Earl Cowper*, i (1888), p. 163), in March 1625/6 a docquet was granted for 'A Charter of Confirmation to the Tenantes & inhabitantes within the Liberties & possessions of the late dissolved Monastery of St. Maryes in the Citty of Yorke of their ancient priuiledges and y'immunities heeretofore granted by former Charters in such sorte as hath bin granted by Sir Ralph Freeman [master of requests: *D.N.B.*]. Procured by Mr. Secretary Coke. Subscribed by Sir Thomas Couentray knight late his Majesties Attorney generall' (P.R.O. IND. 6807, Signet Office Docquet book, 1624-7), and the confirmation was dated 28 June 1626 (full text in York City records, E 33, pp. 615-671); Banks is stated to have 'renewed, confirmed and enlarged' the royal charters of the Liberty of St. Mary's in 1626-7 (Leeds, Y.A.S. Library, MS 65, p. 157 [see below, p. 471]), but in view of the date of Coke's audience the initiative is not likely to have been his. Banks was engaged in transactions concerning properties formerly of St. Mary's in 1637 (D.K. xxxix (1878), pp. 462-3). Court rolls of the 'Pallacium Ebor' survive for 1637-40, the courts being held before William Wyvell, deputy of Sir John Banks, steward (P.R.O. SC 2/211/162; cp. *List & index of court rolls, loc. cit.*).

Banks or Bancks (*D.N.B.*; George Banks, *The story of Corfe Castle* (1853), pp. 56-63, 118, 121-141, 180-190, 210-212), born in 1589 in Cumberland, was educated at the Queen's College, Oxford, 1605-7 (Foster, *Al. Oxon.* I, i, p. 67), and Gray's Inn from 1607, where he was called to the bar in 1614 and from 1629 held various senior positions (cp. J. Foster, *The register of admissions to Gray's Inn* (1889), pp. x, 192); he was M.P. for Wootton Bassett, Wilts., 1624-5 and for Morpeth, Northumberland, 1626, 1628-9 (*Return*, i, pp. 461, 470, 476). The York post appears to have been one of his first, and he continued to hold it while serving in higher offices afterwards; he had already acquired a high reputation as a lawyer, and was described as exceeding Bacon in eloquence, Ellesmere in judgement, and Noy in law; he was made attorney general to Prince Charles in 1630, knight in 1631 (Metcalf, p. 191; Shaw, ii, p. 199), attorney general in 1634, lord chief justice of the common pleas and privy councillor in January 1640-41 (*C.S.P. Dom.* 1640-41, pp. 439, 441; the latter not in 1642). He bought Corfe Castle, Dorset, from Sir Edward Coke's widow, Lady Hatton, shortly after Coke's death in 1634, and this became his principal residence, which his wife Mary bravely defended against the parliamentarian forces, 1643-5. While remaining loyal to the king, he advised moderation and tried to act as a mediator between king and parliament, but eventually was twice impeached by parliament and ordered to have his property forfeited (1643: B. Whitelocke, *Memorials of the English affairs* (1682), p. 25; 1644, p. 91; his books, 1645, p. [184]). Despite receiving a parliamentary writ in October 1640 (*C.S.P. Dom.* 1640-41, p. 194) he did not sit in the Long Parliament which met the following month. He was in York with the king in the summer of 1642 (May to July, and probably longer¹: *C.S.P. Dom.* 1641-3, pp. 322, 351; Drake, p. 155; J. Rushworth, *Historical collections*, iv (1721), p. 627); in August-September 1642 he accompanied the king to Oxford, staying there as a regular counsellor (Whitelocke, p. 65) until his death in 1644.

1640 - 1643/7, again 1648-? William Wyvell

William Wyvell, armiger, is named as deputy to Sir John Banks, steward, in court rolls of the 'Pallacium Ebor' for 1637-40, and as himself steward in rolls of 1640-43 (above). Barwick (below) occurs as steward in 1647, and Wyvell again in 1648 (P.R.O. SC 2/211/163; cp. *List & index of court rolls, loc. cit.*). On 31 December 1660 the Treasurer (the earl of Southampton) described the stewardship as 'formerly

¹ Banks, 'receiving commands from the King to attend Him at Yorke, in Easter Terme 1642, had leave from the two Houses to obey these Commands' (Bruno Ryves, *Mercurius rusticus*, xi, 12 August 1643; quoted in Banks, *op. cit.*, p. 181); the Easter law term in 1642 would normally have begun on 27 April (C. R. Cheney, *Handbook of dates* (1945), p. 68), though it appears to have been in May when the king informed parliament of his resolution to remove the 'next' term to York (17 May: Edward Husbards (ed.), *An exact collection of all remonstrances . . . 1641 [to] 1643* (1643), p. 194; 26-27 May: *The parliamentary or constitutional history of England*, xi (1753), p. 115). He was certainly in York by 16 May (*C.S.P. Dom.*, as above).

granted to our Mr. Wyvell' (P.R.O. T 51/2, p. 136; *C.Tr.B.* i, 1660–67, p. 111). This William Wyvell cannot with certainty be identified with any of the several bearers of the name in the Wyvill pedigrees in Foster, *Visitations*, pp. 189, 380; Foster, *Yorkshire pedigrees*, iii, *N. & E. R.*; Dugdale-Davies, pp. 37, 89, 329; Dugdale-Clay, ii, pp. 431–7, and iii, pp. 90–92 and 489–490; some occurrences which may refer to the correct individual follow. A Mr. William Wyvell paid fairly high assessments in St. Michael le Belfrey parish, 1639–42 (Y.M.L., St. Michael's parish account book 2, 1636–1729). One married a Lady Frankland, she being buried at St. Martin's, Coney Street, 18 February 1634/5, and he on 13 March 1648/9 (R. B. Cook (ed.), *The parish registers of St. Martin, Coney Street, York* (Y.P.R.S. xxxvi, 1909), pp. 95, 102). One of the name, of 'Sadbury', Yorkshire [i.e. Sedbury, near Richmond, at this time a residence of the Wyvill and later of the D'Arcy family: V.C.H. *Yorkshire, N.R.*, i, pp. 79–80], compounded for a small personal estate in 1650 (*Calendar of the proceedings of the Committee for Compounding, etc.*, iv, p. 2437). In 1662 a William Wyvill witnessed two deeds about the ownership of Clifford's Tower (Cooper, pp. 323–5). In 1668 a William Wyvell is described as a former head collector of the royal aid and supply to the city and county of York, still in debt to the crown in respect of money which he received in pursuance of this office (York City records, House books, B.38, 1663–88, f. 44v).

1643/7 – 1647 Sir Robert Barwick

Sir Robert Barwick was 'much displeased that he should be ousted of the stewardship of St. Mary's' by Ferdinando Lord Fairfax, who however 'had no notice how he was interested, so that [his] recommendation of the other gentleman [Wyvell? Harrison?] cannot be ill taken' (Charles Fairfax to Ferdinando, 10 October 1646, in Robert Bell (ed.), *The Fairfax correspondence: memorials of the civil war*, i (1849), p. 311). Barwick is named as steward in court rolls dated 1647, but not in those of 1648 (P.R.O. SC 2/211/163, etc., as above).

Sir Robert Barwick was baptised at Doncaster 2 December 1587, the son of Robert Barwick, mayor of that town in 1600, and was admitted at Gray's Inn on 29 October 1611 (J. Foster, *The register of admissions to Gray's Inn* (1889), p. 139). He married firstly Mary, daughter of Barnard Ellis, recorder of York 1617–25, 3 January 1618/19, at St. Martin's, Coney Street, York, and secondly Ursula, daughter of Walter Strickland of Boynton, 26 October 1636; Ursula died 4 October 1682 aged 81, and was buried at Newton Kyme 6 October; her will was dated 2 April 1679. Sir Robert was a barrister and master in chancery, and his seat was at Toulston in the parish of Newton Kyme near Tadcaster, which he bought from the Fairfaxes in 1640. A stone from Toulston Old Hall, long pulled down, survived until recent times with the letters 'R.B.V.B.', i.e. Robert Barwick, Ursula Barwick. On 17 April 1637 he was elected deputy recorder of York and appointed city counsel; he was knighted at York 21 November 1641 and elected recorder 1 July 1658, which post he retained until his death; he was lord of the manor of Campsall, W.R., 1642–5; he was elected steward and recorder of Doncaster 22 September 1653, being then senior J.P. on the West Riding bench; he also occurs as J.P. of the North Riding in 1636 (Gleason, p. 237), 1642, 1646 (P.R.O. Assizes 45/1/1/55–58, 45/1/5/10), and 1650 (Gleason, p. 239); he was appointed a commissioner for assessments in York and the West Riding in 1645, 1647, 1648, 1657, and 1659–60, for Yorkshire in 1650 and 1652, a member of the Northern Association for York and the West Riding in 1645, and a member of the committee for the militia in York and Yorkshire in 1648 and 1660; in 1645 he was appointed chairman of the Commonwealth Committee for York and the Ainsty, and the Committee made him steward of the Liberty of St. Peter; in 1649, described as a commissioner of array for the king, he was returned as a delinquent, having 'a considerable estate not seized upon', but in 1654 he was himself appointed a commissioner for managing the lands and estates of delinquents in Yorkshire; his only daughter Frances was by August 1657 married to Henry, baron Fairfax of Cameron, nephew of Ferdinando; Sir Robert died 25 April 1660 and was buried at Newton Kyme, where there is a monument to him. (York City records, House books, B36 and 37, 1637–50–63, *passim*; James Torr, Archdeaconry of the West Riding (1691–2), MS in Y.M.L., p. 350; *C.S.P.Dom.* 1653–4, p. 371, and 1655–6, p. 12; *Calendar of the proceedings of the Committee for Advance of Money*, 1642–56, ii, pp. 755, 809, 817, 1054; A. Raine (ed.), 'Proceedings of the Commonwealth Committee for York and the Ainsty', in C. E. Whiting (ed.), *Miscellanea*, vi (Y.A.S. R.S. cxviii, 1953), pp. 1, 3; R. B. Cook (ed.), *The parish registers of St. Martin, Coney Street, York* (Y.P.R.S. xxxvi, 1909), p. 58; [C. Hildyard,] *A list or catalogue of all the mayors . . . of York* (1664), p. 52; J. Torr, *The Antiquities of York city* (1719), pp. 102, 115; Drake, *Eboracum*, pp. 142, 368; Joseph Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, i (1828), p. 33; John Edward Jackson, *The history and description of St. George's Church at Doncaster* (1855), pp. 78–79; Charles W. Hatfield, *Historical notices of Doncaster*, ii (1868), pp. 8–9, and iii (1870), pp. 200–201, 330–331; George W. Johnson (ed.), *The Fairfax correspondence: memoirs of the reign of Charles I*, ii (1848), p. 269; Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 210; Davies, *Walks*, pp. 59, 215–216, 230; Gooder, ii, p. 92; Harry Speight, *Two thousand years of Tadcaster history*, pp. 93, 111; Joseph Hunter, *Familiae minorum gentium*, ed. J. W. Clay, iv, (Harl. Soc. xl, 1896), pp. 1191–2; *Y.A.J.* i (1870), p. 154; C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait (ed.), *Acts and ordinances of the interregnum*, 2 vols (1911), *passim*; Shaw, ii, p. 211; Dugdale-Davies, p. 8; Dugdale-Clay, ii, p. 191).

1648 – ? William Wyvell

See above.

[165– (?) Sir Thomas Harrison]

A petition of 1698/9 from Benjamin Norcliffe, then steward, mentions as his predecessors 'M^r Collins, M^r Hildyard, S^r John Banckes, S^r Thomas Harrison' (York City records, E 33, p. 726); no other record of the last-named in this office has been found. The only Sir Thomas in the Yorkshire family of Harrison is the one of Allerthorpe in Bedale and Copgrave, counsellor at law, baptised at St. Martin's, Micklegate,

York, 13 January 1586/7 (Edward Bulmer (ed.), *The parish registers of St. Martin-cum-Gregory* (1893–7), p. 26), owner of the Wilstrop cartulary in 1632 (below, appx VIII (h)), knighted by Charles I at York, 11 October 1640 (Metcalf, p. 195); will dated 27 September 1661 (Borthwick Institute, Wills, xlvi, f. 301; *Index of York wills*, 1660–65, p. 41); buried at St. Saviour's, York, 13 April 1664 (see in general Dugdale-Davies, p. 216, and Dugdale-Clay, iii, pp. 269–271; H. B. McCall, *Richmondshire churches* (1910), pp. 9–10, 54–55; below, appx VIII (h); and for other branches of the family, Dugdale-Davies, pp. 132, 172, 217, and Dugdale-Clay, iii, pp. 80–81, 178, 500–501). His grandfather was Thomas Harrison, lord mayor of York in 1575 and 1592, died 1605; his uncle was Alderman Robert Harrison, lord mayor in 1607, died 1616. He had family connections with several other officials of St. Mary's, and particularly with the Robinson family, who were tenants of the King's Manor throughout the 18th century: his aunt Frances (died 1593/4) married Alderman William Robinson, lord mayor in 1581 and 1594 and M.P. in 1584 and 1588, died 1616; his mother Frances (died 1630/31) was daughter of (the same?) William Robinson (but she does not appear in Foster's Robinson pedigree); his sister Mary married secondly in 1610 another William Robinson (also not in the Robinson pedigree). Sir Thomas's sisters Elizabeth and Grace married (Alderman Sir) Christopher and Marmaduke (sheriff 1638–9) Croft, who may be connected with the William Crofts appointed deputy bailiff in 1699. Sir Thomas married in 1625 Margaret (died 1668), daughter of Conyers Lord Darcy and Conyers (1570–1653/4) and sister of Henry Darcy, keeper of the manor in 1665, and his second son Henry married in 1656 Elizabeth, daughter and sole heiress of Darcy Conyers of Holtby. It was apparently not (despite Dugdale-Clay, iii, p. 270, and McCall, *loc. cit.*; unless at this date he found it discreet not to use a knighthood conferred by King Charles in 1640) Sir Thomas but his eldest son Thomas (1627–87) who was high sheriff for Yorkshire 1656–8 (P.R.O. *List of sheriffs*, p. 164; Cooper, p. 356; Drake, p. 355; Park, p. 298; *C.S.P.Dom.* 1657–8, p. 118, and 1658–9, p. 158); Thomas junior was M.P. for the North Riding 1654–54/5 and for Yorkshire 1658/9–59, and was abortively returned for Thirsk in 1660 (*Return*, i, pp. 502, 517; Park, pp. 20, 207; Bean, pp. 647, 697–8, 1082; Gooder, ii, pp. 67–68, 136; *C.J.* viii, pp. 10, 27).

Norcliffe's list of his predecessors is in no chronological order, and no direct evidence has been found as to the date at which Harrison was steward: it might have been up to 1625, if George Hunter's stewardship did not extend till that year, but more probably Harrison held the office in the closing years of the commonwealth, when his son had influence as high sheriff and M.P. He may thus be conjecturally placed between William Wyvell and Richard Collins.

1661–9 Richard Collins

Petition referred to the Treasury Auditor, 31 December 1660 (P.R.O. T 51/2, p. 126; *C.Tr.B.* i, 1660–67, p. 111); warrant for grant, 10 January 1660/1 (P.R.O. T 51/6, p. 98; *C.Tr.B.* i, 1660–67, p. 185); grant by patent, in place of John 'Banckes', 17 January 12 Car. II, 1660/61 (P.R.O. LR 1/205, old f. 137 r–v = new f. 108r–v); fee of £5 (P.R.O. T 51/37, p. 218); occurs 30 September 1665 (P.R.O. SP 29/449, art. 92). Occurs as steward of the Dean and Chapter of York in a list of their officers dated 4 November 1662 (Borthwick Institute, R. Abp. 33, ff. 66v–67), and is mentioned as steward of the Liberty of St. Peter on 12 August 1667 (Y.M.L., D. & C. muniments, Chapter acts, 1634–1700, ii, ff. 62v–63r); paid £1 13s. 4d. for six months as steward of the Dean and Chapter in Michaelmas 1667 (*id.* Chamberlain's Account book, 1667–81, E 2 (4), f. 5v); the 'mag. Johannes Collins seneschallus libertatis beati Petri Eborum' who on 11 November 1665 appeared before the Dean and Chapter and was admonished about his accounts is probably the same man wrongly named (*id.* Chapter acts, 1634–1700, ii, f. 54v). 'Richard Collins, Esq^r., Steward of St. Peter's, was buried y^e 11th of March, 1668[9], in y^e Cathedrall' (Francis Collins (ed.), *The register of St. Michael le Belfrey*, ii (Y.P.R.S. xi, 1901), p. 54; Robert H. Skaife (ed.), 'The register of burials in York Minster', in *Y.A.J.* i (1870), p. 247).

1669–94 Christopher Hildyard

Petitions from Thomas Holden and Christopher Hildyard were read on 16 and 22 March 1668/9 (*C.Tr.B.* iii, 1669–72, i, p. 36; *C.S.P.Dom.* 1668–9, p. 242); on 24 March both were ordered to be considered (P.R.O. T29/3, p. 59; *C.Tr.B.* iii, 1669–72, i, p. 42); request for a particular, 7 April 1669 (P.R.O. T51/37, p. 217; *C.Tr.B.* iii, 1669–72, i, p. 208); the particular was returned (P.R.O. T51/37, p. 218); warrants for a grant to Hildyard to be made were issued on 6 and 20 April (P.R.O. T 29/3, p. 69, and T 51/37, p. 218; *C.Tr.B.* iii, 1669–72, i, pp. 49, 210); patent granted 22 April (P.R.O. LR 1/206, f. 45r and T 1/28, art. 44, p. 162; text in York City records, E 33, pp. 675–7). Court rolls for October 1669 and October 1670 survive, signed by 'Chr. Hildiard' as steward (P.R.O. SC 2/211/164; cp. *List & index of court rolls*, *loc. cit.*). Courts leet held by Hildyard are recorded for 1679, 1689 and 1691 (York City records, E 33, pp. 714, 696, 693); there is a writ of error addressed to the steward of St. Mary's in 1689 (*id.* p. 698). In 1681/2 Hildyard obtained from the Tower of London, in connection with Catterick, part of the liberty of St. Mary's, a copy of Edward I's exemplification of a charter of William to the abbey (*id.* pp. 718–24; *C.Pat.R.* 1301–7, p. 488; then available in *Mon. Angl.* i, p. 390 = iii, p. 547, no. iii). A complaint by Sir John Reresby against Hildyard and his clerk of courts, Nicholas Battersby, was sent to Hildyard, 18 August 1685 (P.R.O. T 27/9, p. 128). Hildyard, like his successors Norcliffe and Adams, had a list drawn up of 'The Names of the Towns within the Liberty of St. Mary's of Yorke'; a manuscript containing this item among others was in Thoresby's library, bought in York, supposedly from Hildyard's collection (R. Thoresby, *Ducatus Leodiensis*, 2nd ed. by T. D. Whitaker (1816), ii, p. 78, no. 68).

Hildyard (Hilliard, Hildiard) was born in 1615, the youngest son of Sir Christopher Hildyard (died 1634) of Winestead in Holderness; he was an utter barrister of the Middle Temple and recorder of Hedon (J. R. Boyle, *The early history of . . . Hedon* (1895), p. 48n.), a considerable antiquary and a friend

of Ralph Thoresby (Thoresby's *Diary*, ed. J. Hunter, i (1830), p. 135; D. H. Atkinson, *Ralph Thoresby*, i (1885), pp. 165–6). Hildyard's own interleaved and annotated copy of his anonymously published *A list, or catalogue of all the mayors . . . of York* (1664) is in the British Museum (MS Harl. 6115), and the book formed the nucleus of James Torr's *The antiquities of York city* (1719). Hildyard's ownership of cartularies of St. Mary's Abbey has already been mentioned (above, p. 219; further, below, p. 516). He died in 1694, being buried in St. Mary's, Castlegate, York, on 1 (not 15) May (Poulson, *Holderness*, ii, pp. 468, 473; Foster, *Yorkshire pedigrees*, iii, N. & E. R.; F. Ross, 'The Hildyards of Winestead in Holderness', in W. Smith (ed.), *Old Yorkshire*, iv (1883), pp. 232–9, at p. 237; Robert H. Skaife, 'Extracts from the registers of the church of St. Mary, Castlegate, York', in *Y.A.J.* xv (1900), p. 166, with n. 2; probate of his will was granted on 27 June: Borthwick Institute, Probate Act book, York, 1685–1722).

1694–1702/3 Benjamin Norcliffe

Petition to the Lords of the Treasury referred to the Auditor, 30 May 1694 (P.R.O. IND. 4621 [formerly T 4/7], p. 54; *C.Tr.B.* X, 1693–6, ii, p. 636), reported on by the Deputy Auditor, 20 June, and granted 26 June (P.R.O. T 1/28, item 44, p. 162; *C.Tr.P.* 1556/7–1696, p. 573); warrant for patent issued, 6 July (P.R.O. T 54/14, p. 319; *C.Tr.B.* X, 1693–6, ii, p. 696). Norcliffe's six-monthly court rolls, from 1695 to 1702, eighteen in number, survive (P.R.O. LR 11/78/906 B), and so does some record of a court leet held in 1699 (York City records, E 33, p. 691); the summons for another court held in the same year ends with the announcement that 'the Steward of the Court will free the Towne of – – – abovesaid from the shirriffs turne and from paying any Toll in any Markett fair within England or Wales' (*id.* p. 694). On 20 March 1698/9 Norcliffe complained that Lady Waller (below) was withholding from him the 'places for lodging & places commonly called the round Tower for keeping court of Pleas & Records in and for prisoners to begg at in the daytime', as enjoyed by his predecessors (*id.* p. 726).

From the time of Norcliffe's stewardship comes a list of 'The Names of the Towns and Villages of his Majesty K. William the 3^d [1694–1702], Liberty & Court of Record of the Monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary nigh the Walls of York held by Virtue of K. William Rufus Charter, Confirmed by Acts of Parliament in 9.H.3 [1224–5], 32.H.8 [1540–41],¹ And lately renewed confirmed and enlarged by K. Charles 1st Charter Anno 2 of his Reign [1626–7] Sir John Bancks [above] Attorney Generall being then Steward of the Court, digested under Weapontacke and Hundreds . . . the Towns marked with M.A. are taken out of Monasticon Anglicanum, a good Authority since the late Warrs, that the Round Tower in which the Records were lodged of all the monasterys of this side Trent were Burnt'; the list contains 387 names in alphabetical order, ending with 'York Mannor and K. Pallace, Horse-fair,² Goose Lane, Gilly-gate, Munck-Bridge, Grange-house, Owsegate, part of Davy-Hall, Groves, Crust-Church, S^t Michael Fossgate [*recte* Spurriergate], part S^t Marys in Cock-gate al(ia)s Castle-gate, Hosier-Lane, part Newbiggin'; between the letters M and N is inserted the note ' . . . the Rules Orders and Fees of the Court . . . are fairly Written and set up in a Frame in the Court House . . .'; at the end follows a list of fees of the Court agreed upon by the Steward (Leeds, Y.A.S. Library, MS 65 [formerly Beckwith's MS 4, Phillipps MS 1066, Sir Thomas Brooke's MS 12], item k = pp. 157–175a–c, 176).

Benjamin Norcliffe was baptised 22 June 1624, the second son of Sir Thomas Norcliffe (1579–1627/8: *Y.A.J.* iii (1875), p. 66, and xv (1900), p. 142; *Index of York wills*, 1627–36, p. 61; cp. Gleason, pp. 231, 243) of Nunnington, Langton and Menethorpe, E.R., admitted at St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1595 (Venn, I, iii, p. 262), knighted 22 February 1616/17 (Metcalf, p. 169), J.P. for the N.R. 1626 (Gleason, p. 234), high sheriff of Yorkshire 1626–7 (Drake, p. 354; *List of sheriffs*, p. 163; Cooper, p. 355), barrister of the Middle Temple (C. H. Hopwood *et al.* (ed.), *Middle Temple records*, ii (1904), p. 425), who in 1619 supplied information to Roger Dodsworth (W. Eastmead, *Historia Rievallensis* (1824), pp. 164, 171). Benjamin was admitted at Christ's College, Cambridge, on 7 June 1641 (Venn, I, iii, p. 262), and at Gray's Inn 18 February 1641/2, the same day as William Adams, father of his successor as steward (J. Foster, *The register of admissions to Gray's Inn* (1889), p. 236), married Ann, widow of Thomas Weddell, by licence dated 17 September 1660, made his will 12 December 1702, and was buried at Langton 26 December 1702. His only son Benjamin was in holy orders, and died without offspring (Foster, *Visitations*, p. 558; *id.*,

¹ (1) The charter of William II is given, in the form of an exemplification of 35 Edw. I, 1308, in *Mon. Angl.* i, p. 390 = iii, p. 547, no. iii, from the patent rolls (*C.Pat.R.* 1301–7, p. 488) and *E.Y.C.* i, no. 350, pp. 264–7; *C.Ch.R.* 1300–1326, p. 111. For the circumstances of William's grant, traditionally made in 1088, see Drake, p. 579, translating and summarising the abbey chronicle (MS Bodl. 39, printed in *Mon. Angl.* i, p. 385 = iii, p. 546, no. i; cp. also J. C. Atkinson (ed.), *Cartularium Abbathiae de Whiteby*, i (S.S. lxix, 1879), p. xlix, n. 1).

(2) By the act of 9 Hen. III may be meant (a) the charter of Henry II (*Mon. Angl.* i, pp. 387–90 = iii, pp. 548–550, no. v; *E.Y.C.* i, no. 354, pp. 269–277; *C.Ch.R.* 1300–1326, p. 111; (b) the mandate of 9 Hen. III (*C.Pat.R.* 1216–25, p. 570); (c) the *inspeximus* and grant of 41 Hen. III (*C.Ch.R.* 1226–57, p. 461); or (d) the confirmation of 50 Hen. III (J. Stevens, *The history of the antient abbeys*, ii (1723), pp. 307–8, no. cccxxxviii; *Mon. Angl.* new ed. iii, pp. 552–3, no. xvii; J. E. Prescott (ed.), *The register of the priory of Wetherhal* (1897), pp. 34–39, no. 13).

(3) Henry VIII granted another exemplification (Drake, p. 580, with note x), but the acts of Henry VIII referred to appear to be those regarding the dissolution of the abbey, 31 Hen. VIII c. 13 and 32 Hen. VIII c. 20 (*S.R.* iii, pp. 733–9 and 770–773).

² These places are identified in Angelo Raine, *Medieval York* (1955).

Yorkshire pedigrees, iii, N. & E.R., describing the father as deputy-steward and the son as steward of St. Mary's; Dugdale-Davies, p. 341; Dugdale-Clay, ii, pp. 427–431; G. W. Marshall (ed.), *Le Neve's pedigrees of the knights* (Harl. Soc. viii, 1873), p. 241). This Thomas Weddell does not appear in the pedigrees of the Weddell family connected with the King's Manor (below, p. 484), but Sir Thomas Norcliffe was associated with William Robinson (*Y.A.J.*, *loc. cit.*; V.C.H., N.R., ii, p. 114; below, p. 484).

In 1700 began a series of petitions to displace Norcliffe. At an unspecified date (? April 1700) the attorneys of St. Mary's court certified that 'Norcliffe, pretending to be deputy steward or steward of the court, demands of us and our clients fees not due to him . . . he is very partiall and inclines either to the Plaintiff or Defendant' (York City records, E 33, p. 735); on 17 June 1701 Benjamin Norcliffe junior stated that Benjamin Norcliffe senior had a patent of the stewardship from the Lords of the Treasury in the name of Benjamin Norcliffe junior, then an infant, attending school at Glasgow, without the son's knowledge, so that the son never received any benefit from the grant; his father took the perquisites and profits for himself, and long suffered the son to wander up and down the country and beg for bread (*id.* p. 736). About 25 July 1701 Thomas Adams, his would-be and eventual successor, declared him 'incapable of discharging his trust' (P.R.O. T 1/75, no. 43, pp. 139–140; *C.Tr.P.* 1697–1701/2, p. 514), and on 29 July simultaneous petitions from Adams and the inhabitants of St. Mary's described Norcliffe as 'being very troublesome to them' (P.R.O. IND. 4621 [formerly T 4/7], p. 435; *C.Tr.B.* xvi, 1700–1701, p. 330). In 1702 a similar petition from Adams was read and referred on 5 July (P.R.O. IND. 4622 [formerly T 4/8], p. 9, and IND. 4629 [formerly T 4/15], p. 1; *C.Tr.B.* xvii, 1702, i, pp. 281, 462). Norcliffe is described as 'deceased' on 8 March 1702/3 (P.R.O. T 54/17, p. 533; *C.Tr.B.* xviii, 1703, p. 170).

1703–1722 Thomas Adams

Thomas Adams, barrister, petitioned to succeed Norcliffe in the stewardship more than once in 1701–2 (see above), and after Norcliffe's death a warrant for a patent appointing him was issued, 8 March 1702/3 (*loc. cit.*); the grant was made, 10 March (P.R.O. IND. 4623 [formerly T 4/9], p. 368; *C.Tr.B.* xxxii, 1718, ii, p. 148). In 1703 Adams had printed at York a list of the towns and villages in the Liberty (Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 624). On 10 September 1706 the bailiff, William Whitehead, with strange arithmetic, paid Adams £17 10s., described as the total of £5 plus £11 16s 9d., being part of his salary as steward for 3½ years at £5 or £6 p.a. (P.R.O. LR 6/220). In 1718, on the grounds that Adams 'hath not returned any Court Rolls thereof to the Auditor during the whole time of his stewardship', John Tomlinson petitioned to be appointed in Adam's place; his petition was read and referred, 10–11 January (P.R.O. IND. 4623, p. 368, and IND. 4634 [formerly T 4/20], p. 75; *C.Tr.B.* xxxii, 1718, ii, pp. 4, 148); after the Auditor's report it was granted, 3 March (P.R.O. IND. 4634, p. 96; *C.Tr.B.* xxxii, 1718, ii, p. 20), respited, 27 March (P.R.O. IND. 4634, p. 115; *C.Tr.B.* xxxii, 1718, ii, p. 29), and granted by letters patent, dated 19 June and enrolled 30 September 1718 (P.R.O. LR 1/208, ff. 52v–53r). Adams, however, was still in office in 1720, when he and the bailiff, Francis Taylor, applied for funds for the repair of the gaol and court house (above, p. 383).

Thomas Adams, born 1654–5, was third son of Sir William Adams (1626–67) of Owston and Scausby, W.R., admitted at Gray's Inn 18 February 1641/2, the same day as Benjamin Norcliffe (Joseph Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, i (1828), pp. 322–3; J. Foster, *The Register of admissions to Gray's Inn* (1889), p. 235); Thomas in turn was admitted there 2 February 1671/2 (*id.* p. 314); he was appointed recorder of York about April 1713 and held this post, like the stewardship, until his death (James Torr, *The antiquities of York city* (1719), p. 146; Drake, p. 368; on 22 April 1722 the lord mayor and corporation petitioned the king for leave to elect a new recorder in place of Thomas Adams deceased: York City records, E 34, f. 289r). He was admitted a freeman of York in 1713, immediately after becoming recorder (Collins, *York freemen*, ii, p. 200). He died unmarried on 7 April 1722 (Drake, p. 341; Dugdale-Davies, p. 176; Dugdale-Clay, i, p. 52; Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, ii (1831), p. 478; J. W. Walker (ed.), *Yorkshire pedigrees*, i, A–F (Harl. Soc. xciv, 1942), p. [1]) and was buried at St. Michael le Belfrey on 10 April (F. Collins (ed.), *The registers of St. Michael le Belfrey, York*, ii (Y.P.R.S. xi, 1901), p. 236). 'At the death of Thomas Adams, esq: the last steward of this court, two gentlemen of the law in York made interest for the patent, to be executed betwixt them. But a more prevailing interest prevented it. Since which this stewardship has been vacant, the goal [*sic*] neglected, and the chamber where the court was kept, by a late accident, well nigh demolished' (Drake, p. 575). By the two petitioners may perhaps be meant Tomlinson (see above) and Colton (see below, under Bailiff). The 'more prevailing interest' may have been the realisation in London that the Liberty ran at a loss and was 'no profit to the Crown' (*C.Tr.B.* viii, 1685–9, iii, p. 1602, and ix, 1689–92, ii, p. 711). In 1728 the Dean and Chapter of York, giving evidence in a dispute about tithes in Clifton, York, a former property of St. Mary's, declared that 'they understood that records in the [St. Mary's] Tower, other than those of St. Mary's Abbey, had been removed before the Siege and were in the custody of Thomas Adams late of York, Esq., Steward of St. Mary's Liberty' (York City archives, Clifton Estate papers, M 31: 473, pp. 4–5).

(d) CLERK OF THE COURTS

For Thomas Oglethorpe, understeward and clerk of the courts, 1542–1550(?), see above, pp. 466–7.

For Edward Bee and his successors as keeper of evidences and clerk of the courts see above, pp. 380–386.

(c) BAILIFF AND COLLECTOR OF PROFITS OF THE COURTS (fee 13s 4d)**1541 William Maunsell**

See above, pp. 373–4. Appointed bailiff and collector of rents at an unspecified fee, in place of the 'late master of the manors of the said monastery',¹ by letters patent, witnessed by Sir Richard Rich, chancellor of the court of augmentations, 12 October 33 Hen. VIII, 1541 (P.R.O. E 315/235, f. 53r; *L.P.Hen.VIII*, XVII, 1542, p. 691); died 11 December 1541.

1542–1545/6 Sir Thomas Heneage

See above, p. 466. Appointed bailiff and collector of rents at an unspecified fee by letters patent, witnessed by Sir Richard Rich, 10 January 33 Hen. VIII, 1541/2 (P.R.O. E 315/235, f. 56v; *L.P.Hen.VIII*, XVII, 1542, p. 691); he died 21 August 1553 (*D.N.B.*), and is named as predecessor of William Rice, 18 November 1553 (below). John Herbert appears as Heneage's deputy as collector of rents in the receiver's accounts for 1542–3 and 1543–4 (P.R.O. LR 6/121/3–4), and thereafter appears to have himself become bailiff and collector: Heneage presumably resigned in 1545/6 before Herbert's appointment as his successor on 2 February 1545/6, and Rice's appointment to succeed Heneage after his death in 1553 was probably made in error.

1546–69 John Herbert

See above, pp. 368–370. Appears as deputy to Heneage as collector of rents of St. Mary's in the receiver's accounts for 1542–3 and 1543–4 (P.R.O. LR 6/121/3–4). On 2 February 37 Hen. VIII, 1545/6, he was appointed bailiff and collector of the possessions of the late monastery of St. Mary's (P.R.O. LR 1/170, f. 7), and he appears as collector in the eleven surviving receiver's accounts for years between 1545–6 and 1563–4 (P.R.O. LR 6/121/5–7, 6/122/1–8). In 1567 York corporation had dealings with 'Maister Herbert, receyvour of St. Maries possessions', concerning Fulford common fields (Raine, *York civic records*, vi, pp. 128–9). He died in 1569. Named as predecessor of Sir William Fairfax in 1570. Also acted as keeper of the palace or manor of St. Mary's from 1541 until his death, and as (assistant) receiver for Yorkshire during the change-over from John Fisher to William Patten in 1557–8.

(1543?) by 1548–9 to after 1563–4 (1568?) Thomas Lawson

Thomas Lawson (Foster, *Visitations*, p. 93) was appointed assistant to his father, Sir George Lawson (below, p. 486), as bailiff at a fee of 40s on 6 January 1535/6 (P.R.O. LR 1/172, f. 78). After Sir George's death in 1543 Thomas appears in the receiver's accounts as being paid a fee of £6 13s 4d as chief bailiff of the liberty from 1548–9 to 1563–4 (P.R.O. LR 6/122/1–8). He was appointed coroner of St. Mary's in 1535/6, and is paid for this post in 1557–8 (below, p. 486). He is paid 26s 8d as keeper of the prison or gaol within the palace from 1547–8 to 1563–4 (P.R.O. LR 6/121/7, 6/122/1–8). He became a member of the Corpus Christi Guild at York in 1527 (Skaife, *Corpus Christi Guild*, p. 210), and in 1529 was the object of a complaint of having assaulted a chantry priest at Harewood (*Yorkshire Star Chamber*, i, p. 74); he became a freeman of York in 1545 (Collins, *York freemen*, i, p. 264), and was sheriff of York in 1552–3, alderman in 1560, lord mayor in 1562–3 (Drake, p. 364), and escheator for the city in the same year (D.K. x (1849), p. 55); he was bailiff of the manor of Acomb in 1553 (H. Richardson (ed.), *Court rolls of the manor of Acomb*, i (Y.A.S. R.S. cxxxi, 1969), p. 5, cp. also pp. 2, 4, 8), and grantee of the site of the Augustinian friary in York after his father in 1558 (*C.Pat.R.* 1557–8, p. 367; other printed sources on the friary give the surname as 'Rawson'). He died in 1568 (*Index of York wills*, 1554–68, p. 201; i.p.m. 10 Eliz., D.K. *loc. cit.* and *Index of inquisitions*, ii (Lists and indexes, 26), p. 216).

1553 William Rice

Appointed bailiff and collector of rents at an unspecified fee, in place of the late Sir Thomas Heneage, by letters patent, 18 November 1553 (P.R.O. C 66/874, m. 25(24); *C.Pat.R.* 1553–4, p. 284). This appointment was probably erroneous, as Heneage had already been succeeded in the office by Herbert in 1546, and in any case appears to have been ineffective, as Herbert and Lawson appear in the receiver's accounts in these offices both before and after Rice's patent, and Fairfax's patent of 1570 names his predecessors as Heneage and Herbert without mentioning Rice.

1570 – c.1582 Sir William Fairfax

Appointed to the offices of bailiff and collector of rents at an unspecified fee in place of Heneage and Herbert, and of particular supervisor of lands in the North Riding at a fee of £13 6s. 8d. in place of Matthew White and John Herbert, by letters patent dated 8 March 12 Eliz., 1569/70 (P.R.O. LR 1/182, f. 3r–v). His accounts for the possessions of St. Mary's, 1571–83, survive (H.M.C. *Various collections*, ii (1903), p. 97). In the receiver's account for 1581–2 Fairfax is paid an unstated sum as collector and his apparent successor Peter Lawson is paid £4 as bailiff of the liberty and collector of estreats of courts (P.R.O. LR 6/122/9). Described as 'very sicke and without hope of recoverie by the iudgement of his phisicians in respect of his great age beinge nowe threescore and twelve', 12 October 1588, by Francis Alford, petitioning Treasurer Burghley for the collectorship (P.R.O. SP 12/217, art. 16, f. 34; *C.S.P.Dom.*

¹ In the receiver's account for 1542–3 the fee of 7s 11½d is paid to John Potte, clerk, late master of the manors of the late monastery of St. Mary's (P.R.O. LR 6/121/3). Potte was one of the former monks of St. Mary's granted a pension in February 1539/40 (*L.P.Hen.VIII*, XV, 1540, p. 552).

1581–90, p. 551; see below, p. 476). He lived on, however, until 1 November 1597 (so Bilson; deceased before 8 February, 1597/8, *C.S.P.Dom.* 1598–1601, p. 19, cited below, p. 476; Reid gives the date of his death as 1599). On 13 June 1597 he complained to Sir John Fortescue, chancellor of the exchequer, that ‘Whereas divers of his lands and sureties, seized upon a bond of 1,500 *l.* for his collection of the possessions of St. Mary’s Abbey in Yorkshire, were discharged in Trinity term, 1595, upon payment of all sums then due, and albeit he has ever since made full payment to her Majesty’s Receiver in Yorkshire, so as there are no arrearages or very small, yet process has been awarded against him on the said obligation’, and William Fisher, deputy auditor, certified that £262 16s. 8d. remained due on Fairfax’s account (*H.M.C. op. cit.* p. 109). In (probably) 1598, shortly after Sir William’s death, his son Thomas complained to Fortescue that, although his father had fully answered his collection of the rents of St. Mary’s to receiver Scudamore, nevertheless he was charged with arrears of £46 6s. 8d., and Fortescue referred the complaint to (deputy?) auditor Stanley (*H.M.C. op. cit.* pp. 109–110).

William Fairfax, born c.1517–18, admitted at Gray’s Inn in 1544 (J. Foster, *The register of admissions to Gray’s Inn* (1889), col. 17), succeeded his father Sir Nicholas (above, p. 466) as lord of Walton and Gilling in 1571, was knighted in 1560 (Metcalf, p. 117; Shaw, ii, p. 71; the 1564 visitation (below) is transcribed as giving the date 7 Eliz., i.e. 1564–5, but it adds ‘after the sege of Lythe’, i.e. Leith, which took place in 1560, and the date 7 Eliz. must either be an error or refer to the date of the visitation), served as M.P. for Boroughbridge in 1558 and for Yorkshire in 1597–8 (*Return*, i, pp. 399, 436; Smith, pp. 12, [1]; Park, pp. 18, 229; Gooder, ii, pp. 8, 37–8, 123–5, 159), as J.P. for the N.R. in 1562 and 1584 (Gleason, pp. 224, 228), as sheriff of Yorkshire in 1577–8 (Drake, p. 354; *List of sheriffs*, p. 163; Cooper, p. 353), as surveyor of Yorkshire in 1580 (*H.M.C. loc. cit.* p. 96), and as a member of the Council of the North from either 1577 (Reid, p. 495; *C.S.P.Dom. Add.* 1566–79, p. 516) or 1582 (Bilson; *C.S.P.Dom. Add.* 1580–1625, p. 80) until his death. His household books for the period 1571–82 survive (*H.M.C. loc. cit.* pp. 67–86). He was a Roman Catholic (described, with his father, as ‘unsound’ in religion, by Sir Francis Knollys, 27 May 1568: T. Wright, *Queen Elizabeth and her times*, I (1838), p. 272; Bilson, p. 131; Gooder, p. 8). On Fairfax and his family see Foster, *Yorkshire pedigrees*, i, *W.R.*; Flower-Norcliffe, p. 118; John Bilson, ‘Gilling Castle’, in *Y.A.J.* xix (1907), pp. 112, 133–6, 192.

1581/2–1590 Peter Lawson

In the receiver’s account for 1581–2 Peter Lawson is paid the fee of £4 as bailiff of the liberty and collector of estreats of courts and Sir William Fairfax is paid as collector (P.R.O. LR 6/122/9). ‘Petrus Lawson, ball. palatii Eboraci scilicet St. Mariæ’, is included in a list of justices of the peace, etc., in 1583 (Foster, *Visitations*, p. 396). He was grandson of Sir George Lawson (below, p. 486) and son of Thomas Lawson (above, p. 473), and married Elizabeth, daughter of Ambrose Beckwith, brother of Sir Leonard Beckwith (above, pp. 366–7) (Foster, *Visitations*, pp. 64, 101).

1590–97 Henry Mason

Appointed bailiff and collector of rents at a fee of £4 in place of Peter Lawson, in accordance with the statute 7 Edw. VI (c. 1), on the recommendation of the Treasurer (Lord Burghley), on the sureties of John Mason, gent., and Thomas Mason, shoemaker, by letters patent, 16 July 32 Eliz. I, 1590 (P.R.O. LR 1/187, ff. 175v–6v; recited LR 1/188, f. 255r); apparently resigned in favour of Robert Nelson, for whom he stood surety. Subsequently acted as deputy to Thomas Gunson, 1604–8, and claimed the office in 1609.

1597–1604 Robert Nelson

Appointed bailiff and collector of profits at a fee of £4 in place of Henry Mason on the recommendation of the Treasurer (Lord Burghley) and Chancellor and Subtreasurer of the Exchequer (Sir John Fortescue), on the sureties of George Gillman of St. John’s, Walbrook, merchant, and Henry Mason, of St. Marygate, York, gent., by letters patent, 10 December 40 Eliz. I, 1597 (P.R.O. LR 1/188, ff. 255r–6r). Paid in the receiver’s account for 1601–2 (P.R.O. LR 6/122/10). Three sets of testamentary documents from a person or persons named Robert Nelson survive from the years 1604–5 (*Index of York wills*, 1603–1611, pp. 80, 187).

1604–8 Thomas Gunson

Appointed bailiff and collector of profits at a fee of £4 in place of Robert Nelson on the recommendation of the Treasurer (Lord Buckhurst) and Chancellor and Subtreasurer of the Exchequer (Sir George Home), on the sureties of Hamon Sutton of Willerton alias Willoughton, Lincs., esq., and William Riddell of Crowle in Axholme, by letters patent, 12 March 1 & 37 Jac. I & VI, 1603/4 (P.R.O. LR 1/194, f. 92r–v). His successor Francis Darley stated that Gunson ‘was in arrear for divers yeares accomptes vnto his Majestie: And being not hable to satisfie the said debts, nor execute his office as became him withdrew himselfe vnto places vnknowne, & left the same in trust to the execution of one Henry Mason his deputy: Mason contrary to the trust repozed in him hath not onely receaved diuers somes of money vpon estreats of the fines and amerciamentes and otherwise converting the same without accompt to his own proper vse; but covertly hath sought to get the patent of this office over his said maisters head’; the Auditor certified that Gunson was in default, and he was therefore replaced by Darley (P.R.O. SP 14/44, art. 95; *C.S.P.Dom.* 1603–10, p. 507).

1608–1616 Francis Darley

Appointed by letters patent, June 1608; in the following year he petitioned the earl of Salisbury (Treasurer) to be protected from annoyance by Henry Mason, his predecessor's deputy, in the execution of his office; Mason counterpetitioned, and on 30 April 1609 both petitions were referred to Sir James Altham, a baron of the exchequer (P.R.O. SP 14/44, art. 95; *C.S.P.Dom.* 1603–10, p. 507). On 29 November 1615 Darley purchased Clifford's Tower from Edmund Duffield and John Babington of London, grantees from the crown in January 1613/14, and it remained his until his death about 1616 (Cooper, pp. 168–9, 180, 319; Joseph Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, ii (1831), p. 50). Francis Darley was second son of John Darley of York and his wife Alice, daughter of Christopher Mountford of Kilnhurst near Rotherham; he was cousin of Sir Richard Darley of Buttercrambe, whose brother or son William was collector of St. Mary's, 1624–6 (below, p. 477; Francis married Lucy, daughter of John Alured of the Charterhouse near Hull (Foster, *Visitations*, p. 87). In 1626 Francis Darley of Kilnhurst, deceased, is mentioned as father of Edith and Alice (*Index of York wills*, 1620–27, p. 126).

1617–24 Thomas Savile

Appointed bailiff and collector of profits at a fee of £4, and bailiff and collector of Whitgift and Airmyn, at a fee of 45s. in place of Thomas Gunson and Francis Darley, on the recommendation of the Treasurer (the earl of Suffolk) and Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir Fulke Greville), by letters patent, registered in the Court of Augmentations, 19 March 14 Jac. I, 1617 (P.R.O. LR 1/199, f. 236r–v; recited LR 1/200, f. 204r–v). Administration of the will of Thomas 'Savill' of York was granted on 6 April 1625 to his brother John 'Savile' of Halifax, and this makes him probably the younger son of William Savile of Midgley and Copley, baptised at Halifax 16 April 1581 (*Index of York wills*, 1620–27, p. 164; Dugdale-Clay, i, p. 232; E. W. Crossley (ed.), *The parish registers of Halifax* (Y.P.R.S. xxxvii, 1910), p. 270).

1624–33 William Gray

Appointed bailiff and collector of profits at a fee of £4, and bailiff and collector of Whitgift and Airmyn at a fee of 45s., in place of Thomas Savile, on the recommendation of the Treasurer (Lionel, earl of Middlesex) and Chancellor and Subtreasurer of the Exchequer (Sir Richard Weston), on the sureties of Henry and Robert Stanley, by letters patent, 6 April 22/57 Jac. I/VI, 1624 (P.R.O. LR 1/200, f. 204r–v). Mentioned as 'collector for ye estreites especially for ye fynes of the copiehoulders' in the volume of ministers' accounts for 1626–35 (P.R.O. LR 8/343).

1633–7 Ralph Saunderson

Appointed bailiff and collector of profits at a fee of £4, and bailiff and collector of Whitgift and Airmyn at a fee of 45s., by letters patent, 7 December 9 Car. I, 1633 (recited in P.R.O. LR 1/202, ff. 230v–231v). Named as predecessor of Thomas Reynolds.

1637–? Thomas Reynolds

Appointed bailiff and collector of profits at a fee of £4, and bailiff and collector of Whitgift and Airmyn at a fee of 45s., in place of Ralph Saunderson, on the recommendation of the Treasurer (William [Juxon], bishop of London) and Chancellor and Subtreasurer (Francis, Lord Cottington), on the sureties of Charles Buttrice of St. Katherine's, Middlesex, and Sir Richard Weston, a baron of the Exchequer, by letters patent, 10 July 13 Car. I [1637] (P.R.O. LR 1/202, ff. 230v–231v). Named as predecessor of George Usher.

1661–63/4 George Usher

A particular for the offices of bailiff and 'collector of the perquisites and profits of courts' of St. Mary's and bailiff and collector of Whitgift and Airmyn was required by the Treasurer (the earl of Southampton), 22 March 1660/61 (B.M. MS Stowe 498, [p. 24=] f. 13v; *C.Tr.B.* VII, 1681–5, iii, pp. 1535–6 ('12' March)); warrant for grant at fee of £6 5s. directed to the Clerk of the Pipe (Sir Robert Croke), 23 March (B.M. MS Stowe 498, [p. 50=] f. 29v; *C.Tr.B.* VII, 1681–5, iii, p. 1545); grant by patent, in place of Thomas Reynolds, on the sureties of himself and of Robert Boone of the parish of St. Margaret's, Westminster, 13 April 13 Car. II [1661] (P.R.O. LR 1/205, old ff. 180v–181r = new ff. 150v–151r). Granted a lease of a fulling well near the late Newminster Abbey in Northumberland, on condition that he repair it, earlier in 1661 (*id.* old ff. 137v–8r = new ff. 108v–9r).

1664–1703 Stephen Godfrey

Appointed bailiff and 'collector of proffitts and priviledges' at a fee of £4 and bailiff and collector of Whitgift and Airmyn at a fee of 45s. by letters patent, under the seal of the Exchequer, 27 February 1663/4 (recited in P.R.O. T 54/11, p. 106; *C.Tr.B.* VIII, 1685–9, i, p. 270). Occurs 30 September 1665 (P.R.O. SP 29/449, art. 92). On 6 July 1685 Godfrey's petition for renewal of the grant, void on the death of Charles II (6 February 1684/5), was referred by Treasurer Rochester to the Surveyor General (P.R.O. IND. 4617 [formerly T 4/3], p. 129; *C.Tr.B.* VII, 1685–9, i, p. 252), a warrant for a fresh patent was issued on 20 July (P.R.O. T 54/11, p. 106; *C.Tr.B.* VII, 1685–9, i, p. 270), and the patent was granted on 22 July (P.R.O. T 54/18, p. 46; *C.Tr.B.* XVIII, 1703, p. 331; text in York City Records, E 33, p. 673). Again on the flight of James II and accession of William and Mary (13 February 1688/9) Godfrey's petition for a

renewed grant was referred to the Auditor, 28 June 1690 (P.R.O. IND. 4620 [formerly T 4/6], p. 199; *C.Tr.B.* IX, 1689–92, ii, p. 724), and a warrant for a fresh grant was issued, 20 August (P.R.O. T 54/13, p. 334; *C.Tr.B.* IX, 1689–92, ii, p. 785). On 30 August 1699 Godfrey appointed William Crofts of 'Crakehall' to be his deputy (York City Records, E 33, p. 689). After the death of William III and accession of Queen Anne (8 March 1701/2), Godfrey's patent lapsed and he was described as 'by reason of his Old Age being incapable of his Duty and not willing to renew his Patent' (7 April 1703: P.R.O. IND. 4622 [formerly T 4/8], p. 46; *C.Tr.B.* XVIII, 1703, p. 221). A few years after 1714 'old Mr. Godfrey', apparently then dead, was mentioned by Thomas Jubb, registrar to the Dean and Chapter, as one of 'many ancient people living in my time' who 'could have witnessed . . . the Troublesome Times during which the [Dean and Chapter Registry] Office was gutted and loose papers destroyed' (Borthwick Institute, R.X.ix.9, quoted by J. S. Purvis, *The archives of York Diocesan Registry* (St. Anthony's Hall Publ. ii, 1952), p. 6); doubtless this refers to the aftermath of the siege of York in 1644, or perhaps the removal of the records in 1649.

. From 1703 the office of bailiff was combined with that of keeper of the evidences (above, pp. 383–6).

1703–1718 William Whitehead
1718–1735 (?) Francis Taylor

(f) COLLECTOR OF RENTS

. From 1541 to 1581/2 this post was held jointly with that of bailiff (above, (e)); at about the latter date the posts appear to have been divided, Sir William Fairfax, holder of both since 1570, continuing to hold the collectorship, while Peter Lawson succeeded as bailiff. For the first four holders (five, including Rice) the fee is not recorded; Fairfax was granted a fee of £13 6s. 8d. to cover also the surveyorship of lands in the North Riding; Mason and his successors have a fee of £4.

1541	William Maunsell
1542–45/6	Sir Thomas Heneage
1546–69	John Herbert
(1543?) by 1548–9 to after 1563–4 (–1568?)	Thomas Lawson
[1553	William Rice]
1570–97	Sir William Fairfax

In 1588 Francis Alford petitioned Treasurer Burghley to succeed Fairfax as collector of rents (P.R.O. SP 12/217, art. 16, f. 34; *C.S.P.Dom.* 1581–90, p. 551; above, p. 473), but Fairfax, far from dying as expected, lived in on office for nine years more. From his death in 1597 the collectorship, held jointly with the office of bailiff at an inclusive fee of £4, is restyled 'the office of collector of profits of the courts', and from 1598 there is a separate post of 'collector of rents' at a fee given from 1610 as £34 10s.; this appears to apply to the rents not only of St. Mary's Liberty in and near York but also of other estates formerly part of the possessions of the abbey and now leased out by the crown for rents totalling in 1660 £458 15s. 6d.

1598–1602 John Mansfield

Appointed collector of rents and revenues of St. Mary's, and surveyor of the Queen's lands in the North Riding, in place of Sir William Fairfax, deceased, 8 February 1597/8 (*C.S.P.Dom.* 1598–1601, p. 19; H.M.C., *Various collections*, ii (1903), p. 109 n.); named as predecessor of William Jenison.

1602 to 160–(?) William Jenison

Appointed particular receiver of rents and revenues of St. Mary's at a fee of £34 10s. in place of John Mansfield [*sic*], on the recommendation of the Treasurer (Lord Buckhurst) and Chancellor and Sub-treasurer of the Exchequer (Sir John Fortescue), 3 May 44 Eliz., 1602 (P.R.O. LR 1/190, f. 321r–v), but in the receiver's account for 1651–2 the fee of £6 13s. 4d. due to Jenison for the year 44 Eliz. is entered as paid to his daughter, heiress and executrix Elizabeth and Henry Gray her husband (P.R.O. LR 7/66/36). While this payment suggests that Jenison died without completing his first year of office and thus that he is likely to be the William 'Jenneson' of Northgate juxta Newark, Notts, whose will was proved 4 February 1603 (*Index of York wills*, 1603–1611, p. 176; not in the pedigree of Jenison of Newark in W. Dickinson (afterwards W. D. Rastall), *The history and antiquities of the town of Newark*, 1816 (= *Antiquities, historical . . . in Nottinghamshire . . . comprising the histories of Southwell and of Newark*, vol. ii, 1819), p. 219), on the other hand the particulars about the collector's daughter and son-in-law show that in fact he was of Walworth, Northumberland. He was William, junior, third son (the eldest son too being named William) of Thomas (died 1586) and Elizabeth (died 1605) Jenison; he was alive in January 1604/5, when his mother appointed him her executor, but there is no indication as to how long he lived after that date; he married Frances Le Strange, and his only surviving child Elizabeth, born in 1596, married Henry Gray or Grey, second son of Henry and Fortune Gray of 'Kiley' (Kyloe) and Elwick, Northumberland (Robert Surtees, *The history of . . . Durham*, iii (1835), pp. 320, 412–413; Joseph Foster (ed.), *Pedigrees recorded at the visitations . . . of Durham* (1887), p. 189; George W. Marshall (ed.), *The visitation of Northumberland in 1615* (1878), p. 54; J. Foster (ed.), *Pedigrees recorded at the heralds' visitations of . . . Northumberland* [1891], p. 64; James Haine, *The history . . . of North Durham* (1852), ii, p. 337).

160–(?) – 1610 Isaac Mountaine

Named as predecessor of William Worsley.

1610–24 William Worsley

Appointed particular receiver of rents and revenues of St. Mary's at a fee of £34 10s. in place of Mountaine, in accordance with the statute 7 Edw. VI (c. 1), on the recommendation of the Treasurer (the earl of Salisbury) and the Chancellor and Subtreasurer of the Exchequer (Sir Julius Caesar), on the sureties of Thomas Awcham, Roger Holdenby, Robert Pinder, Thomas Shurlock, Robert North and Henry Hobson, by letters patent, 20 February 7 Jac. I, 1609/10 (P.R.O. LR 1/199, f. 236r); named as predecessor of William Darley. Mentioned as late collector of rents in the receiver's account for 1628–9 (P.R.O. LR 6/122/12); the receiver's accounts for 1635–6, 1644–5 and 1651–2 still enter £132 6s. 6d. as arrears due from Worsley for divers years ending 21 Jac. I, 1623–4 (P.R.O. LR 7/65/1, 2, and 7/66/36). Not identifiable in the printed pedigrees of Worsley (Dugdale-Davies, p. 62; Dugdale-Clay, iii, pp. 56–59; Foster, *Yorkshire pedigrees*, iii, N. & E.R.).

1624–6 William Darley

Appointed particular receiver of rents and revenues of St. Mary's at a fee of £34 10s. in place of William Worsley, on the recommendation of the Treasurer (the earl of Middlesex) and Chancellor and Subtreasurer of the Exchequer (Sir Richard Weston), on the sureties of Sir John Buck, William Scudamore, Charles Meynnels and Christopher Cantley, by letters patent, 3 March 21/57 Jac. I/VI, 1623/4 (P.R.O. LR 1/200, ff. 181v–2r; referred to in LR 8/343). Paid as collector general in the receiver's account for 1625–6 (P.R.O. LR 6/122/11). Views of his accounts as 'bailiff and' collector of St. Mary's and of the manor of Clifton for 1626 are among the ministers' accounts for 1626–35 (P.R.O. LR 8/343). Described as 'late collector' on 12 April 1626, when his sureties were held responsible for about £236 collected by him and 'unanswered to His Majesty' (P.R.O. SP 16/523, no. 87; *C.S.P.Dom. Add.* 1625–49, p. 116, wrongly giving his name as 'Darby'); the arrears were still entered as due in the receiver's account for 1635–6 (P.R.O. LR 7/65/1). Named as predecessor of Newarke. He was related to Sir Richard Darley (c. 1568–1654) of Buttercrambe, N.R. (matriculated a fellow commoner of Jesus College, Cambridge, in 1586: Venn, I, ii, p. 11; admitted at Gray's Inn in 1588: J. Foster, *The register of admissions to Gray's Inn* (1889), p. 73; J.P. for the N.R. 1608, 1626, 1636 and 1650: Gleason, pp. 231, 234, 237, 239; knighted in 1616/17: Metcalfe, p. 170), and his wife Elizabeth (daughter of Edward Gates of Seamer near Scarborough; married 1595), and their eldest son Henry (c. 1596 –c. 1671; M.P. for Aldborough 1628, Northallerton 1641, the East Riding 1656: Gooder, i, pp. 74–78) (Foster, *Visitations*, p. 87; Joseph Hunter, *Familiae minorum gentium*, iii (Harl. Soc. xxxix, 1895), pp. 994–5), being either his second son, born c. 1598, or his younger brother, in the latter case son of Richard Darley of Buttercrambe, J.P. for the East Riding in 1584, died 1598.

1627/8– ? Thomas Newarke

Appointed particular receiver of rents and revenues of St. Mary's at a fee of £34 10s. in place of Darley, on the recommendation of the Treasurer (the earl of Marlborough) and Chancellor and Subtreasurer of the Exchequer (Sir Richard Weston), on the sureties of Robert Francke of York, Louis Sheffield of 'Willesden', Yorkshire, Thomas Wharton of 'Hiltwhait Hill', Yorkshire, paid before Christopher Crofts, Robert Hemsworth, Thomas Peighen and Henry Newarke, by letters patent, 5 February 3 Car. I, 1627/8 (P.R.O. LR 1/201, f. 59r); Newarke was already described as having 'obtained a Graunte of ye collectorship' and as 'nowe passing a patente' when appointing Robert Francke as his deputy, 12 April 1627 (P.R.O. LR 1/201, f. 310r). Franck's fee as collector is paid in the receiver's account for 1628–9 (P.R.O. LR 6/122/12). An account of Newarke as receiver and another as collector presented by him in person for the year 1630–31 are included among the ministers' accounts, 1626–35 (P.R.O. LR 8/343). 'Mr. Newarke, collector' is mentioned in a receiver's account covering St. Mary's Whitgift, Airmyn, etc., 1642–4 (P.R.O. LR 13/2/5). Thomas Newarke, esq., of Acomb, York, 'died in a^o 1657, or thereabouts' (Dugdale-Davies, p. 194; Dugdale-Clay, iii, p. 314); probate of his will, dated 24 August 1657, was granted to his son Thomas in 1659 and again in 1660 (*Index of York wills, Somerset House*, 1649–60, pp. 237, 256; abstract of the will in J. W. Clay (ed.), *Abstracts of Yorkshire wills in the time of the commonwealth* (Y.A.S. R.S. ix, 1890), p. 160). On 10 December 1652, 9 June 1657 and 26 January 1659/60 he and/or his son was appointed commissioner for an assessment of tax in York (Firth and Rait, ii, pp. 662, 1068, 1368). His father and brother, both named Henry, leased the lordship of the manor of Acomb from the crown (till 1623) and subsequently the archbishops of York (H. Richardson (ed.), *Court rolls of the manor of Acomb*, i (Y.A.S. R.S. cxxxix, 1969), pp. 112–146, 1612–24, and pp. 164–6, 1663–4; *id.*, *A history of Acomb* (Yorkshire Philos. Soc., 1963), p. 7).

1660 to 167–(?) Christopher Hanby

Hanby's petition was read and referred to the Auditor for a particular, 1 August 1660 (P.R.O. T 51/1, p. 31; *C.Tr.B.* 1660–67, p. 10); a warrant for a grant to him at a fee of £34 10s. for collecting rents of £458 15s. 6d. was issued to the Clerk of the Pipe (Sir Robert Croke), 5 September 1660 (P.R.O. T 51/1, p. 100; *C.Tr.B.* 1660–67, p. 54); Hanby is mentioned on 9 January 1677/8 as not having paid his rents before Michaelmas 1675 and is ordered to be prosecuted (P.R.O. PRO 30/32/52, p. 142; *C.Tr.B.* V, 1676–9, ii, p. 875).

(g) RECEIVER OF ROYALTIES**1625–? Giles Clutterbuck**

A lease to Giles Clutterbuck of royalties arising within the liberties of the late dissolved monastery of St. Mary's, York, for 31 years at a rent of £5, was made, 30 August 1625 (*C.S.P.Dom.* 1625–6, p. 547); a grant to Clutterbuck as 'receptor regalitatum forisfacturarum finium et amerciamentorum' for 31 years, to pay to the crown £5 p.a. through the bailiff or receiver of St. Mary's, with a forfeit of 20s. for a delay of 40 days, and to pay a fee of 20s. p.a. to the clerk of the court of the liberty of Marshland, and £6 5s. to the bailiff of the liberty of St. Mary's, 14 October 1 Car. I, 1625 (P.R.O. LR 1/200, ff. 248r–9r; D.K. xliii (1882), p. 12). A view of Clutterbuck's account for 1626 is included among the ministers' accounts for 1626–35 (P.R.O. LR 8/343).

(h) BAILIFF AND COLLECTOR OF MARSHLAND OR WHITGIFT AND AIRMYN (fee 45s.)

₂ This office, alone of the many connected with the outlying properties of the dissolved St. Mary's, is here included because from 1617 it was held jointly with the corresponding internal offices of the liberty. The villages of Whitgift and Airmyn (or Armin) lie on the south-west bank of the lower Ouse; Marshland is the area south-west of Whitgift (A. H. Smith, *The place-names of the West Riding*, ii (E.P.–N.S. xxxi, 1961), p. 2). In 1100–1108 Henry I granted to St. Mary's Airmyn and Ousefleet and all that lay between them, which would include Whitgift (exemplified by Henry III in 1257: *C.Ch.R.* 1226–57, p. 461, and 1300–1326, p. 120; *E.Y.C.* i, pp. 361–2, no. 470; again by Edward II in 1308: *C.Ch.R.* 1300–1326, p. 120), and this grant is included in the long list of properties confirmed to the abbey by Henry II in 1156–7 (*Mon. Angl.* i, pp. 387–390 = iii, pp. 548–550, no. v; *E.Y.C.* i, pp. 269–277, no. 354) and by Richard I, 1189–99 (exemplified by Edward II in 1308: *C.Ch.R.* 1300–1326, p. 113). In Pope Nicholas's taxation of 1291 the manor of Whitgift is recorded as a possession of St. Mary's (*Taxatio ecclesiastica . . . Nicholai IV* (1802), p. 340), and, together with a neighbouring moor, was given a valuation regarded as equivalent to £600 (*C.Pat.R.* 1330–34, p. 528). Despite interventions by the earls of Lincoln, the crown, Queens Isabella and Philippa, Selby Abbey and the Duchy of Lancaster, at the dissolution St. Mary's is still recorded as possessing the lordship of Marshland, including Whitgift, Reedness, Swinefleet, Hook, Goole and Ousefleet, and the lordship of Airmyn (*Mon. Angl.*, new ed. iii, pp. 571–2).

?–1553 Hugh Hope

Hugh Hope, deceased, mentioned as predecessor of Thomas Davie.

1553–77 Thomas Davie, senior

Thomas Davie, a groom of the royal chamber, appointed bailiff of Marshland, in consideration of his faithful service to Henry VIII and Edward VI, at a fee of 45s. in place of Hugh Hope, deceased, by letters patent, 17 December 1553 (P.R.O. C 66/865), m. 30; *C.Pat.R.* 1553–4, p. 59); mentioned as deceased predecessor of Thomas Davye, his son.

1577–9 Thomas Davye, junior

Thomas Davye appointed bailiff of Whitgift and Airmyn and other properties in Marshland, and collector of profits of the courts there, at a fee of 45s., in place of Thomas Davye, his father, deceased, on the recommendation of the Treasurer (Burghley) and Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir Walter Mildmay), on the sureties of George Aske of Eastrington and Giles Edwyn of Yokefleet (both near Howden), paid before the barons of the Exchequer, by letters patent, 21 June 19 Eliz. I, 1577 (P.R.O. LR 1/183, f. 145r–v; recited ff. 237v–8r); mentioned as predecessor of Francis Wayte. Possibly connected with the family of Davye of Fockerby, four miles from Whitgift (Dugdale-Davies, p. 386; Dugdale-Clay, iii, pp. 371–2).

1579–? Francis Wayte

Francis Wayte, surrendering Davye's patent, appointed bailiff of Whitgift and Airmyn and other possessions in Marshland, and collector of profits of the courts there, at a fee of 45s., on the recommendation of the Treasurer (Burghley) and Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir Walter Mildmay), on the sureties of Francis Nevell of Barnby and Thomas Ridlington of Bramwith, paid before the barons of the Exchequer, by letters patent, 29 May 21 Eliz. I, 1579 (P.R.O. LR 1/183, ff. 237v–8r).

159–to? Hugh Hodgeson

An index entry in the P.R.O. (IND. 7637), referring to a register of enrolments now lost (vol. '9', f. 91; it would come between vols. LR 1/187 and 188), but datable c. 1594–7, gives the appointment of Hugo Hodgeson.

₂ From 1617 the following held jointly the offices of bailiff and collector of St. Mary's and bailiff and collector of Whitgift and Airmyn (see above, (e)):

1617–24	Thomas Savile
1624–33	William Gray
1633–7	Ralph Saunderson
1637–?	Thomas Reynolds
1661–63/4	George Usher
1664–1703	Stephen Godfrey
1703–1718	William Whitehead
1718–1735(?)	Francis Taylor

(j) KEEPER OF THE PALACE AND SITE

? – 1541 William Maunsell

William Maunsell, deceased, named as predecessor of John Herbert; Maunsell died 11 November 1541 (above, pp. 353–7).

1541–69 John Herbert

Appointed keeper of the palace or manor of St. Mary's at a fee of £6 13s. 4d. in place of William Maunsell, deceased, by letters patent, witnessed by Sir Richard Rich (Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations), 2 March 34 Hen. VIII, 1542/3 (P.R.O. E 315/235, f. 132v; *L.P.Hen. VIII*, XVIII, 1543, i, p. 546); in the receiver's account for 1542–3 (P.R.O. LR 6/121/3) Herbert is paid for this post for the two years ending Michaelmas 1543, so he must have been regarded as effectively holding it from Michaelmas 1541. Died in 1569 (above, p. 370); named as deceased predecessor of Freeman Young.

1571–1602 Freeman Young

Freeman Young, valet of the chamber, appointed in place of John Herbert, deceased, by letters patent, 20 November 14 Eliz. I, 1571 (P.R.O. SP 15/20, art. 94, ff. 225–6; *C.S.P.Dom. Add.* 1566–79, p. 372); paid the fee of £6 13s. 4d. in the receiver's account for 1581–2 (P.R.O. LR 6/122/9); named as deceased predecessor of Richard Redman. On 5 June 9 Eliz., 1567, as 'one of th'ordinarie yomen of the garde', he was appointed keeper of pheasants and partridges and walker and overseer of the same within the lordships of Barnet, Hadley, South Mimms and Tatteridge, in Herts and Middlesex, for life, at a fee of 4d. *per diem* with various extras (P.R.O. E 403/2452, f. 151r).

1602–1611 Richard Redman

Appointed keeper of the palace and site of St. Mary's in place of Freeman Young, deceased, on the recommendation of the Treasurer (Buckhurst) and Chancellor and Subtreasurer of the Exchequer (Sir John Fortescue), by letters patent, 15 May 44 Eliz. I, 1602 (P.R.O. LR 1/190, ff. 417v–418r); paid in the receiver's account for 1601–2 (P.R.O. LR 6/122/10); on the death of Elizabeth and accession of James (24 March 1602/3) the grant was renewed, 2 March 1/37 Jac. I/VI, 1603/4 (P.R.O. LR 1/192[191], ff. 126v–7r; recited LR 1/198, ff. 191 [formerly 186] v–192[187]r); named as predecessor of Francis More.

1611–13 Francis More

Or Moore. Appointed in place of Richard Redman, on the recommendation of the Treasurer (Sussex) and Chancellor and Subtreasurer of the Exchequer (Sir Julius Caesar), by letters patent, 6 June 9/44 Jac. I/VI, 1611 (P.R.O. LR 1/198, ff. 191 [formerly 186]v–192[187]r); named as predecessor of John Moore.

1613–36 John Moore

Appointed in place of Francis More, on the recommendation of the Chancellor and Subtreasurer of the Exchequer (Sir Julius Caesar), by letters patent, 25 October 11/47 Jac. I/VI, 1613 (P.R.O. LR 1/200, f. 8r–v); named as predecessor of Christopher Stephenson.

In 1616 Lord President Sheffield asked for a second sum of £1000 for building work at the manor (H.M.C., *Various collections*, viii (1913), MSS of the Hon. Frederick Lindley Wood, pp. 10–11). In 1629 Strafford enclosed some land at Sutton-on-the-Forest as a 'New Park' for hunting (*C.S.P.Dom.* 1629–31, p. 295; G. C. Cowling, *The history of Easingwold and the forest of Galtres* [1968], p. 189), to the great annoyance of Sir John Bouchier of Beningborough, who regarded this as an encroachment on his own land and hunting rights; in May 1633, when King Charles visited the park, Bouchier made a protest in a manner which brought on him a heavy fine and imprisonment, though Bouchier had the last laugh in 1641 when this treatment of him was made one of the lesser charges against Strafford (Davies, *Walks*, pp. 148–153; Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, *Letters and dispatches*, ed. by W. Knowler (2 vols, 1739), i, pp. 85–88, 249, 281; J. Rushworth, *The tryall of Thomas Earl of Strafford* (= *Historical collections*, viii, 1721), pp. 62, 138, 146; *A complete collection of state-trials*, i (1776), col. 724, 730; T. Whellan, *History . . . of York and the North Riding*, ii (1859), pp. 624–5, 643; V.C.H. *North Riding*, ii (1923), p. 197, cp. also pp. 160–163; Thomas Gill, *Vallis Eboracensis* (1852), pp. 412–413; N. Pevsner, *Yorkshire: the North Riding* (The buildings of England, 29, 1966), pp. 195–6). Strafford, by taking over a mortgage of the manor of Overton owned by Thomas Scudamore's financially embarrassed son William (above, p. 372), received the entire income of the manor from 1627 until his death in 1641, selling the timber and ploughing up the pasture, and enclosing 400 acres of moorland, which he thus incorporated within the royal park of Galtres; Scudamore felt as aggrieved as did Bouchier (Cliffe, p. 150). The keepership of the New Park appears to have been held jointly with that of the Manor.

1636–43 Christopher Stephenson

Or Stevenson. Appointed in place of John Moore, on the recommendation of the Chancellor and Subtreasurer of the Exchequer (Francis, Lord Cottington), by letters patent, 19 February 11 Car. I, 1635/6 (P.R.O. LR 1/203, f. 219r–v; Davies, *King's Manor* (1869), p. 252 = (1883), p. 13); named as predecessor of Stainforth. Stephenson appears to have held some related post before his appointment

as keeper, for on 27 November 1635 Strafford gave instructions that 'The new Lodge [at the New Park] must be well looked to, and I will not in any Case have Christopher Stephenson's Wife live there, so as if she be there let her be removed, for there she shall not stay' (Strafford, *Letters and dispatches*, ed. by W. Knowler (2 vols, 1739), i, p. 485; Davies, *Walks*, p. 154). In 1641–2 Francis Watts, formerly secretary to Vice-President Sir Edward Osborne, appears to have been acting as keeper of the manor (below, p. 483).

1643–4 John Stainforth

Appointed in place of Christopher Stevenson, at a fee of £6 13s. 4d., 6 October 1643; displaced after the capture of York, 1644 (Davies, *King's Manor* (1869), p. 252 = (1883), p. 13).

1645 to after 1653 Edward Stockdale

Appointed by virtue of an ordinance commissioning him to receive revenues of the crown by authority of parliament on 6 January 1644/5, and paid the first fee of £6 13s. 4d., according to the receiver's account for 1644–5 (P.R.O. LR 7/65/2); payment of the fee for the year ending Michaelmas 1651 is entered in an account dated 10 February 1650/51 (P.R.O. LR 13/16/17), and £6 13s. 4d. for the following year plus 66s. 8d. for the half year to the feast of the Annunciation in 1653 is recorded in the receiver's account for 1651–2 (P.R.O. LR 7/66/36). Perhaps the 'my cosen Stockdale' whom Dodsworth in the 1630's mentions as possessing a certified copy of a deed in St. Mary's Tower (below, appx. VI A (xxi)). From January 1644/5 for at least a year and probably longer the manor was used as the county gaol while the castle was out of commission (below, p. 518).¹ On 4 August 1645 the Committee for H.M. Revenue at Westminster wrote to Stephen Watson and two other aldermen of York, 'Whereas we understand that there are hangings, furniture, and other goods belonging to his Majesty now remaining in the Manor House of York of a considerable value, these are to desire you to view the same, and cause a true inventory to be made of them, and returned to this Committee' (*C.S.P.Dom.* 1645–7, p. 42). During Stockdale's period of office the Manor was exempted from the general sale of crown lands and reserved for the use of the state by act of parliament, 16 July 1649, and the exemption was maintained on 29 December 1652 (Scobell, *op. cit.* (above, p. 216, n. 8), ii, p. 64; Firth and Rait, ii, p. 190; Sidney J. Madge, *The domesday of crown lands* (1938, repr. 1968), pp. 90, 102, 104).

1655(?)–1660 Major-General Robert Lilburne

'Col. Robert Lilburne, one of his late Majesties Judges [a signatory of Charles I's death-warrant, 1649: cp. Firth and Rait, i, p. 1254], and now fled, who hath made great spoil of the woods and game therein [in the 'Mannor House at Yorke, and the Parke called the New Parke neere that Citty'], and which is still continued by his servant [Humphry Harward]', was petitioned against by Richard Harland, October 1660 (P.R.O. SP 29/20, art. 68, p. 92; *C.S.P.Dom.* 1660–61, p. 340). Lilburne (*D.N.B.*; Bean, pp. 117–8; Gooder, ii, p. 79; Pauline Gregg, *Free-born John: a biography of John Lilburne* (1961), *passim*) was a captain in Manchester's army at the siege of York in 1644, and afterwards a member of the commonwealth committee for the county and city of York. On 3 March 1654/5 his daughter was buried in York Minster (Robert H. Skaife (ed.), 'The register of burials in York Minster', in *Y.A.J.* i (1870), p. 239), and he is otherwise recorded in the city in that month (John Thurloe, *A collection of state papers* (1742), iii, pp. 226–7). In December 1655 he dates a letter from the New Park (*id.*, iv, p. 364), which he allowed to suffer so that the number of deer fell from 270 in 1649 to twelve in 1660/62 (V.C.H., *North Riding*, ii (1923), p. 197; G. C. Cowling, *The history of Easingwold and the forest of Galtres* [1968], p. 190). As major-general for the county, and so in effect governor of the city, appointed in September 1655 as deputy for the counties of York and Durham under John Lambert, major-general of the five northern counties (*C.S.P.Dom.* 1655, p. 387; Thomas Carlyle (ed.), Oliver Cromwell's *Letters and speeches*, var. eds., note to Letter cciii), Lilburne set up his headquarters in York, apparently in the manor (V.C.H. *York*, p. 190); in 1656 he was granted £400 for the repair of the building (*id.* p. 530; *C.S.P.Dom.* 1655–6, p. 376), the money to be paid to Humphry 'Howard', appointed keeper in 1660 (*id.* p. 64). He remained active in York from 1655 until the end of the commonwealth (*C.S.P.Dom.* 1655–60, *passim*; Thurloe, vols. iii–v, *passim*).

Lilburne was M.P. for county Durham in 1654 (Bean, p. 97), for the North Riding in 1656 (*id.* p. 647, and *Return*, i, p. 506: *D.N.B.*, followed by Gregg, *op. cit.* p. 97, wrongly gives the East Riding), and for Malton in 1658 (but immediately unseated). In June 1657 he was appointed a commissioner for assessments in York and the West Riding (Firth and Rait, ii, pp. 1067–8), and in July 1659 a commissioner for the militia in York city (*id.* ii, pp. 1323–4). These are only a few of the posts which, with the York keepership, brought him a total income of £1141 3s. 4d. under Cromwell (*D.N.B.*).

On 3 November 1659, when Lambert left London for York with 10,000 men to oppose General Monck, who was at the Tweed with some 7000 men, Lilburne, as Lambert's second-in-command, hastened north and occupied Newcastle; Lambert arrived there on 23 November and Lilburne retired to York (Clements R. Markham, *A life of the great Lord Fairfax* (1870), pp. 376–7); a party of Quakers announced that they would rendezvous at Lilburne's house in the New Park near York on 5 January 1659/60, but already on 1 January Thomas 3rd baron Fairfax came up to York and Lilburne appears to have shut the city gates, manned the defences, and patrolled the streets with cavalry, but on the following day, 2 January, Fairfax's men turned Lilburne and his horse out of York (White Kennet, *An historical register* (1744), pp. 7, 13; *C.S.P.Dom.* 1659–60, pp. 293–5; Markham, *op. cit.* p. 377; Brian Fairfax, 'Iter boreale', in Robert Bell (ed.), *The Fairfax correspondence; memorials of the civil war*, ii (1849), pp. 152, 164, 166–7; Richard Scrope (ed.), *State papers collected by Edward, earl of Clarendon*, iii (1786), p. 637; Winifred, Lady Burghclere, *George Villiers, second duke of Buckingham* (1903), p. 109). A few days later the command of Lilburne's regiment was given to Major Smithson, then promoted colonel (Kennet, *op. cit.* p. 19). When the restoration was complete Lilburne surrendered in obedience to the king's proclamation of 6 June 1660, was tried on 16 October and sentenced to life imprisonment, and died in 1665 (*D.N.B.*).

1660–61 Humphry Harward

Otherwise Haward, Hareward, Harwood. Lilburne's deputy in 1656 and 1660 (above). Appointed keeper by letters patent, 24 July 12 Car. II, 1660 (P.R.O. SP 44/14, f. 59r–v; *C.S.P.Dom.* 1664–5, p. 356); 'one Harwood, a person that hath beene much imployed by the late vsurper, and a notorious knowne Enemy to' Charles II, petitioned against by Richard Harland, January 1660/61 (P.R.O. SP 29/29, art. 94, p. 194; *C.S.P.Dom.* 1660–61, p. 497); in the same month 'Harward' was suspended in favour of Harland (P.R.O. IND. 6813, p. 80), and again in February 1660/61 in favour of Captain Robert Bruce (*id.* p. 86). On 25 February 1661/2 ten Yorkshire gentlemen, including Conyers Darcy (probably not brother but nephew of Henry Darcy, keeper of the manor, 1665; Clay, *Extinct peerage*, pp. 46–47), certified to the Privy Council that 'Harward, the present keeper . . . is a Person of evil Principles, and one who particularly affirmed . . . that Regicide was no crime, and Sacrilege no Sin' (John Croft, *Excerpta antiqua* (1797), p. 35). Harward continued to act in controversy with Harland until 1665, when again ordered to be removed on 15 March, and on 8 May was ordered to take Henry Darcy as his deputy with the full emoluments of the office (P.R.O. SP 44/14, f. 59r–v; *C.S.P.Dom.* 1660–61, p. 356). On 27 March 1659 'Humphrey Harwood' and Lewis Darcy granted to Elias Robson a rent of 20s. at Clifton, York (York City archives, Clifton estate papers, M 31: 470/11). In 1665–6 'Humphr. Harwood', of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey in York, was one of the Yorkshire gentry who ignored Dugdale's summons to prove their arms and pedigree (Dugdale-Davies, p. xxi).

[1659–60 John Ellis]

In August 1660 John Ellis petitioned to have the keeping of the King's New Park near York, where great devastation of wood and deer had lately been committed (*C.S.P.Dom.* 1660–61, p. 243); in September 1660 Ellis claimed payment of £140 salary as postmaster of York, granted to him by Charles II at Brussels on 12 August 1659; the postmastership was confirmed to him; at Breda he had been promised the place of yeoman of the wine cellar, but was obliged to accept instead a page's place at 40s. p.a. (*id.* p. 262).

[? Sir Henry Cholmeley]

In an undated document (assigned to December 1660 but perhaps rather to be placed a few months later) Sir Henry Cholmeley claims to have laid out £200 on the royal house in the New Park near York, which he appears to have claimed as his own, besides purchasing Clifford's Tower, apparently before the civil war (*C.S.P.Dom.* 1660–61, p. 446; more fully in Cooper, pp. 178–9). Cholmeley's link with the former holders of Clifford's Tower is not clear, but to Sir John Bouchier of Beningborough, who had regarded New Park as his own, improperly usurped by Strafford on behalf of the crown (above), he was related: Cholmeley's sister Margaret (died 1629) was married to Sir William Strickland of Boynton, 1st baronet (c. 1596–1673), and their daughter Frances was wife to Sir John's son Sir Barrington Bouchier (Foster, *Yorkshire pedigrees*, iii, N. & E.R., pedigrees of Cholmeley and Strickland; Davies, *Walks*, p. 161). Sir Henry, born 1609, second son of Sir Richard Cholmeley (c. 1580–1631), lived at West Newton Grange, was a distinguished lawyer, admitted at Gray's Inn 1618, knighted at Whitehall 27 December 1641, M.P. for Malton 1641–53 and Appleby 1660; a lieutenant colonel in command of the parliamentary Yorkshire militia, he was a not very successful commander at the siege of Pontefract in 1645; he died at Tangier in 1666 (Foster, *loc. cit.*, and *The register of admissions to Gray's Inn* (1889), p. 152; Bean, pp. 617, 626, 930, 942; *Return*, i, p. 497; Metcalfe, p. 198; Shaw, ii, p. 211; Dugdale-Davies, pp. 74, 112; Dugdale-Clay, ii, p. 254 and iii, p. 124; Richard Holmes, *The sieges of Pontefract Castle* (1887), *passim*).

In the parliamentary survey of the early 1650's the tenant of New Park is named as Sir Hugh Cholmeley, whose lease from parliament was to expire the following Michaelmas; the chief keeper of the Park received £13 6s. 8d. p.a. with perquisites, and the underkeeper £10 (T. S. Willan, 'The parliamentary surveys for the North Riding of Yorkshire', in *Y.A.J.* xxxi (1934), pp. 266–7; Cowling, *op. cit.* p. 190). Sir Hugh (1600–1657), of Whitby, was elder brother of Sir Henry; he was educated at Gray's Inn (admitted 1618: J. Foster, *The register of admissions to Gray's Inn* (1889), p. 149), M.P. for Scarborough 1623–6 and 1640–43 (Bean, pp. 1044, 1056; *Return*, i, pp. 461, 467, 473, 484, 497; Park, pp. 189–190; Smith, p. 45; Hinderwell (1798), pp. 53–71, 134–7, = (1811), pp. 64–88, 158–9; Baker, pp. 72–83, 97, 225–7, 243; Rowntree, pp. 229–235), knighted 1626 (Metcalfe, p. 186), created baronet 10 August 1641, governor of Scarborough Castle, which he vigorously defended against the parliamentarians for twelve months 1644–5; on being forced to surrender he fled to Holland until 1649, and compounded for his estates (*Calendar of the proceedings of the Committee for Compounding, &c.*, iii, p. 2062).

1661 Captain Robert Bruce

Appointed in place of Harward, February 1660/61 (P.R.O. IND. 6813, p. 86); in view of Harland's appointment, Bruce's appears to have been ineffective.

1661–5 Captain Richard Harland

Petitioned to succeed Lilburne, October 1660 (P.R.O. SP 29/20, art. 68, p. 92; *C.S.P.Dom.* 1660–61, p. 340), and 'Harwood', January 1660/61 (P.R.O. SP 29/29, art. 94, p. 194; *C.S.P.Dom.* 1660–61, p. 497); appointed in place of the latter, January 1660/61 (P.R.O. IND. 6813, p. 80), by letters patent, 8 February 13 Car. II, 1660/61 (P.R.O. SP 44/14, f. 59r–v; *C.S.P.Dom.* 1664–5, p. 356). Harland took over New Park directly from Lilburne's servants, not without some difficulty, and established his household there at the expense of neglecting his family home at Sutton; he appears to have handed New Park over to his successor, Darcy, in 1661 (V.C.H., *North Riding*, ii, p. 198; G. C. Cowling, *The history of Easingwold and the forest of Galtres* [1968], p. 190). Ordered to be superseded, 8 May 1665 (P.R.O. SP 44/14, f. 59r–v; *C.S.P.Dom.* 1664–5, p. 356).

Richard Harland was tenant and occupier of Sutton Hall at Sutton on the Forest, N.R. In July 1642 he sent a horse and man to a general muster for the king at York, and in 1644 he served as a lieutenant in the royalist army at Marston Moor. He compounded for his estates in 1650, and suffered fines and imprisonment under the commonwealth (V.C.H., *North Riding*, ii, p. 198; J. W. Clay (ed.), *Yorkshire royalist composition papers*, ii (Y.A.S. R.S. xviii, 1895), pp. 100–102; *Calendar of the proceedings of the Committee for Compounding, &c.*, ii (1890), pp. 974–5). On 25 February 1661/2 he was certified to Charles II as having ‘faithfully served your Majesty, and your Royall Father, and hath been a great Sufferer for his loyalty’ (John Croft, *Excerpta antiqua* (1797), p. 35). On 29 September 1665 Sir Thomas Carnaby, a lieutenant in Frescheville’s troop, was stabbed to death in an affray with Harland at Carnaby’s house in Blake Street; he was buried in York Minster two days later (James Raine (ed.), *Depositions from the Castle of York* (S.S. xl, 1861), p. 188 n.; R. H. Skaife (ed.), ‘The register of burials in York Minster’, in *Y.A.J.* i (1870), p. 244; Francis Collins (ed.), *The registers of St. Michael le Belfrey*, ii (Y.P.R.S. xi, 1901), p. 49; Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 504; *C.S.P.Dom.* 1664–5, p. 573). The inscription ‘Ex dono Richardi Harland generosi 1677’ is on a silver cup in Sutton church (V.C.H., *op. cit.* p. 201; T. M. Fallow and H. B. McCall, *Yorkshire church plate*, i (Y.A.S. Extra series, iii, 1912), pp. 182–3). He died in 1689, aged ninety-seven, and an interesting mural tablet in his memory is in the church at Sutton (Wilbur L. Cross, *The life and times of Laurence Sterne* (1909), p. 63 = 3rd. ed. (1929, repr. 1967), p. 65).

1665 Henry Darcy

Ordered to be appointed in place of Harward and Harland, 8 May 1665 (P.R.O. SP 44/14, f. 59r–v; *C.S.P.Dom.* 1664–5, p. 356; the latter, followed by Davies, *King’s Manor*, wrongly gives his name as ‘Parry’), but the appointment was probably rendered ineffective by that of Frescheville (below). In January 1660/61 Darcy was granted a forty-year lease of New Park, in the parishes of Sutton, Newton, etc., Yorkshire (P.R.O. IND. 6813, p. 75; *C.S.P.Dom.* 1660–61, p. 496; V.C.H., *North Riding*, ii, p. 198; referred to in Cooper, p. 179, under the name of ‘Henry Davey’). Henry Darcy of New Park, founder of the family of Darcy of Colburne, was born c. 1610, the third son of Conyers, 1st baron Darcy and 1st/4th baron Conyers; in March 1655/6 he was one of eight Yorkshire ‘men of quality’ arrested by Lilburne (J. Thurloe, *A collection of the state papers*, iv (1742), p. 614; G. R. Smith, *Without touch of dishonour* (1968), p. 125); he declared his pedigree in 1665/6, died in 1668, and was buried at St. Olave’s, York (Dugdale-Davies, pp. 108, 209; Dugdale-Clay, ii, p. 81; J. W. Clay, *The extinct and dormant peerages of the northern counties of England* (1913), p. 46; Drake, p. 259, giving the date of death as 1662, a misreading from J. Torre, ‘York’, i, p. 596; T. D. Whitaker, *An history of Richmondshire*, ii (1823), pedigree after p. 42).

* After the dissolution of St. Mary’s Abbey in November/December 1539 (above, p. 201, n. 1), the King’s Manor, besides being maintained on behalf of the crown by the keepers of the palace and site listed above, was occupied by the successive lords president and staff of the Council of the North until the demise of the Council in August 1641.¹ The presidents were as follows:²

- 1538–50 Robert Holgate (1481?–1555), bishop of Llandaff 1537–45, archbishop of York 1545–55
- 1550–60 Francis Talbot (1500–60), 5th/8th earl of Shrewsbury
- 1561–63 Henry Manners (d. 1563), 2nd/3rd earl of Rutland
- 1564–68 Thomas Young (1507–68), archbishop of York 1561–8
- 1568–72 Thomas Radcliffe (1526?–83), 3rd earl of Sussex
- 1572–95 Henry Hastings (1535–95), 3rd/19th earl of Huntingdon
- 1596–99 Matthew Hutton (1529–1606), archbishop of York 1595–1606
- 1599–1603 Thomas Cecil (1542–1623), 2nd baron Burghley, from 1605 1st earl of Exeter
- 1603–19 Edmund Sheffield (1564?–1646), lord Sheffield, from 1626 1st earl of Mulgrave
- 1619–28 Emanuel Scrope (1584–1630), 11th lord Scrope of Bolton; from 1627 1st earl of Sunderland (Clay, *Extinct peerage*, pp. 201–2; Sir N. H. Nicolas, *The controversy between Sir Richard Scrope and Sir Robert Grosvenor*, ii (1832), p. 62; *D.N.B.*, art. Scrope, Henry, 9th baron Scrope of Bolton)
- 1628–41 Thomas Wentworth (1593–1641), 1st viscount Wentworth, from 1640 1st earl of Strafford
- 1641 (Apr. –Aug.) Thomas Savile (1590?–1658?), 1st viscount and 2nd baron Savile of Pontefract, from 1644 1st earl of Sussex (Reid, pp. 446–9)
- [1665 George Villiers (1628–87), 2nd duke of Buckingham; appointment ineffective (Reid, pp. 457–8)]

Not all the presidents, however, resided at the Manor: Holgate and Young lived in the Treasurer’s House (V.C.H. *York*, p. 342; Almyra (Mrs. Edwin) Gray, *The mansion house of the treasurers of York Minster* (1933), pp. 22–28), Shrewsbury at Sheffield Castle (Reid, p. 179), Hutton at Bishopthorpe, and after 1632 Strafford was mostly in Ireland; Savile and Buckingham never took up residence. In their absence the Manor was the residence of the vice-presidents, Sir Thomas Gargrave (*D.N.B.*), 1555–79 (Reid, pp. 183–5, 492), and Sir Edward Osborne (*D.N.B.*, art. Osborne, Sir Thomas, 1st duke of Leeds,

¹ This date is given from *L.J.* iv, p. 381, *C.J.* ii, pp. 275–7, Reid, pp. 488, 498, cp. also p. 446, and Knight, p. 451, but of course it is an over-simplification to assign any exact date to the end of the Council’s activities.

² Reid, pp. 487–8; all except Scrope are in *D.N.B.* under their own names.

his son), 1632–41 (Reid, pp. 427, 488, 498; R. Thoresby, *Diary*, i (1830), p. 406). In 1560–61 Cecil, at Gargrave's suggestion, ordered the presidents to keep house at York (Reid, pp. 188–9; *C.S.P. For.* 1560–61, pp. 385–6; J. J. Cartwright, *Chapters in the history of Yorkshire* (1872), p. 10), and in 1577 Huntingdon tried unsuccessfully to establish residence at Bishopthorpe (*C.S.P.Dom. Add.* 1566–79, p. 511; J. R. Keble, *History of . . . Bishopthorpe* (1905), p. 69). Presidents Rutland (Reid, p. 189), Sussex, Huntingdon, Sheffield and Strafford all did considerable building at the Manor (V.C.H. *York*, pp. 529–530).

On their various visits to York James I¹ and Charles I² lodged in the King's Manor up to 1640, but in 1641³ and 1642, on his last two visits to the city during the events leading up to the civil war, Charles found the Manor disused since the demise of the Council of the North and so not in a fit state to receive him.⁴ On both occasions he accordingly stayed in Sir Arthur Ingram's sumptuous house, part of the former archiepiscopal palace on the north side of the Minster, which besides being comfortable had the additional advantages over the Manor of being doubly safe within the city walls and the Minster precinct, and convenient for access to the royal propaganda printing press in St. William's College, also inside the close (Davies, *York press*, p. 38; Benson, *op. cit.* pp. 28–29; Knight, pp. 452–3). This was from 18 March 1641/2 until 16 August 1642 (Drake, pp. 142, 159; Benson, *op. cit.* pp. 28–31; Knight, pp. 452–4). On his departure from York Charles appointed the first of an irregular series of governors or military commanders of the city, who appear generally to have resided in the King's Manor. These governors, together with one custodian of doubtful status (Essex), were as follows.⁵

1641–2(?)	Robert Devereux, 3rd/21st earl of Essex (claimed on 15 January 1645/6 'That the Custody of the Manor . . . was by his Majesty granted unto him' [<i>L.J.</i> viii, p. 110]; no appointment has been traced, and the reference may be to Essex's succession to Thomas lord Savile, also president of the Council of the North, as lord lieutenant of Yorkshire in August 1641, the same month as the Council and its tenure of the Manor came to an end)
1642 Aug. – 1643	Sir Thomas Glemham
1643 (by Dec.) – 1643/4 Jan.	Sir William Savile (Dugdale-Clay, i, p. 67; Clay, <i>Extinct</i> , p. 193)
1643/4 Jan. – 1644 April	Colonel John Belasyse, from 1645 1st baron Belasyse
1644 April – July	William Cavendish, marquis of Newcastle
1644 July	Sir Thomas Glemham
1644 July – 1645 (June/July)	Ferdinando, 2nd baron Fairfax
1645 Aug. – 1647	Colonel General Sydenham Poyntz
1647 Aug. – 1657	Major General John Lambert
1655 – 1659/60 Jan. 2	Major General Robert Lilburne (above, p. 480), deputy to Lambert and successor
1659/60 Jan. 2–11	Thomas, 3rd baron Fairfax
1659/60 Jan. 11–16	General George Monck, from July 1660 1st duke of Albemarle
1659/60 Jan. 16 – 1660/1	Colonel Charles Fairfax
1660/1 – 1662	Colonel John Scott (Bean, p. 1110)
1663 Aug. – 1664 Jan./Feb.	Colonel John Frescheville, from 1665 baron Frescheville (A. C. Wood, 'John, Lord Frescheville of Staveley', in the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society's <i>Journal</i> , xxxv (= N.S. vi, 1932), pp. 51–63; Sir F. Madden, 'Pedigree of the Frescheville and Musard families', in <i>Collectanea topographica et genealogica</i> , iv (1837), pp. 212–217)

¹ (i) April 1603: John Stowe, *Annales* continued by Edmund Howes (1631), pp. 819–821; Benson, *York*, iii, pp. 15–16; Knight, pp. 439–440; (ii) August 1617, president Sheffield removing to stay with archbishop Young's son Sir George at the Treasurer's House: Gray, *op. cit.* pp. 25–26; Drake, p. 134; John Nichols, *The progresses . . . of King James the first*, iii (1828), pp. 271–4; Benson, *York*, iii, p. 19; Knight, pp. 440–441.

² (i) May 1633: *C.S.P.Dom.* 1633–4, p. 72; [C. Hildyard,] *A list of all the mayors . . . of York* (1664); James Torr, *The antiquities of York city* (1719), p. 98; Drake, pp. 134–5; Benson, *York*, iii, pp. 21–22; Knight, pp. 449–450. (ii) March–April 1639: Hildyard, *op. cit.*; Torr, *op. cit.* pp. 100–101; Drake, p. 137; Benson, *op. cit.* pp. 22, 28; Knight, p. 450. (iii) August–September 1640: Drake, pp. 138–140; *C.S.P.Dom.* 1640, p. 629, and 1640–41, pp. 101, 191. On 13 October 1641 Vice-President Osborne sent Sir Arthur Ingram, secretary of the Council of the North, the account by Francis Watts, Osborne's late secretary, of money spent or owing for repair of the manor house since the king's departure thence in September 1640, and for provisions for his Majesty's access to the manor in the same year and for an allowance to Watts for keeping the house and food since that date, £99 4s. 7d. (H.M.C. *Various collections*, viii (1913), MSS of the hon. Frederick Lindley Wood, p. 55).

³ November 1641: Benson, *op. cit.* p. 23; Knight, pp. 451–2.

⁴ On 4 February 1641/2 Arthur Ingram jun., nephew of Sir Arthur, reported to his uncle that he had taken possession of the king's household stuff at the manor and of the keys, but Watts was keeping the keys of his own lodgings and of the porter's gates (H.M.C. *op. cit.* pp. 57–58). Inventories of the goods in the manor, taken for Sir Arthur as custodian in 1642 and c.1646, survive among the Temple Newsam records (Leeds City archives, TN/YO/D/1, 2).

⁵ Remarkably enough the governors of York appear not to have been listed before. Except for Lilburne, only the names and dates are given here, further details being reserved for separate publication. All except Savile, Scott, Frescheville, Hawley and Brett are in *D.N.B.*

1664 Feb. – July	Francis Lord Hawley (Burke, <i>Extinct</i> , p. 251)
1664 July – 1664/5 Feb.	Sir Edward Brett (Richard Symonds, <i>Diary of the marches of the royal army</i> (Camden Soc. lxxiv, 1869), pp. 3, 55, 63, 242)
1664/5 Feb. – 1665 Aug.	Francis lord Hawley
1665 – 1682	John baron Frescheville
1682–89	Sir John Reresby (<i>D.N.B.</i> ; <i>The memoirs</i> , editions of 1734, 1735, 1875, 1904, 1936; J. M. Collinson, 'Letters to a Yorkshire gentleman, Sir John Reresby' [now in Leeds City archives], in the National Register of Archives, West Riding, Northern Section, <i>Bulletin</i> , ii, 1957–8, pp. 32–49): in 1685 he made a complaint against Christopher Hildyard, steward, and Nicholas Battersby, clerk of the courts of St. Mary's (above pp. 470, 382); in 1687 he protested unsuccessfully against the grant of the lease to Lawson (below), in which he is described as 'governor of the city or keeper of the manor house'; on 28 March 1689, a month after his resignation from the governorship, he was refused, despite the recommendations of Lord Halifax and Lord Nottingham, the keeping of the manor in favour of Waller, backed by Lord Danby (Reresby, <i>Memoirs</i> , 1875, p. 452); he died 12 May following.

After the fire which gutted Clifford's Tower in April 1684 York had nowhere suitable to house a garrison, no fresh governor of the city was appointed (Cooper, pp. 183–5), and the practice of leasing out the manor, which had begun shortly before Reresby's resignation, was continued. As late as the nineteenth century the leases regularly included a reservation to the crown of 'the use and benefit of all such rooms, chambers and places which now have or late have been used and enjoyed by the steward of the said manor of St. Mary there for the keeping of the courts and leets.' A summary list of lessees¹ follows:

1687–8	Henry Lawson of Brough by Catterick, afterwards 2nd baronet, died 1726, for a Benedictine 'college' run by his uncle Dom Francis Lawson, O.S.B., died 1712, in lieu of an appointment to the keepership of the manor, the salary of £6 13s. 4d. not to be payable (P.R.O. LR 1/207, f. 43r–v)
(1689)–1692–8	Alderman Robert Waller, attorney, M.P. for York 1690–95, died intestate 1698; lease for 31 years at 10s. p.a. in succession to Reresby, notwithstanding the lease to Lawson, 16 March 1691/2 (P.R.O. LR 1/207, f. 62r–v; <i>C.Tr.B.</i> ix, 1689–92, ii, p. 749 and iv, p. 1532; Drake, pp. 599–601)
1698 to 17—	Waller's heirs, under his lease; in 1699 they were committing demolition at St. Mary's, and from 1701 to 1736 stone from the site was used for repairs to the gaol at York castle, St. Olave's church, Beverley Minster, and Lendal ferry
[?–1718	Sir William Robinson (1655–1736), 2nd baronet, of Newby; said to have had a lease of the manor (Davies, <i>King's Manor</i> , p. 17), but this is doubtful, though his estate accounts, 1695–1715, kept by Francis Taylor, include the manor (Leeds City archives, NH 2151A)]
1718–49	Sir Tancred Robinson, (1686/7–1754), 3rd baronet, son of Sir William; lease for 26 years at 10s. p.a. from 16 March 1722/3, the date of expiry of Waller's lease, granted 12 August 1718 (P.R.O. LR 1/208, ff. 51r–52r; Leeds City archives, NH 693; <i>C.Tr.B.</i> XXXII, 1718, ii, p. 466)
1749/50–1770	Sir William Robinson (died 1770), 4th baronet, son of Sir Tancred; lease for 31 years at 10s. p.a. from 16 March 1748/9, the date of expiry of his father's lease, granted 29 March 1750 (P.R.O. LR 1/209, ff. 126r–v; Leeds City archives, NH 694)
1770–89	Lady Dorothy Robinson (died 1789), widow of Sir William; lease for 21 years at £2 5s. 6d. p.a. from 1770 and £13 17s. 6d. p.a. from 1780, 27 March 1780, the date of expiry of her husband's lease, equivalent to 31 years from the date of her grant, 24 October 1770 (P.R.O. LR 1/210, ff. 32r–33r; Leeds City archives, NH 695)
[1789–92	Sir Norton Robinson (died 1792), 5th baronet, younger brother and residual heir of Sir William]
(1792–) 1806/7–28	Thomas Philip Robinson, afterwards Weddell (1781–1859), 3rd baron Grantham and (1833) earl de Grey; grandson of Sir Tancred's younger brother Thomas Robinson (c.1700–1770: <i>D.N.B.</i>), 1st baron Grantham, and so heir to Sir Norton; lease for 25½ years from 10 October 1806 at £75 9s. 6d. p.a., equivalent to 31 years from the expiry of Lady Dorothy's lease, granted 23 March 1807 (P.R.O. LR 1/211, ff. 8r–13v; Leeds City archives, NH 696)
1828–1958	Part and subsequently the whole of the site granted to the Yorkshire Philosophical Society at a rent of 20s. p.a., 22 February 1828 (P.R.O. LR 1/211, ff. 151r–152r, plan at MP/J 153); parts of the Manor were sublet, first by Lord Grantham and subsequently by the Society, to the Manor National School for Boys, 1813–1922, and to the Yorkshire School for the Blind, 1834–1958; in 1958 York Corporation took over the entire site, and from 1 January 1962 leased the Manor to the University of York for 99 years at £3250 p.a. (York Corporation, <i>Minutes</i> , 1961–2, pp. 454–5)

¹ Not previously listed; it is hoped that fuller particulars will be published separately.

(k) SOME PRE-DISSOLUTION OFFICIALS

Particulars are given here only of those officials who held office shortly before the dissolution and who have mostly been mentioned above. As regards the earlier medieval officials, discoverable mainly from witness-lists in charters, an outline list of stewards, c.1121–1322, was made by Dodsworth (MS Dods. 140, ff. 29v–30v), and four bailiffs, 1364–94, occur in the Fulford court rolls in the Y.A.S. Library (MS DD 88/1); a list of the abbey's officials in 1285 is in H. H. E. Craster and M. E. Thornton (ed.), *The chronicle of St. Mary's Abbey, York* (S.S. cxlviii, 1934), pp. 23–24.

(i) STEWARDS

?–1535– ? **Sir Leonard Beckwith**

(Above, pp. 366–7.) Occurs as steward c.1535, at a fee of £4 6s. 8d., at the same time that Darcy (below) was chief steward (*Val. eccl.* v, p. 8); in the same year he complained that he had been robbed of, *inter alia*, a grant of a fee of 40s. from St. Mary's, which may refer to this office (above, p. 367; *Yorkshire Star Chamber*, ii, p. 133); re-appointed in 1539 (below).

? – 1537 **Thomas baron Darcy**

(*D.N.B.*: 1467–1537.) Mentioned as chief steward in receipt of a fee of £7, c.1535, at the same time that Beckwith was steward (*Val. eccl.* v, p. 6); forfeited the stewardship by his attainder and execution for his part in the pilgrimage of grace, 30 June 1537 (*L.P.Hen. VIII*, XII, 1537, ii, p. 338); was also steward of St. John's, Pontefract, at a fee of £5 (*Val. eccl.* v, p. 66). His eldest son Sir George, who c.1535 was steward of St. Mary's demesnes at Garforth and Deighton at a fee of £4 (*id.* p. 6), steward of Barnsley for St. John's, Pontefract, at a fee of £1 (*id.* p. 66), and chief steward of Swine Priory at a fee of 13s. 4d. (*id.* p. 114), claimed to have a patent for the chief stewardship of St. Mary's but it could not be found (*L.P.Hen. VIII*, *loc. cit.*).

1537–9(?) **Thomas Cromwell**

(Created baron Cromwell in 1536 and earl of Essex in 1540; 1485 ? – 1540: *D.N.B.*) Commissioner to inspect the smaller monasteries, 1525, and to visit the churches and monasteries, 1535; organised the dissolution of the lesser monasteries, 1536; rewarded with lands confiscated from the greater monasteries, 1538–40; already known in Yorkshire as Wolsey's collector of the revenues of the archbishopric from 1514; in June 1537, when Henry and Cromwell were preparing to visit York, the duke of Norfolk arranged for the latter to stay with Tristram Teshe, the archbishop's registrar (cp. above, p. 467), at whose house Cromwell would be sure of a welcome and a woman (*L.P.Hen. VIII*, XII, 1537, ii, p. 12); Sir George Lawson also offered Cromwell hospitality (*id.* p. 24), but the visit was cancelled (*id.* pp. 26–27, 34); he was begged by the abbey to ask for the stewardship of the king, in whose hands it was by Darcy's attainder, and sent a patent and half a year's fee, 16 March 1537/8 (*id.* XIII, 1538, i, p. 195); Cromwell's patent referred to by Matthew Boynton,¹ 20 May 1539 (*id.* XIV, 1539, i, p. 456); received a fee of £5 for the stewardship from the abbot, 13 May 1539 (*id.* ii, p. 326); received unspecified fees of £5 and £10 from the abbot, 26 May and 8 October 1536 (*id.* XI, 1536, p. 597), 16 March, 17 June and 30 September 1537, 24 March and 15 October 1538, 25 April and 31 October 1539 (*id.* XIV, 1539, ii, pp. 318–327); in 1540 he fell out of favour, was accused of treason, and executed.

1538–9(?) **Sir Thomas Legh**

Visitor of the monasteries in 1535, and energetic suppressor of them in 1538–40; knighted in 1544 (died 1545: *D.N.B.*); appointed steward, 13 May 30 Hen. VIII, 1538, at a fee of £1 6s. 8d. (P.R.O. LR 1/172, f. 66).

1539 **Sir Leonard Beckwith**

(Above, pp. 366–7.) Previously held the stewardship c.1535; re-appointed 4 November 31 Hen. VIII, 1539, at a fee of 40s. (P.R.O. LR 1/172, f. 165); after the dissolution of St. Mary's on 29 November 1539 (above, p. 201) Beckwith tried in vain in December 1539 to prevent William Maunsell from being appointed receiver of the abbey, a post which he felt was rightfully his (above, pp. 373–4).

¹ Occurs as deputy steward to Cromwell, 24/25 April 1539 (*L.P.Hen. VIII*, XIV, 1539, i, p. 307); also as deputy to Cromwell as chief justice of forests from Trent northward, 1 September 1539 (*id.* ii, p. 35).

(ii) BAILIFFS

1536–9 Sir George Lawson

Appointed chief bailiff at a fee of 40s., with his son Thomas (above, p. 473) as assistant bailiff, 6 January 1535/6 (P.R.O. LR 1/172, f. 78); occurs in the office, as chief bailiff at a fee of £6 16s. 8d., c.1535 (*Val. eccl.* v, p. 6), so perhaps the appointment of 1536 was not *de novo*, and again 13 November 1538 (*C.Pat.R.* 1563–6, p. 376). He was of York (Foster, *Visitations*, p. 93; *id.*, *Yorkshire pedigrees*, i, *W.R.*); he was treasurer of Berwick from 1517 (not 1522: *L.P.Hen.VIII*, III, 1515–18, ii, p. 1048) until his death, and a member of the duke of Richmond's council of the north at Sheriff Hutton from 1525 (Reid, pp. 103, 109); he and his wife became members of the Corpus Christi Guild in 1516 (Skaife, *Corpus Christi Guild*, pp. 186–7); in 1524 he was assessed for tax on property worth £200, one of the two richest men in York (*Y.A.J.* iv (1877), p. 172; D. Palliser, *Some aspects of the social and economic history of York in the sixteenth century*, Oxford D.Phil thesis, 1968, pp. 219, 240); he became a freeman of York in 1526–7 (Collins, *York freemen*, i, p. 248), a member of the Merchant Adventurers in 1527, alderman of York in 1527/8 (*York civic records*, iii, p. 112), was fined £20 to be exempt from serving as sheriff in 1528 (Skaife, *loc. cit.*), was M.P. for the city in 1529 (*Return*, i, p. 371; Park, p. 49), lord mayor and escheator of York in 1530 (Drake, p. 364; Collins, *op. cit.* p. 250; D.K. x (1849), p. 55), and was knighted probably in the same year (Metcalf, p. 60; Shaw, ii, p. 46, ? 1527); was J.P. for the West Riding in 1530, 1532, 1538 and 1541 (Palliser, *op. cit.* p. 219); in 1532 he was bound to the city of York for a large quantity of lead (*Yorkshire Star Chamber*, i, pp. 152–4); in 1534 he was royal receiver of the lordship of Wakefield (Skaife, *loc. cit.*); in 1535 he was appointed by the duke of Norfolk to hear Leonard Beckwith's complaints about thefts of his goods (above, p. 367; *Yorkshire Star Chamber*, ii, p. 125); and was a commissioner for the *Valor ecclesiasticus* (Palliser, *op. cit.* p. 219); he led the York deputation to the Pontefract meeting of the pilgrimage of grace, but escaped serious punishment; c.1535 he received a corrody of £7 7s. 4d. from St. Mary's abbey (*Val. eccl.* v, p. 6), and was St. Mary's bailiff of Poppleton at a fee of £1 6s. 8d. (*ibid.*), auditor of St. Leonard's Hospital at a fee of £2 (*id.* p. 18), and steward of Newburgh Priory at a fee of £3 6s. 8d. (*id.* p. 93); in 1536 he was a commissioner for the survey of the lesser monastic houses in Yorkshire (D. Knowles, *The religious orders in England*, iii (1959), p. 479; *L.P.Hen.VIII*, X, 1536, p. 304); in 1537 the duke of Norfolk recommended him to Cromwell as 'in good esteem in these parts and diligent to serve the King' (*L.P.Hen.VIII*, XII, 1537, ii, p. 18); the site of the Augustinian friary¹ next to his house in Lendal, York, was granted to him on 28 June 1539 after his repeated requests, the first dating from before its surrender the previous year (*L.P.Hen.VIII*, XIII, 1538, ii, pp. 295, 387, 487; XIV, 1539, i, p. 449, and ii, p. 111; XV, 1540, pp. 193, 556); he died in 1543 (V.C.H. *York*, pp. 117, n. 7, and 510), and the inventory of his goods records his wealth as £8078 18s. 3d., half being in property and half in debts owed to him (Christopher Hildyard's annotations to his own anonymous *A list . . . of all the mayors . . . of Yorke* (1664), B.M. MS Harl. 6115, p. 121). For his son Thomas's apparent continuation as bailiff after the dissolution, see above, p. 473.

(iii) CORONER

? – 1535 Thomas Clerke

Occurs c.1535 at a fee of £1 (*Val. eccl.* v, p. 6). One of this name was clerk to the York Merchant Adventurers in 1529 (Maud Sellers (ed.), *The York Mercers and Merchant Adventurers* (S.S. cxxix, 1918), p. 132); 'Thomas Clerke, gent., clerk to the Sheriff of York', died in 1550 (*Index of York wills*, 1514–53, p. 40); but the name is a common one.

1536 – ? Thomas Lawson

(Above, p. 473.) Appointed at a fee of 60s., 6 January 1535/6 (P.R.O. LR 1/172, f. 78); paid as coroner in 1557–8 (P.R.O. LR 6/122/7); died 1568.

(iv) STEWARD OF MARSHLAND

? – 1537 Sir Robert Constable

Occurs c.1535 at a fee of £2 (*Val. eccl.* v, p. 7); this is one of the offices listed as his in June 1537 (*L.P.Hen.VIII*, XII, 1537, ii, p. 53); forfeited the office with its fee of £6 13s. 4d. in 1537 for his part in the pilgrimage of grace, being attainted and executed (*id.* pp. 79, 96–97, 488; Lord Herries, 'The Constables of Flamborough', in *The Transactions of the East Riding Antiquarian Soc.* viii (1900), pp. 60–67, spec. p. 67; cp. also Dodds, index); also c.1535 steward of St. Andrew's, Acaster, at a fee of 13s. 4d. (*Val. eccl.* v, p. 20), and chief steward of Warter Priory at a fee of £1 6s. 8d. (*id.* p. 126); born c.1478; knighted 17 June 1497 at the battle of Blackheath (Metcalf, p. 29; Shaw, ii, p. 30); pedigrees in Foster, *Visitations*, pp. 197–8; Dugdale-Clay, ii, pp. 287–294; F. W. Dendy, *Visitations of the north*, ii (S.S. cxxxiii, 1921), pp. 160–161; C. H. Hunter-Blair, *Visitations of the north*, iii (S.S. cxliv, 1930), pp. 159–160; *id.* iv (S.S. cxlvi, 1932), pp. 5–6; W. H. D. Longstaffe (ed.), *Heraldic visitation of the northern counties in 1530, by Thomas Tonge* (S.S. xli, 1863), p. 68; C. B. Norcliffe (ed.), *The visitation of Yorkshire . . . 1563 and 1564, made by William Flower* (Harl. Soc. xvi, 1881), p. 65.

¹ 'The stone, glass, &c.' of the friary were applied for by the council of the north to improve the Dominican friary in Toft Green, York, which they planned to occupy before in fact taking over St. Mary's (*L.P.Hen.VIII*, XIII, 1538, ii, p. 297); a garbled version of this episode is given in Raine, *York civic records*, v, p. vi.

APPENDIX V
THOMAS THOMPSON

By C. B. L. BARR

On 16 July 1644, after the explosion at St. Mary's Tower, '... se extremo mortis periculo exponens Thomas Tomsonus, homo integerrimus, maximam eorum [scriptorum] partem ad Archiua publica Archiepiscopi ebor' adduxisset' (Dodsworth; above, p. 214, and below, Appendix IX). Thompson has not previously been identified (above, pp. 214–5), but there can be no doubt that he was Thomas Thompson, notary public, who both before and after the civil war is found as an official of the diocese of York. A document directed on 24 July 1643 to William Easdall, chancellor of the diocese, exists in a contemporary 'Vera copia ex[aminata] per me Tho: Thompson Notariu[m] Pub[li]cum' (W. Brown, 'Royalist clergy in Yorkshire, 1642–5', in *Miscellanea*, i (Y.A.S. R.S. lxi, 1920), p. 161). On 13 November 1644 the mayor and commonalty of York granted to Thomas Thompson of York, gent., the office of the clerkship or keeping of the Sheriffs' Courts, and as he was not a freeman of the city he was made one and took the oaths (York City records, House book, vol. xxxvi, 1637–50, ff. 111v–112r); he was mentioned as sheriffs' clerk on 17 and 20 January 1644/5 (*id.* ff. 120v, 121r); on 22 February 1647/8 he petitioned for arrears of fees due to him as sheriffs' clerk from two attorneys of the court and was granted them (*id.* f. 215r). He was actuary of the Exchequer and Prerogative Court of York from 10 March 1647/8 until 28 September 1649, and again after the restoration, from 2 November 1660 (Borthwick Institute, R.VII. Exch. A.B.12, 1642–63; Thompson is still actuary when the volume ends, 31 July 1663, but he has disappeared by the time that the next surviving act book, vol. 13, 1668–70, begins on 25 September 1668). In 1662 'Mr. Tompson, deputy Register to Dr. Levett', had custody of the ancient volume of the Minster statutes (Borthwick Institute, R.VI.B.1, Archbishop Frewen's visitation of the Dean & Chapter, 1662, an unsigned 'reply to Dr. Neile's answer'). In 1663 he is said to have shared with John Stanhopp the office of registrar (C. I. A. Ritchie, *The ecclesiastical courts of York* (1956), p. 52; but the authority there cited is an incorrect reference). On 29 March 1664, as part of the proceedings on the death of Archbishop Accepted Frewen the day before, he appeared before the Dean and Chapter as actuary of the registrar of the Exchequer and Prerogative Court and holder of its keys (Y.M.L., D. & C. muniments, Chapter acts, 1634–1700, part ii, f. 40r). Under the commonwealth he held, and on 11 January 1660/1 he surrendered to the Dean and Chapter and on payment of a fine of £20 he leased back from them for forty years at an annual rent of £2, a house immediately to the south of the Minster and adjacent to it and on the north side of the Minster Yard, between a house formerly in the possession of Henry Swinburne, Ll.B., on the east and the Minster masons' lodge or 'plaister kilne' on the west, with the use of 'the masons' well' (*id.* Register of leases, &c., 1640–1702, part ii, ff. 9v–10r; the house is referred to in Borthwick Institute, R.VI.B.1, Archbishop Frewen's visitation of the Dean & Chapter, 1662, at least four times; in 1642 a 'Mr. Thomas Tompson, Stonegate', was assessed in St. Michael le Belfrey parish: Parish account book, 2, in Y.M.L.). Thompson mentions the house in his will as then inhabited by 'my Gossip M^r. Parker' and 'his sonne and my godsonne Thomas Parker', and it is a Francis Parker who pays the £2 annual rent from 1667 on (Y.M.L., D. & C. muniments, Chamberlains' accounts, 1667–81; there is a hiatus in the series before 1667; 'Mr. Francis Parker, Minster Yeard', was assessed in St. Michael le Belfrey parish in 1642: Parish account book, 2, in Y.M.L.). He is probably the same Thomas Thompson who occurs as steward of the court leet and court baron of the manor of Acomb from 1656 to 1664 (H. Richardson (ed.), *Court rolls of the manor of Acomb*, i (Y.A.S. R.S. cxxxi, 1969), pp. 156–166). Two different notarial signs of Thomas Thompson of York, notary, are found, each with the motto *Veritatem in lucem profero*, one in 1647 and 1664, the other in 1660/61 (J. S. Purvis, *Notarial signs* (1957), pl. 91). 'Thomas Thompson of the Citty of Yorke, Publiq; Notarie', made his will on 14 May 1668, and it was proved on 22 July 1669 (Borthwick Institute, Wills, vol. 50 B, ff. 298r–299r; *Index of York wills*, 1666–72, p. 101). He appears to have been unmarried, or at any rate to have left no widow or children; 'all my bookes' are bequeathed to his nephew and godson, also named Thomas Thompson. The beneficiaries include two people whom he will have known from his duties in the ecclesiastical courts, 'Mrs. Swinburne', presumably the widow of Thompson's neighbour, Henry Swinburne (died 1623), commissary of the Exchequer and judge of the Prerogative Court at York (*D.N.B.*; Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 377), and 'my very good ffriend Doctor Levet', i.e., John Levet(t) Ll.D., who acted as commissary or custodian general of the Prerogative Court on 23 April 1642 and 31 July 1663, and on 20 August 1663 was appointed substitute and surrogate of Thomas Burwell, vicar general in spiritualities and official principal of the Consistory Court, continuing to hold both offices until 1673 (Borthwick Institute, R.VII.Exch.A.B. 12, 1642–63, 13, 1668–70, and 14, 1670–73; and R.VII.Cons.A.B. 76, 1661–3, f. 267v (appointment) and *passim* thereafter, and 77–80, 1663–72). Thompson is doubtless also the recipient of 'Liber practice in Registrario alicuius Episcopi', a fifteenth-century ecclesiastical legal formulary from Lincoln now in York Minster Library (MS Add. 22; the title quoted is on f. 5v) which contains the inscription 'for my good ffreinde M^r Thomas Thompson Keeper of y^e Records att Yorke from ffairfax' (fol. ii v). The writing is that of Thomas, 3rd baron Fairfax, the general, who held the title and will have signed in the above style from 1648 to 1671. Another inscription, 'Willm̃i ffothergill' (f. ii r), provides a link with a predecessor of Thompson's: the earlier owner was probably the William Fothergill, notary public, who acted in a number of capacities in the ecclesiastical courts of York from the 1560's until his death early in the seventeenth century (Ritchie, *op. cit.*, cp. index, p. 241; *Index of York wills*, 1603–1611, p. 41; Purvis, *op. cit.* pl. 83).

APPENDIX VI

DOCUMENTS ISSUED FROM ST. MARY'S TOWER

By B. A. ENGLISH AND C. B. L. BARR

A. Certified copies

(i) Undated [c.1543–69 (?)]

Copy *penes* John Belwood, vicar of St. Olave's, York,¹ of an instrument whereby Nicholas de Esingwald,² clerk, proctor of St. Mary's Abbey, appeals to the court of York in proxy for the court of Rome that the parishioners of St. Olave's should not make their church parochial, to the prejudice of the Abbey, 4 February 1390/91; drawn up in York Minster by Adam de Wygan,³ clerk, of the diocese of Lichfield, notary public (with his notarial sign), and witnessed by M. John Chesterfeild, priest, and M. William Killerwike, curate, proctor of York; 'Examinat(ur) et concordat cum originali. Thomas Herbert. James Herbert.'

Sources: (a) Transcript made for Roger Dodsworth, MS Dods. 50, f. 7r–v; (b) an English summary, without the Herberts' certification and probably independent of Dodsworth, in Sir Thomas Widdrington, *Analecta Eboracensia*, 1660 (B.M., MS Egerton 2578), ed. by Caesar Caine (1897), p. 239; (c) the same, from Widdrington's MS, in Francis Drake, *Eboracum* (1736), p. 581.

(ii) Undated [c.1543–69 (?)]

Copy, apparently also *penes* John Belwood, of letters patent of Robert de Oxton,⁴ commissary general of the court of York, declaring that in the consistory court of York, sitting in 'the greater church of York', 15 July 1398, he found Joan Parcs, Agnes Candeler and Matilda Bell guilty of clandestinely burying John [blank] at St. Oswald's, Fulford, instead of at St. Olave's, York; drawn up by Roger de Cathericke, clerk, of the diocese of York, notary public (with his notarial sign),⁵ and witnessed by MM. John Colaton, Robert Raginhill,⁶ advocates of the court of York, John Stanton,⁷ John Whittingham, John Shittlebottill,⁸ Robert Easingwald,⁹ proctors of the same court; 'Examinat(ur) et concordat cum Originali quantum per nos possibile. Thomas Herbert. per me Jacobum Herbert.'

Sources: (a) Transcript made for Roger Dodsworth, MS Dods. 50, ff. 8r–9r; (b) an English summary, without the Herberts' certification and probably independent of Dodsworth, in Widdrington, *op. cit.* pp. 239–240; (c) reprinted in Drake, pp. 581–2.

. The English form 'James' in the certification of document (i) and the damage to (ii) shown by a lacuna in the text and by the words 'quantum per nos possibile' in the certification show that the copies certified by Thomas and James Herbert are not contemporary and probably post-reformation. The notarial signs and the damage further suggest that the copies were made not from the court books but from individual documents; these would most probably be among the St. Mary's Abbey records in the house of evidences. It is suggested above (p. 369) that the surname of the two certifying officials may point to the period at which John Herbert was an official in the abbey, c.1543–69.

¹ Vicar, 1622–55/8 (above, p. 369, n. 3).

² Possibly the Nicholas Brown de Esyngwald, clerk, notary public, whose notarial sign (1361) is reproduced by J. S. Purvis, *Notarial signs from the York archiepiscopal records* (1957), pl. 23.

³ Adam Wygan, clerk, was instituted to the rectory of St. Saviour's, York, on the presentation of the abbot and convent of St. Mary's, 10 June 1394 (Reg. Abp Thomas Arundel, f. 47r), and he retained the position till his death; he was granted licence to study at an English university on 26 September 1398 (Reg. Scrope, f. 17), and licence to go to Rome on 12 June 1399 (*C.Cl.R.* 1396–9, p. 472); his will, dated 20 April and proved 2 July 1433, shows that he had a well-stocked library and was probably of Balliol College, Oxford (J. Raine (ed.), *Testamenta Eboracensia*, ii (S.S. xxx, 1855), pp. 25–26; A. B. Emden, *Biographical register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, iii (1959), p. 2107).

⁴ He became rector of St. Phillock, Cornwall, by exchange, July 1394, and of Burton Fleming, Yorkshire, 29 July 1394 (Emden, *Biographical register of the University of Cambridge to 1500* (1963), p. 470); he was a legate and executor of Stephen Scrope, archdeacon of Richmond, in 1418 (J. Raine (ed.), *Testamenta Eboracensia*, i (S.S. iv, 1836), pp. 388–9).

⁵ Reproduced from another document in Purvis, *op. cit.* pl. 47 (1411).

⁶ The will of Robert Ragenhill, advocate of the court of York, 1430, is printed in J. Raine (ed.), *Testamenta Eboracensia*, iii (S.S. xlv, 1864), pp. 89–90.

⁷ The notarial sign of John de Staunton is reproduced in Purvis, *op. cit.* pl. 37 (1390); one of the same name was keeper of the spiritualities of the prebend of Strensall in 1416.

⁸ Two versions of the notarial sign of John de Shibotyll, notary public, dioc. Dunelm, are reproduced in Purvis, *op. cit.* pl. 43–44 (1404–5).

⁹ The will of M. Robert Esyngwald, proctor of the court of York, 1443, is printed in Raine, *Testamenta Eboracensia*, ii, pp. 90–92; his notarial sign is reproduced in Purvis, *op. cit.* pl. 38.

(iii) Undated [1603–13]

Copies of three charters relating to Kirkstall Abbey and Haverholm Priory: (a) Grant by Adam son of Peter to Haverholm Priory of land etc. at Horsforth etc.; 'Ex(aminatu)r, et Concordat cu(m) Original(i) script(o) p(re)dict(o) inter Evidenc(ias) d(omi)ni Regis in Custod(ia) mea remanen(ti), [original signature] Edw. Beseley'; (b) grant by Haverholm to Kirkstall of land etc. at Horsforth etc.; 'Ex(aminatu)r et Concordat cu(m) Original(i) script(o) p(re)dict(o) inter Evid(e)nc(ias) d(omi)ni Regis nup(er) Monaster(ii) p(re)d(icti) in Custod(ia) mea remanen(ti), [original signature] Edw. Beseley'; (c) confirmation by Adam son of Peter of the grant (b) above; 'Concordat cu(m) Originali inter evidenc(ias) d(omi)ni Regis nup(er) Monaster(ii) p(re)dict(i) remanen(ti), Ex(aminatu)r p(er) [original signature] Edw. Beseley'. One of the three is endorsed 'Records for Horsforth out of St. Mary's round tower at York.'

Sources: (a) Bradford, Cartwright Hall, Spencer Stanhope MSS 463, 464, 465, with the subscriptions and endorsement given above; (b) Kirkstall Abbey cartulary, P.R.O. DL 42/7, ff. 21r–v, giving the texts of the three charters, without the witness lists or, of course, the subscriptions; (c) W. T. Lancaster and W. P. Baildon (ed.), *Theoucher book of the Cistercian abbey of Kirkstall* (Thoresby Soc. viii, 1904), pp. 67–70, nos. lxxxix–xci, printed from (b); (d) John Stevens, *The history of the antient abbeys*, ii (1723), pp. 264–5, in English translation, with witness lists and a note of attestation by Edward Beseley, the keeper of the records of York; (e) Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.*, new ed., vii, pp. 949–950, nos. ii–iv, from (d); (f) *E.Y.C.* iii, pp. 479–481, nos. 1871–2, giving the Latin text of the first and third charters from (b) and (c) and adding the witness lists apparently latinised from (d).

* * John Stanworth or Stanhope acquired part of the Kirkstall property in Horsforth c.1566; his descendant Sir Walter Spencer Stanhope was lord of the manor of Horsforth in 1909: W. T. Lancaster, 'The early history of Horsforth', in *Miscellanea*, v (Thoresby Soc. xv, 1909), pp. 238–9.

(iv) Undated [(a) apparently 1603–13; (b) again, 1613–25]

Copy of a confirmation, c.1160–62, by William, count of Aumale, to the monks of St. Martin of Aumale, of gifts of his ancestors in Holderness, contained in an *inspeximus* by abbot Hugh II of St. Peter of Sélincourt, 1287; in a volume of transcripts of the evidences of Sir William Constable of Burton Constable; 'Examinatur cum eodem Originali in custodia Thome Sandwith remanenti in eadem Turri beate Marie, per me Johannem Kyrton. Examinatur et concordat cum originale remanenti in Custodia Edwardi Beeseley inter evidencias Domini Regis nuper Monasterij apud Turrem beate Marie iuxta muros Ciuitatis Ebor, per Johannem Lomley deputatum Edwardi Beeseley gen. in presentia Willelmi Ranke clerici et Georgij Johnson seruientis dicti Edwardi Beeseley.'

Sources: (a) British Museum, MS Add. 26,736, f. 52r–v (formerly pp. 97–98); (b) the *inspeximus* printed, the certification in abstract, in *E.Y.C.* iii, pp. 35–37, no. 1307.

* * The words 'in eadem Turri' show that Sandwith's certification, despite its position, was made after Beseley's.

John Lomley witnesses an inventory drawn up in St. Mary's Tower in 1615 (below, B (iii)), and purchases property in York from Beseley's son William in 1614 (above, p. 376). William Ranck(e) was appointed vicar of Preston in Holderness on 20 September 1599 (Y.M.L., D. & C. muniments, Chapter acts, 1565–1634, f. 340v; Subscription book, 1571–1679, same date, an autograph entry, signed) and succeeded in that position, vacant by his death, on 2 April 1622 (Chapter acts, 1565–1634, f. 586r); his will, dated 18 February 1621/2, the inventory of his goods, dated 15 April 1622, and the bond of probate, dated 21 April 1623, survive at the Borthwick Institute (*Index of York wills, Consistory*, p. 21, wrongly printing 'Raucke').

(v) Undated [c.1618]

Copy of a confirmation by Richard II to Kirkstall Abbey of a licence granted by letters patent of Edward III (at an unspecified date) to hold in mortmain lands at Burley in Wharfedale, Allerton Gledhow, Horsforth, Pontefract, Seacroft, Rawdon, and Bramley, of an annual value of £20, dated 18 November 1377; 'Exa(m)i(n)atur et Concordat cu(m) original' remanen(t)' inter Euidenc(ias) D(omi)ni Regis apud Turrem siue Pallaciu(m) s(an)c(t)e Marie Ebor, per me [original signature] Thomam Sandwith, Custod(em) Euidenc(iarum) ib(ide)m'; used by a member of the Calverley family in a lawsuit over lands at Burley in Wharfedale, c.1618.

Source: Leeds Central Library, Archives Department, Reference Library Collection, Y 48 (acquired in 1898, one of a group of documents apparently connected with the Calverley charters in the British Museum).

(vi) Undated [c.1618]

Copy of an arbitration award by William Lee (Legh) of Middleton, Rauffe (Raph) Hopton of Armley, Thomas Gryce, and William Tanckard (Tanckerd), 'lerner in the law of the land'. in a dispute between John, abbot of Kirkstall, and Sir Walter Calverley of Calverley, concerning land at Burley in Wharfedale, 18 January 1531/2; certified as no. (v) above; endorsed 'Burley' and 'Award'.

Source: Leeds Central Library, Archives Department (as no. (v) above), Y 50.

. Another copy of the same original, certified by Henry Sandwith, is no. (xii) below. For Thomas Grice of Wakefield see above, p. 204, n. 12.

(vii) 1619

Copies of four court rolls of manors belonging to the Prior of St. John of Jerusalem, Newland Preceptory, viz. (a) 'Bynglay' (Bingley), Monday the morrow of the Invention of the Holy Cross, 1315 (Monday 5 May, but the Invention is 3 May); 'Gairgraue' (Gargrave), Tuesday next (6 May); (b) 'Pudsey' (Pudsey), Wednesday after Easter, 20 Edw. III (19 April 1346); 'Bynglay', Thursday next (20 April); 'Gairgraue', Friday next (21 April); 'Crosley' (Crossley), Saturday next (22 April); (c) 'Pudsey', Sunday before Michaelmas, 21 Edw. III (23 September 1347); 'Bynglay', Monday next (24 September); 'Gairgraue', Tuesday next (25 September); 'Heton' (Heaton), Wednesday 'before St. Wilfrid' (10 October, but Wilfrid is perhaps an error for Michael, i.e. 26 September); (d) 'Pudsey', Thursday before St. Wilfrid, 24 Edw. III (7 October 1350); 'Crosley', Friday next (8 October); 'Bynglay', Friday (8 October); 'Gairgraue', Saturday next (9 October). Each of the four is subscribed, with slight differences, 'Vera Copia Originaliu(m) remanent(ium) inter evidencias d(omi)ni Reg(is) apud turre(m) s(anc)te Marie Ebor in custodia Thomae Sandwith et examinata decimo die Martij 1618 p(er) nos Richard Sunderland, Samuell Pollard, William Wirley. Exa(m)i(n)atur et concordat cu(m) original' remanen(t)' inter Eviden(cias) d(omi)ni Regis ap(u)d turre(m) s(an)c(t)e Marie Ebor p(er) me Thomam Sandwith Custod(em) Eviden(ciarum) ib(ide)m'.

Sources: (a) Bradford, Cartwright Hall, Ferrand¹ MS E 43; (b) 19th-century transcript from 'the evidences of St. Ives' (the Ferrand residence at Bingley) in York Minster Library, D. & C. muniments, F 6 (formerly Hailstone collection, AA.9.14).

. The Bingley rolls for 1346 (given as 1345), 1347 and 1350 are printed in English translation by J. Horsfall Turner, *Ancient Bingley* (1897), p. 113. The Heaton rolls were apparently unknown to William Cudworth when writing *Manningham, Heaton, and Allerton* (1896), and to E. W. Crossley, 'The preceptory of Newland', in *Miscellanea*, iv (Y.A.S. R.S. xciv, 1937), pp. 159–165, those of Pudsey to Simeon Rayner, *The history & antiquities of Pudsey* (1887), and those of Bingley, Pudsey and Crosley to E. W. Crossley, *op. cit.* pp. 144–159.

A probable date for the making of the Hailstone transcripts is supplied by another document accompanying them in the same packet and on the same paper (watermarked '1845'). The original of this is also in Ferrand MS E 43. It is a copy of court rolls of 'Pudsey, Byngley, Gayrgrave, Bateley, Heton, Pudsey, Wittekyrke' (Whitkirk), Michaelmas term, 1338, subscribed 'Vera copia concordans cu(m) original' examinat' per nos. Richard Sunderland, Abrah: Sowden, Samuell Pollard, J. Midgley, J. Midgley junior, Rob'tum Illingworth, Joh'em Sagar', and endorsed 'Copied out of Mr. Bunnye's Rolls, 29 Jan. 1877.' The Bingley section is printed in translation by Turner, *op. cit.* p. 112; the Heaton and Pudsey sections were unknown to Cudworth and Rayner, the Pudsey, Bingley and Heaton sections to Crossley, and the Batley and Whitkirk sections to Michael Sheard, *Records of the parish of Batley* (1894), p. 241, and G. M. Platt & J. W. Morkill, *Records of the parish of Whitkirk* (1892), p. 102.

The signatories are all landholders in the Bradford area, and they and their relatives regularly witnessed one another's deeds and certified copies, e.g. a deed confirming land at Gilstead, Bingley, to Richard Pollard and John Rawson, 1598, 'a copy agreeing with the original examined by Jer. Rawson, Jo. Sagar, Jo. Illingworth' (1670 ?).² A John Sagar was steward of Henry Marsden, lord of the manor of Allerton cum Wilsden, 1668 and 1670, and the jury at the courts included Thomas and William Midgley.³ Richard Sunderland is the person of that name of Coley who in 1615 received a warrant to obtain original deeds etc. from St. Mary's Tower;⁴ he was a justice of the peace and treasurer for maimed soldiers, and died at Halifax in 1634.⁵ Pollard is another family from the Bradford-Halifax area, but Wirley apparently is not. Thus the first two of the three witnesses are not likely to be clerks of the keeper of evidences, and caution is required in making deductions about the keeper's staff from the witness lists.⁶

¹ The Ferrand family were inappropriate rectors with the right of proving wills in succession to the Preceptory as late as 1795: W. Cudworth, *Round about Bradford* (1876), pp. 498–9; S. Rayner, *The history and antiquities of Pudsey* (1887), p. 207.

² William Robertshaw (ed.), *West Yorkshire deeds* (Bradford Historical & Antiquarian Soc., Local record series, 2, 1936), no. 62, pp. 21–22.

³ Y.M.L., D. & C. muniments, F 6 (formerly Hailstone collection AA.9.12) (original).

⁴ Below, appx III B (iii).

⁵ J. Horsfall Turner, *Ancient Bingley* (1897), pp. 217–18; Turner (ed.), *Yorkshire genealogist*, i (1888), pp. 208–13; Turner (ed.), *The life of Captain Hodgson*, p. 10; Turner, *The history of Brighouse, Rastrick, and Hipperholme, with manorial notes on Coley*, etc. (1893), passim; Dugdale-Clay, i, p. 96; E. J. & W. J. Walker, *Chapters in the early registers of Halifax parish church* (1885), index; E. W. Crossley (ed.), *The parish registers of Halifax, 1538–93*, 2 vols. (Y.P.R.S. xxxvii, xlv; 1910–14), indices. For two copies certified by Richard Sunderland, one of them not before 1630, see Y.A.J. xviii (1903), pp. 114–115.

⁶ See above, p. 233, with n. 6.

Other documents in the same packet in the Hailstone collection include the following: (1) a detached flyleaf from a printed book inscribed 'Thomas Stanhope booke' and 'Thomas Stanhope his Booke bought An^o 1666'. (2) A paper book containing 16/17th-century copies of court rolls of the prior of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England, preceptory of Newland,¹ Sir Thomas Newport, bailiff, held 14, 15(2), 17, 18, 19(2), 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 28, 29, 9, 10, 13, 30, 32, 33, 34 Henry VIII (1517/18 – 1542/3); on the last leaf is this autograph letter:

S(i)r, I would have them entered as they were kept, w(i)th the style at lardge & all the p(ro)seedings in eu(er)y Court & who were steward there [? then], And to be exsamoned w(i)th the originalls, either by youre self if you please or your stewards hand at them at the last Court for all or seu(er)all if you please, the Courts [?] onle are theise vizt. An(n)o R(egni) Regis Henrij octavij [sic] (viiij^o ix^o 10^o 13^o 14^o xv^o xvij^o xviiij^o xix^o xx^o xxj^o xxij^o xxiiij^o xxvj^o [the next five numbers added above the line] 30 31 32 33 34. I would have some xxxth leaves of the beginninge of the Book lefte (to enter all my ould Bukes in, & in the 27. 28 & 29 I would have 3 leaves lefte to writt some Courts th(a)t I have, And so I do wish, yours to Comaund, Fra: Bunny.²

The book (9 leaves) is stitched into an incomplete vellum certificate by Robert Burnet of York, merchant, and Anne Aykroyde, his wife, daughter of John Aykroyde, late of 'Folkerthorpe', Yorkshire, deceased, of the receipt of money from Richard Sunderland of 'Coldley hall', executor of Christopher Sowden of 'Owstroppe'.

(viii) 1619

Copy of five court rolls of manors belonging to the Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, Newland Preceptory, viz. (a) 'Heton' (Heaton), Monday before SS. Simon & Jude, 21 Edw. IV (22 October 1481); (b) 'Hallefeld' (Hellifield), Tuesday before St. Luke, 22 Edw. IV (15 October 1482); (c) 'Byngley' (Bingley), Thursday before St. Luke, 22 Edw. IV (17 October 1482); (d) 'Byngley', 4 July, 1 Hen. VII (1486); (e) 'Hallefeld', 5 July, 1 Hen. VII (1486). Subscribed 'Verae Copiae original' remanent' apud turrem S(an)c(t)e marie Ebor in custodia Tho: Sandwith custodis evidenciar(um) ib(ide)m et exa(mina)tae decimo die Martij 1618 per nos [Richard Sunderland *deleted*] Samuell Pollard, Will. Wirley; Exa(m)i(n)atur et concordat cu(m) original' remanent' inter Eviden(cias) d(omi)ni Regis ap(u)d turrem s(an)c(t)e marie Ebor p(er) me Thomam Sandwith custod(em) Eviden(ciarum) ib(ide)m'.

Source: York Minster Library, Dean & Chapter muniments, F 6 (formerly Hailstone collection, AA.9.13).

* * The Heaton and Hellifield rolls (a), (b), (e) are printed in English translation by E. W. Crossley, 'The preceptories of the Knights Hospitallers', in *Miscellanea*, v (Y.A.S. R.S. xciv, 1937), pp. 160–161, 165–6. The two Bingley rolls (c) and (d) are printed in English translation by J. Horsfall Turner, *Ancient Bingley* (1897), pp. 113–114. A copy of the same five rolls certified by Henry Sandwith is no. (xi) below.

(ix) Undated [1613–25]

A paper volume of 26 pages, containing about 60 transcripts or summaries of deeds relating to Deighton, near Escrick, E.R., entitled 'Abridgment of St. Maryes Recordes', subscribed 'Ex(aminatu)r et Concordat cu(m) Originali remanen(ti) int(er) Eviden(cias) d(omi)ni Reg(is) ap(u)d Turrim s(an)c(t)e Marie iuxta Ebor, per me Thoma(m) Sandwith Custod(e)m Eviden(ciarum) ib(ide)m'.

Source: Beverley, East Riding County Record Office, DDBH/3 (documents of the Baines family of Bell Hall, Naburn).³

(x) Undated [1613–25]

Copy of a survey of the lands of the abbey of Aumale in Holderness; 'Haec sub manu Johannis Kyrton autographi sunt exarata.'

Sources: (a) British Museum, MS Add. 26,736, ff. 52v–53r (old pp. 98–99); (b) noted in *E.Y.C.* iii, p. 37, no. 1307, note.

* * Kyrton performed the examination of no. (iv) above, *tempore* Thomas Sandwith.

¹ Not known to E. W. Crossley, 'The preceptory of Newland', in *Miscellanea*, i (Y.A.S. R.S. lxi, 1920), pp. 1–83, and in *Y.A.J.* xxxv (1943), pp. 139–156.

² Francis Bunny, 1543–1617, prebendary of Durham 1572, archdeacon of Northumberland 1573–8, rector of Ryton, Durham, 1578–1617; his father was of Wakefield (*D.N.B.*). For his family see W. H. D. Longstaffe (ed.), *Heraldic visitation of the northern counties in 1530, by Thomas Tonge* (S.S. xli, 1863), p. 82; Frederick Walter Dendy (ed.), *Visitations of the north*, ii (S.S. cxxxiii, 1921), p. 171; Foster, *Visitations*, p. 77; Dugdale-Davies, p. 279; Dugdale-Clay, i, p. 47; *Y.A.J.* iii (1875), pp. 8–25.

³ The Baines family also owned Deighton Hall, not far from Naburn, a former estate of St. Mary's Abbey: J. J. Sheahan & T. Whellan, *History and topography of the city of York . . . and the East Riding*, ii (1856), pp. 619, 626. This book is singled out as 'of particular value in this collection' in *Brief guide to the contents of the East Riding County Record Office*, 3rd ed. (1966), p. 11.

(xi) Undated [1613–36]

Copy of the same five court rolls as in no. (viii) above, subscribed ‘Copia original’ remane(n)t’ inter Evidencias d(omi)ni Regis p(er) me Henricu(m) Sandwith’.

Sources: (a) Bradford, Cartwright Hall, Ferrand MS E 43; (b) nineteenth-century transcript (? 1877, see no. (vii) above) in York Minster Library, Dean & Chapter muniments, F 6 (formerly Hailstone collection, AA.9.14).

_ The copy at no. (viii) above is certified by Thomas Sandwith in 1619. For other documents in the same bundle in the Hailstone collection see no. (vii) above.

(xii) Undated [1613–36]

Copy of an arbitration award between the Abbot of Kirkstall and Sir Walter Calverley, concerning a dispute over land in Burley in Wharfedale, made 28 January 1532; certified copy by Henry Sandwith.

Sources: (a) Leeds, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Library (Middleton collection), MD 59, 1, Abbeys No. 15; (b) summarised in (Sir) Charles Travis Clay (ed.), *Yorkshire deeds*, iv (Y.A.S. R.S. lxv, 1924), pp. 35–36, no. 123.

_ Another copy of the same original, certified by Thomas Sandwith, is no. (vi) above.

(xiii) Undated [1613–36]

Copy of an appeal by the nuns of Sinningthwaite Priory to the Pope against the Archbishop of York, for presuming to visit their priory, contrary to the privileges of the Cistercian order; ‘Examinatur et concordat cum originali remanente inter evidencias domini regis apud turrem sive pallatium sancte Marie, extra muros civitatis Ebor, per me Henricum Sandwith [*sic*] custodem ibidem evidentiary. Et hoc transcriptum ad literam concordat cum exemplari supradicto.’

Sources: (a) John Stevens, *The history of the antient abbeys*, ii (1723), p. 58, and appx, pp. 292–3, no. cccvii, from the original *penes* Sir Walter Calverley of Calverley; hence (b) *Monasticon Anglicanum*, new ed., v, p. 464, no. v.

(xiv) Undated [1613–36]

Copy of confirmation of Henry II to Sinningthwaite of lands etc. given by Bertram Haget; ‘Exa(m)i(n)atur et concordat cu(m) origin(al)’ remanen(t)’ inter Eviden(cias) d(omi)ni Regis ap(u)d Turre(m) siue Pallac(ium) s(an)c(t)e Marie extra muros ciuitatis Ebor, per me Henricum Sandwith custod(em) Eviden(ciarum) ib(ide)m’.

Sources: (a) Leeds Central Library, Archives Department, Stansfield muniments 868 (original signature, ‘per me Henricu(m) Sandwith’); (b), *ib.*, Stansfield muniments 869 b/5 (copy signature); (c) a later seventeenth-century transcript, Bradford, Cartwright Hall, Spencer Stanhope MS 462 (copy signature); (d) Stevens, *op. cit.* ii, appx, p. 296, no. cccxiv, from a MS *penes* Sir Walter Calverley; hence (e) *Monasticon Anglicanum*, new ed., v, p. 468, no. xiii.

(xv) Undated [1613–36]

Copy of bull of Alexander III confirming grants of land at Esholt, etc., to Sinningthwaite Priory, 18 December 1172; certification similar to no. (xiv) above.

Sources: (a) Printed from a MS *penes* John Stanhope of Horsforth in *Mon. Angl.* i, pp. 828–9 = v, pp. 465–6, no. vi; (b) Carlo Cocquelines (ed.), *Bullarium: privilegiorum ac diplomatum Romanorum pontificum amplissima collectio*, ii (1739; repr. as *Magnum bullarium Romanum*, I, ii, 1964), p. 423, no. lxiv; (c) Alexander III, *Opera omnia*, ed. J.P. Migne (Patrologia Latina, cc, 1855), col. 890–891, no. mviii; (d) A. Tommasetti, *Bullarium*, ii (1858), p. 756, no. lxiv; (e) noted in Philipp Jaffé, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum* (1851), p. 751, no. 8180 = 2nd ed., by W. Wattenbach, S. Loewenfeld, F. Kaltenbrunner, P. Ewald (1881–8, 2 vols), ii, p. 242, no. 12170.

_ The text of this document is identical with the first part of the following item (xvi), and it may be wondered if this is not merely an incomplete copy of the longer text.

(xvi) Undated [1613–36]

Copy of bull of Alexander III confirming the same grants of land as in (xv) above, in the same words, and adding the grant of privileges, to Sinningthwaite Priory, 18 December 1172; certification similar to no. (xiv) above.

Sources: (a) Leeds Central Library, Archives Department, Stansfield muniments, 869 a (original signature, ‘per me Henricu(m) Sandwith’); (b) *ib.*, Stansfield muniments, 869 b/1–2 (copy signature, ‘Sandwith’); (c) a later seventeenth-century transcript, Bradford, Cartwright Hall, Spencer Stanhope MS 462 (copy signature, ‘Sandwith’); (d) printed from a MS *penes* Sir Walter Calverley of Calverley in Stevens, *op. cit.* ii, appx, pp. 293–4, no. cccviii; (e) *Mon. Angl.*, new ed., v, p. 466, no. vii, from a MS *penes* John Stanhope; (f) *E.Y.C.* i, pp. 167–8, no. 200 (from Stevens).

(xvii) Undated [1613–36]

Copy of bull of Lucius III confirming the privilege of admitting the testimony of Cistercians in all causes, granted by Alexander [III] to Sinningthwaite Priory, 24 November [1184]; certification similar to (xiv) above.

Sources: (a) Leeds Central Library, Archives Department, Stansfield muniments, 871; (b) printed from a MS *penes* Sir Walter Calverley in Stevens, *op. cit.* ii, appx, p. 295, no. cccxi, and (c) from a MS *penes* John Stanhope in *Mon. Angl.*, new ed., v, p. 467, no. x; (d) noted in Philipp Jaffé, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum*, 2nd ed., by W. Wattenbach, etc. (1881–8, 2 vols), ii, p. 470, no. 15121.

(xviii) Undated [1613–36]

Copy of an *insepeximus* by P.¹ abbot of Fountains of a bull of Lucius III confirming the privileges granted and grants of land confirmed by Alexander [III] and Gregory [VII] to Sinningthwaite Priory, 29 November '1084' [an error for 1184]; certification similar to (xiv) above.

Sources: (a) Leeds Central Library, Archives Department, Stansfield muniments, 870 (original signature, 'per me Henricum Sandwith'); (b) *ib.*, Stansfield muniments, 869 b/3–4 (copy signature, 'Sandwith'); (c) a later seventeenth-century transcript, Bradford, Cartwright Hall, Spencer Stanhope MS 462 (copy signature, 'Sandwith'); (d) printed from a MS *penes* Sir Walter Calverley in Stevens, *op. cit.* ii, appx, pp. 294–5, no. cccx; (e) from a MS *penes* John Stanhope in *Mon. Angl.*, new ed., v, pp. 466–7, no. viii; (f) noted in Philipp Jaffé, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum*, 2nd ed., by W. Wattenbach, etc. (1881–8, 2 vols), ii, p. 470, no. 15125.

(xix) Undated [1613–36]

Copy of bull of Gregory [VII] confirming the privileges of Sinningthwaite Priory, 7 June 1083; certification similar to no. (xiv) above.

Sources: (a) Leeds Central Library, Archives Department, Stansfield muniments, 871 a (copy signature, 'p(er) me Henricu(m) Sandw(i)th'); (b) printed from a MS *penes* Sir Walter Calverley in Stevens, *op. cit.* ii, appx, p. 294, no. cccix, and (c) from a manuscript *penes* John Stanhope in *Mon. Angl.*, new ed., v, p. 467, no. ix.

. Attributed by Stevens and *Mon. Angl.* to Gregory VIII, but (a) the bull is dated 'Pontificatus nostri anno decimo' and Gregory VIII was pope for less than two months in 1187, and (b) a bull by Gregory is confirmed already in 1184 by Lucius III, no. (xvi) above.

(xx) Undated [1613–36]

Copy of a notarial instrument of Peter de Sancto Marco, notary public, dated 18 November 1276, concerning a declaration made in St. Paul's Cathedral by three Sinningthwaite nuns of the liberties of the Cistercian order; certification similar to no. (xiv) above.

Sources: (a) Leeds Central Library, Archives Department, Stansfield muniments, 872 (copy signature, 'Per me Henricum Sandwith'); (b) printed from a MS *penes* Sir Walter Calverley in *Mon. Angl.*, new ed., v, pp. 464–5, no. v.

. The Leeds MS has not the concluding words 'Et hoc transcriptum ad literam concordat cum exemplari supradicto' given in the *Mon. Angl.*

(xxi) Undated [1613–36]

Copy of a charter of Ranulph son of Henry, Alice his wife, daughter and heiress of Adam de Stavelay, granting land in Lofthouse to Sinningthwaite Priory; 'This deed in St. Maryes Tower, copia per Hen. Sandwithe in my cosen Stockdales hands 8 Dec. 163[]'.

Sources: (a) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Dods. 94, ff. 116r–v; (b) printed 'Ex autographo in turri beatae Mariae Ebor', with no mention of Sandwith, in *Mon. Angl.* i, p. 828 = v, p. 464, no. iv.

. The original charter survived as B.19, N.30, and is transcribed in Burton's Copies of charters, vol. i, Bodleian Library, MS Top. Yorks. e. 7, p. 233 (*Monasticon Eboracense*, p. 326, note o). 'My cosen Stockdale' is doubtless Edward Stockdale, keeper of St. Mary's, 1645–53+ (above, p. 480).

(xxii) Undated [1613–36]

Copies of grants to Byland Abbey, 'In certayne transcripts of evidences taken out of St. Maries Tower in York under the hande of Hen. Sandwith clerke there copied for Sir Ri: Beaumont' of Whitley Beaumont.

Source: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Dods. 133, f. 139r–v.

. For Beaumont see Foster, *Yorkshire pedigrees*, i, *W.R.* (1874); Dugdale-Davies, pp. 253–4; Dugdale-Clay, iii, pp. 219–225; J. Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, ii (1831), p. 249; T. D. Whitaker, *Loidis and Elmete* (1816), pp. 338–343. Byland property at Whitley is noted by Burton, *Monasticon Eboracense*, p. 337 with note 3.

¹ Peter Aling, abbot 1275–9: J. Solloway in *V.C.H. Yorkshire*, iii (1913), p. 137.

(xxiii) (a) Undated [1613–36], again (b) 1636/7, and again (c) 1637

Copy of a charter of Roger de Mowbray (died 1188? – *D.N.B.*) granting the beasts and birds of his forest of 'Barnebem' (Brimham) to Fountains Abbey, 2 February 1180[81]. With the several subscriptions: (a) 'Ex(amina)t(ur) et concordat cu(m) original' rem(ant)' inter Euiden(cias) d(omi)ni R(egis) apud Turrem siue Pallaciu(m) s(an)c(t)e Marie Ebor, p(er) me Hen(ricum) Sandw(i)th Custod(em) euiden(ciarum) ib(ide)m'; (b) 'ex(aminatu)r ult(imo) marcij 1636 p(er) W. [?] Ellys, Fra: Andlaby; ex(aminatu)r xxxj^{mo} marcij 1636, Tho: Killingbecke; vlt(imo) Martij 1636, Ex(aminatu)r p(er) me Jo: Ranson'; (c) '25^o Septembr(is) A(nn)o d(omi)ni 1637, Hoc script(um) siue Record(um) ostensu(m) fuit coram nobis die & Anno suprad(ictis) [et diu(er)sis testib(us) *deleted*] vno testi sup(er) eisdem, Tho: Cowling, Raphe Leadom, John Robinson, Sal(vato)r Wyvell'.

Source: Leeds Central Library, Archives Department, Vyner MS 453.

(xxiv) (a) undated [1613–36], again (b) 1636/7, and again (c) 1637

Copy of a charter of Roger de Mowbray notifying the archbishop and chapter of York of his gift to Fountains Abbey of the land of Birnebem (Brimham) from Felebriggebec to the boundaries of Ripley except the beasts and birds there, granted in the presence of witnesses (named). With the several subscriptions: (a) 'Ex(aminatu)r et Concordat cum origina(l)' rem(anent)' inter Euiden(cias) d(omi)ni R(egis) apud Turrem siue Palaciu(m) s(an)c(t)e Marije Ebor, p(er) mee Henricu(m) Sandw(i)th Custod(em) Euiden(ciarum) ib(ide)m'; (b) 'vltimo Martij 1636, Ex(aminatu)r p(er) me Jo: Ranson; ex(aminatu)r vlt(imo) die marcij 1636, p(er) W. [?] Ellys, Fra: Andlaby, Tho: Killingbeck'; (c) '25^o Septembr(is) 1637, hoc scriptu(m) siue Record(um) ostensu(m) fuit vno testi coram nobis [in p(re)sencia *deleted*] die & A(nn)o suprad(ictis), Tho: Cowling, Raphe Leadom, John Robinson, Sal(vato)r Wyvell'.

Source: Leeds Central Library, Archives Department, Vyner MS 454.

. Registered in the Fountains cartulary, B.M. MS Cotton Tib. C. xii, f. 229v; abstract in W. T. Lancaster (ed.), *Abstracts of . . . the chartulary . . . of Fountains* (1915), i, pp. 145–6.

(xxv) Undated [1636–44]

Copy of a charter of the vicar of Myton (upon Swale, N.R.) acknowledging the payment of tithes to St. Mary's Abbey and a pension to the church of Alne, with fourteen witnesses; 'Collatione facta concordat hac [*sic*] copia cum record(o) original(i) in domo Evidentiarum Dom(i)nij Regis infra palatium suum Ebor remanente, Exam(inatur) p(er) me Ioh(anne)m Ranson, Cust(odem) record(orum) Dom(i)nij regis ibid(e)m'; '1739. The annex'd Copy of this antient chartel was found among the writings of Sir Miles Stapylton Bar^t & exhibited by him in a cause in Chancery betwixt Lancelot, our present Abp., & himself, about the tythes of Myton. A litigious cause most religiously prosecuted by the pious Prelate . . . The tower blown up A. 1644, the original destroyed.'

Source: Francis Drake's annotations to his own copy of his *Eboracum* (1736) in York Public Library, facing p. 615.

. Sir Miles Stapylton of Myton, 4th bart, succeeded to the title 1733 and died 1752; Lancelot Blackburn was archbishop of York 1724–43. For Stapylton see H. E. Chetwynd-Stapylton, 'The Stapletons of Yorkshire', in *Y.A.J.* viii (1884), p. 443; V.C.H. *Yorkshire, N.R.* ii (1923), p. 158.

B. Inventories of documents delivered

(i) 1592 September 26

A list of eleven deeds relating to Kirkstall Abbey, delivered to Sir Walter Calverley, 26 September 34 Eliz., 1592, signed 'Edwarde Beseley'.

Sources: (a) British Museum, Add. Ch. 17,120; (b) calendared by John Stansfeld, 'A rent-roll of Kirkstall Abbey', in *Miscellanea*, i (Thoresby Soc. ii, 1891), p. 21 (printing 'Keseley'; the same error is made in the B.M. manuscript catalogue in the Students' Room).

(ii) 1603 February 20 (N.S.) and November 1

'An Inventorie Indented of Evidens, courte rolles, & accomptes delyv(er)ed by Edwarde Beseley kep(er) of the quenes ma(jes)ties evidences & record(es) in the round tower neare the walles of St. maries Lately dissolued To Richard Burrell of London by vertue of a warrant vnder seale from the right honorable S^r John Fortisskewe knight one of hir ma(jes)ties most honorable previe counsell dated the fyrst of november 1603 & in the last yere of the reigne of o(u)r Sov(er)aigne ladie Quene Eliz. &c. as foloweth, viz. the xxth day of february in the fortie fithe yere of her ma(jes)ties said reigne'; containing three documents for Cottingwith, sixteen for 'Fymmer' (Fimber), one for Micklegate at Ouse Bridge in the parish of St. John the Evangelist, thirteen for Fishergate, eight for Water Fulford, four for Gate Fulford and Nether Fulford, twenty-three for Fulford, fifty-nine for Over Fulford, seven court rolls of Fulford from 25 to 46 Edw. III (1351/2–1372/3), twenty-one court documents from 8 Edw. III to 4 Hen. IV (1334/5–1402/3), fifteen court rolls of 'Fymmer', eleven of Cottingwith, five of Siward's Howe, four of Cottingwith; endorsed 'Receyved al the evidences, courte rolles & other writt(es) aboue & within written to the vse of m. Richard burrell of London by vertue of the warrant aboue naymed the day & yere first aboue written. [signed] Thomas Burrell assignee of Rycharde Burrell.'

Source: Leeds, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Library, DD 88/1 (manorial records of Fulford).

(iii) 1615 December 14

'An Inventorie Indented made of all such Evidences as are now deliu(er)ed vnto Richard Sunderland¹ of Coley in the Countie of York gent. by vertue of a warrant from the right hon(or)able Thomas Earle of Suffolke Lo(rd) heighe Thr(easur)er of England bearing date at Whitehall the xxvth daie of November 1615 directed to Thomas Sandwith gent. keep(er) of his Ma(jes)t(ies) evidences in the tower at S^t maries nere the walls of the Cittie of yorke'; 'S(u)m(m)a to(ta)lis sc(ilicet) vj^{xx} xvj peece of Evidenc(es). [Original signature] Thomas Sandwith. Signed in the p(re)sence of [original signatures] Francis Sandwith, Samuell Pollard¹, Jo: Lomley'.² Attached is an indenture made 14 December 1615 certifying that Thomas Sandwith of St Marygate by virtue of a warrant addressed to him as 'keeper of his Ma(jes)tes evidences of the late dissolved religious houses in Yorkshire' had delivered to Richard Sunderland all the evidences contained in the schedule; signed by Thomas Sandwith, with the seals of Sandwith and Sunderland, and the three witnesses as above.

Sources: (a) Leeds, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Library (Ferrand³ MSS), MS 290, Box 10; (b) printed in E. W. Crossley, 'The preceptory of Newland', in *Miscellanea*, i (Y.A.S. R.S. lxi, 1920), pp. 65–71.

. Pudsey, 32 documents; Heaton, 51; Batley, 35; Crossley, 2; Bingley, 6: total 126 (wrongly given as 136 in the document).

(iv) 1616 September 19

'An Inventorie Indented made of all such Evidences as are now deliuered vnto Richard Sunderland of Coley in the Countie of Yorke gent. by vertue of a warrant from the right ho(nora)ble Thomas Earle of Suffolke Lord high Treasurer of England bearing date at Whitehall the xxvth day of Nouember 1615 directed to Thomas Sandwith gent. keeper of his Ma(jes)ties Evidences in the Tower at S^t Maries neare the walls of the Cytte of Yorke'; 'Concordat cu(m) original' exa(mina)t' p(er) nos, Francis Lister, Henry Sandwith, Samuell Pollard'. Attached is an indenture made 19 September 1616 certifying that Thomas Sandwith of St Marygate by virtue of a warrant addressed to him as 'keeper of his Majesties Evidences of the late dissolved religious howses in Yorkshire' had delivered to Richard Sunderland all the evidences contained in the schedule; signed by Thomas Sandwith, with his seal; witnessed by Henry Sandwith and Samuell Pollard; 'This is the Counterpart of an Indenture sealed by Richard Sunderland within named to the vse of the said Thomas Sandwith in the presence of Francis Lister, Henry Sandwith, Samuell Pollard.'

Sources: (a) York Minster Library, Hailstone collection, Box 6.13 (parchment); (b) printed in Crossley, *op. cit.* pp. 71–74, 75.

. Pudsey, 12 documents; Heaton, 27; Batley, 18; Crossley, 7; Bingley, 2: = 66 ('S(u)m(m)a to(ta)lis lxvij'). Five of the Pudsey charters (originals) are in the Hailstone collection, AA.1.29–33 (Crossley, pp. 63–64); they are endorsed 'Faireweather Greene' (near Bradford), the home of Richard Sunderland's fifth son, Peter, 1606–77, who 'made a fortune in London and endowed a Lectureship at Bradford Par. Ch.' (Dugdale-Clay, i, p. 96).

(v) 1617 July 27

'An Inuentory of all such evidences court rolls & other writings belonging to the manor or baliwick of Hellefeld (Hellifield) in crauen as were deliuered to Richard Sunderland of Coley in com. Ebor gent. by vertue of a warrant directed to Thomas Sandwith keeper of his ma(jes)ties evidences in the tower of st maries nere ye walls of the cytty of yorke 27 die Julij 1617.'

Source: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Dods. 95, f. 29r–v.

(vi) 1617 September 25

'Omnes Evidencie sequentes deliberate fueru(n)t Ric'o Sonderland vicesimo quinto die Septembris A(nn)o d(omi)ni 1617, p(er) Thomam Sandwith Custodem Rotulor(um) et scriptor(um) remanen(tium) ap(u)d Turrem siue pallatiu(m) Beate Marie Extra muros Ciuitatis Ebor, Virtute warrantij sibi directi geren(tis) dat(um) vicesimo quinto Nouembris 1615 A Honorabili viro Thoma Comit(e) Suffolk d(omi)no supremo Threasaurario Angl(ie) pro deliberac(i)one eor(um) vt p(er) warrant(ium) plenius apparet.'

Sources: (a) York Minster Library, written on the same roll as no. (iii) above; (b) printed in Crossley, *op. cit.* pp. 74–75.

. Heaton, 2 documents; Crossley, 1; court roll of Gargrave, Pudsey, Bingley, Batley, 1; total, 4. The roll appears to be a different one from that mentioned in the note to A (vii) above.

¹ See above, A (vii) note.

² For John Lomley cp. above, A (iv).

³ On 5 September 1671 Robert Milner settled the manor of Pudsey on Benjamin Ferrand (York Minster Library, Hailstone collection, PP 17), whose sister Ann had in 1647 married Robert Milner, who in 1663 purchased Pudsey manor (Dugdale-Clay, ii, p. 176; S. Rayner, *The history of Pudsey* (1887), p. 41), but it remained Milner property.

(vii) 1617 October 20 and December 30

'This Indenture the Thirtieth day of december in the fifteenth yeare of the reigne of o(u)r Sou(er)-aigne Lord James by the grace of God King of England France and Ireland, defender of the fayth &c., and of Scotland the one and fyftieth Betweene Thomas Sandwith of S^t Marygate neare the Walls of the Cyttye of York, Gent., on thone p(ar)t And Thomas Marshall of the Cyttye of York Alderman, on thother partye Witnesseth that the said Thomas Sandw(i)th hath by warrant from the right honorable Thomas Earle of Suffolke, Lord High Threasurer of England (directed vnto the said Thomas Sandwith keeper of his Ma(jes)t(ies) Evidences of the late dissolved religious howses in Yorkeshire) delivered vnto the abouesaid Thomas Marshall all these peeces of Evidences as are conteyned in a Schedule Indented herevnto annexed by vertue of a warrant dated the Twentieth of October 1617. In Wittnes whereof the partyes abouesaid to these present Indentures Int(er)changeably haue sette their hand(es) and seales the day and yeare first aboue written'; a separate piece of parchment attached to the inventory, damaged at the head and with the fragmentary heading '... directed to Thomas ... Evidences in the Tower at S^t Maryes neare the ... of the Cyttye of Yorke viz^t Calendar Cartarum', listing 34 deeds, account rolls, court rolls etc. of Fulford, Greendykes, and Siward's How, and 19 court rolls of Fulford.

Source: Leeds, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Library, DD 88/1 (manorial records of Fulford).

C. Miscellaneous

(i) Undated [c.1542–1613]

'Compositōns in St Maries Tower' (endorsement); 'Composicōns w(i)th m' Beesley' (heading): a list of approximately 165 places, mostly in Yorkshire, in rough alphabetical order A–W; between letters G and H is inserted a column headed 'In libro' containing a further (approx.) 27 placenames, mostly Yorkshire, in no apparent order; at the end is a note in the hand of Robert Squire:¹ 'M(emoran)d(um) th(a)t in the 11th y(ea)r of King Edw(ar)d 3^d Anno 1336, A Survey of Gleab-Lands &c. in & throughout England was taken very exactly, engross'd in p(ar)chm(en)t & returned into the Exchequer, where it remaines at this day, & is the most usefull record for Clergymen &c. to recover their rightes &c. – See Fuller's Eccl(es)ia(sti)call History';² the places listed do not have any immediately apparent connection with Yorkshire monastic properties.

Sources: A double sheet (4 pp.) of paper, inserted at the front of the York Minster Liber Domesday, Y.M.L., D. & C. muniments, L 2(2)a, among various preliminary leaves.

(ii) 1637

Certificate by John Ranson, keeper of the records in the palace of St. Mary, York, upon a search concerning the town of Leeming, N.R.: (a) A great part of the lands there belonged to the Hospital of St. Leonard in York; (b) There is an undated charter of King Edward for holding a market every Friday at the manor of Leeming and a fair there for three days every year on Midsummer day and the day before and the day after; (c) There are many deeds of Thurstanus de Leeming, Johannes filius Barthol: de Leeming, Walterus de Leeming, &c.

Source: A document exhibited in the Court of Chivalry *in re* Leeming v. Clopton, 8 August 1637, printed in G. D. Squibb (ed.), *Reports of heraldic cases in the Court of Chivalry, 1623–1732* (Harl. Soc. cvii, 1956), p. 27, citing Cur. Mil. I. 234–254 and Cur. Mil., Boxes 12/1aa–ee.

* Land at Leeming Bridge owned by St. Leonard's is mentioned by Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 334, following Torre, 'York', i, p. 838, who cites B. 6, N. 19.

APPENDIX VII

WARRANT OF TREASURER JUXON, 1637³

By C. B. L. BARR

A. THE WARRANT

Warr(an)t to diuers Knight(es) & gent(lemen) to deliu(er) vpp Coucher Bookes.

Whereas vppon the petic(i)on of John Ranson Keeper of his Ma(jes)t(y's) Howse of Record(es), and Evidences called S^t Maries Tower at Yorke, I am enformed that the Coucher Bookes of the Monasteries & Abbyes of Monkbretton, Meuxe, Fountaynes, Boulton, Whitbye, Drax, Selby, Pontefract, Roche, Bridlington, & of the Cell of S^t Martin nere Richmond in the County of Yorke doe now remayne in yo(u)r

¹ Notary public; registrar of the Dean and Chapter of York from 1678 to his death in 1707: Chapter acts, 1634–1700, H 5, ii, f. 126v (8 January 1677/8), and 1700–1728, H 6, ff. 27v–28r (15 September 1707); he was buried at St. Michael le Belfrey, 13 September 1707 (Francis Collins (ed.), *The registers of St. Michael le Belfrey*, ii (Y.P.R.S. xi, 1901), p. 147).

² The reference is to Thomas Fuller, *The church history of Britain* (1655), part ii, p. 113 (book iv, para. 16), and the Nonae Rolls, published as *Nonarum Inquisitiones in Curia Scaccarii*, ed. by G. Vanderzee (Record Commission, 1807).

³ Above, pp. 212–213. Here printed from P.R.O. T56/7, Juxon's Miscellaneous book, 1636–41, pp. 77–78. Previously printed, from a transcript among Le Neve's collections (B.M. MS Harl. 6822, f. 37), by J. R. Walbran, *Memorials of ... Fountains*, II, i (S.S. lxvii, 1878), pp. 98–99, and summarised by Poulson, *Holderness*, i, p. 291, note b.

seu(er)all custodies, through the want whereof his Ma(jes)ty is much preiudiced in his Revenues & Liberties belonging to the sayd late dissolved Monasteries and Abbies, & his subject(es), oftentimes putt to causelesse, & vnnecessary, Suit(es) in Lawe, w(hi)ch otherwise might be determind & decided w(i)th much lesse expence of moneys and losse of tyme iff the sayd Coucher Bookes were remayning in a Publique Office of Record where eu(er)y Mann might haue free accesse to come vnto them at their Liberties & pleasures. W(hi)ch sayd Bookes are conceyved meerely and properly to be the Kings Record(es), & Evidences, and not of any private Subject of what Estate, or Condi(c)i on soever. These are therefore to will & require you to deliu(er) vnto the sayd John Ransonn such Coucher Book & Book(es) of the Monasteries & Abbies aforesayd as shall remayne in yo(u)r Custodies betwixt this & the ffeast of the byrthe of our Lord god next Coming, to remayne in the sayd howse of Evidences amongst the rest of his Ma(jes)t(y's) Record(es), aswell for the vse & benefitt of his Ma(jes)ty, as of his Subject(es) as occasion shall require. Hereof fayle you not as you will awnswere the Contrary at yo(u)r p(er)ille, And that you & eu(er)y of you respectiuey take notice of this our Current Warrant being shoven vnto you, & a true Coppie thereof being left w(i)th you. From Fullam Howse the xxviiith day of July 1637.

Yo(u)r very louing friend
Guil London.

To my very louing Friends S^r Francis Wortley Baronett, S^r W^m Armyn K^t & Baronett, S^r W^m Alford Knight, W^m Ingleby Esq^{re}, S^r Hugh Cholmeley Knight, Phillipp Constable Esq^{re}, Thomas Walmesley Esq^{re}, Roger Doddesworth, [space] French, [space] Pepper gent., S^r James Billingham Knight, & S^r W^m Strickland Knight.

Prefixed (pp. 76–77) is a similar individual warrant addressed 'To the Lord Wharton'¹ about a 'Coucher Booke of the late dissolved Monastery of Byland', dated 'the last day of July 1637', and the note, 'The like Letters to the Lord Fawconberge concerning the Coucher Book of all the Landes & possessions of the late dissolved Monastery of Newbrough in the County of York.'

B. DESCENTS OF THE CARTULARIES MENTIONED IN THE WARRANT

Treasurer Juxon's warrant provides valuable information on the descent of cartularies, even though it is not in every case easy to marry the alleged 'owner' with a particular cartulary;² the pairings marked with an obelus are not otherwise known.

(i) †Byland Abbey: Philip, 4th baron Wharton

Davis, p. 18, no. 142, records the cartulary as in John Rushworth's possession in 1647 (MS Dods. 63, ff. 9 and 58–77, followed by Tanner). Dodsworth owned a roll of the abbey (Davis, no. 141; MS Dods. 76, f. 146), which may have been salvaged from St. Mary's Tower. He copied many charters of Byland in the Tower (MSS Dods. 91, ff. 69–152; 94, ff. 1–66; 133, f. 139; 157, ff. 30–33), and others salvaged by Charles Fairfax after the explosion (MS Dods. 95, ff. 40, 73v).

The house and site of Byland were granted on 22 September 1540 to Sir William Pykeryng of London.³ Burton⁴ cites evidence showing that in 1543–4 the holder was his son William, and that in 1574–5 it was Sir William Pickeringe junior, his heir being his sister Anne, wife of one de la Rivers. In 1577, however, William settled the estate on his daughter Hester, wife of Sir Edward, afterwards 1st baron, Wotton. Lady Hester died in 1592 and her husband in 1626. Their son and heir, Thomas, 2nd baron Wotton, died in 1630 without male issue, and his estates were divided between his four daughters, all the Byland portion being eventually reunited in the hands of the Stapleton family.⁵ Edward had married secondly Margaret, daughter of Philip, 3rd baron Wharton; she survived till 1652, and the present document suggests that the Byland cartulary, being, unlike the estates, indivisible, remained with her and through her passed to her nephew Philip, 4th baron Wharton, who lived till 1696.⁶ What happened after Wharton possessed the cartulary is less clear. Tanner⁷ names Brian Fairfax as owner of the volume before Rushworth in 1647, but Fairfax was born only in 1633: either Tanner has got the wrong member of the Fairfax family, or Fairfax should follow, not precede, Rushworth in the series. Rushworth was a close associate of the Fairfaxes (*D.N.B.*), and the Fairfax and Wharton families were both prominent in the Ainsty of York.⁸

¹ 'Lord Wharton' given as 'Lord Warden' by Poulson and Walbran, *loc. cit.*

² The warrant was used for this purpose by Tanner, but he has coupled the persons with the monasteries wrongly, so misleading others: see no. (iv) below.

³ *L.P.Hen.VIII*, XVI, 1540–41, p. 54.

⁴ *Monasticon Eboracense*, p. 339.

⁵ Myra Curtis in *V.C.H., Yorkshire, North Riding*, ii (1923), p. 18; *D.N.B.*, art. Wotton (Edward).

⁶ It is less likely that Wharton's possession of the Byland cartulary is to be connected with the grant to his ancestor, the 1st baron Wharton, of the manor of Bretherdale in Westmorland, a former Byland property, in 1545 (*L.P.Hen.VIII*, XX, 1545, ii, p. 117; M. E. James, *Change and continuity in the Tudor north: the rise of Thomas first Lord Wharton* (York, Borthwick papers, 27, 1965), p. 33, citing P.R.O. E 318/1203) or the 1st baron's influence regarding grants of other ex-Byland properties in 1543–4 (James, p. 36).

⁷ Thomas Tanner, *Notitia monastica*, Yorkshire, xxi. Tanner adds that MS Dods. 94, f. 1, has extracts 'ex cartulario de Bellalanda in turre b. Mariae Ebor', but the catalogues of the Dodsworth MSS make it clear that 'cartulario' is an error for 'cartis'.

⁸ For a conjecture about the Wharton-Fairfax move of the cartulary see below, appx VIII (e).

- (ii) †Newburgh Priory: Thomas Belasyse, 1st baron (afterwards viscount Fauconberg)

Davis, p. 78, 'No cartulary recorded. Copies, 1636, in Bodl., Dodsworth 91 . . . , fos. 1–67, of original charters in St. Mary's Tower, York, in some cases with drawings or descriptions of the seals, are headed apparently erroneously in a later hand, 'Register of Newburgh Priory' and (fos. 29–67) "Newburgh Priory Coucher".'

On 4 November 1546 the priory was granted to Anthony Belasyse, D.C.L., chaplain to the king, William Belasyse, and another, and it remained in the family until a Belasyse heiress married a Wombwell in the nineteenth century.¹

- (iii) Monk Bretton Priory: Sir Francis Wortley; Sir William Armyn

Between 1630 and 1648 one of the priory's cartularies left Wortley's possession and came to Sir George Wentworth of Woolley, and in 1634 the other was owned by Sir William Armyne.²

- (iv) Meaux Abbey: Sir William Alford

Sir William Alford received a grant of the abbey in 1634, and is known to have possessed two cartularies relating to it; one was in St. Mary's Tower in 1639.³

The Meaux 'Cartularium penes dom. Gul. Ayrmine, A.D. 1637' of Tanner⁴ is almost certainly a wrong equation made from Juxon's warrant, it not being realised that two names relate to Monk Bretton. Davis, p. 74, no. 657, is accordingly a ghost.

- (v) Fountains Abbey: William Ingleby

Volume 2 (D – I) of the main Fountains cartulary was in the possession of 'W. Ingelbi' by 1619, when Dodsworth saw it (MS Dods. 116, f. 49), and remained in the possession of the Ingleby family of Ripley Castle until acquired in the present century by the British Museum.⁵

Walbran⁶ has been misled into supposing that another Fountains cartulary, now in the Bodleian Library (MS Rawlinson B.449: Davis, p. 47, no. 411), and in 1619 in the possession of Dame Honor Proctor, whose family held the abbey,⁷ was also at Ripley Castle, by an entry in the old *Monasticum Anglicanum*⁸ stated to be drawn 'ex registro de Fontibus penes Willielm. Ingleby mil. an. 1630'. The passage quoted does belong to the Proctor-Rawlinson cartulary, but has been given an incorrect reference from MS Dods. 116, where extracts from the Proctor-Rawlinson volume and the Ingleby-British Museum volume are given in succession (ff. 47, 49 respectively). In fact the Proctor-Rawlinson book was in St. Mary's Tower by 1630, when Dodsworth saw it there.⁹

The Ingleby family did, however, possess a second Fountains cartulary, now at Oxford,¹⁰ for this volume has the notes 'This booke cost forte Shillings; per me Thomas [*sic*] Ingleby' and, in the same hand, '1614'.¹¹

Other Fountains records owned by the Ingleby's until sold to the British Museum in the present century are described by Walbran and Davis.¹²

- (vi) Bolton Priory: William Ingleby

Dodsworth (MS 144, ff. 1–77) made extracts from a cartulary in the possession of William Ingleby of Ripley on 7 August 1634.¹³

- (vii) Whitby Abbey: Sir Hugh Cholmeley

Both abbey and cartulary descended through the Cholmeley family.¹⁴

¹ *L.P.Hen.VIII*, XXI, 1546–7, ii, p. 229; Thomas Gill, *Vallis Eboracensis* (1852), pp. 170–174.

² See below, appx VIII (g).

³ See below, appendix VIII (f).

⁴ T. Tanner, *Notitia monastica*, 2nd ed. (1787), Yorkshire lxxviii.

⁵ MS Add. 40009; Davis, p. 48, no. 415; W. T. Lancaster (ed.), *Abstracts of the . . . chartulary of . . . Fountains* (1915), vol. i, p. vii; John Richard Walbran (ed.), *Memorials of . . . Fountains*, II, i (S.S. lxvii, 1878), pp. 97–99.

⁶ Walbran, *op. cit.* p. 100.

⁷ See below, appendix VIII (c).

⁸ Vol. i, 1655, p. 799.

⁹ MS Dods. 156, ff. 113–132.

¹⁰ University College MS 170: Davis, p. 47, no. 412.

¹¹ Ff. 68v, 47v: Walbran, *op. cit.* pp. 100–101.

¹² Walbran, *op. cit.* pp. 101–2, 104–6; Davis, p. 48, nos. 424–5.

¹³ Davis, p. 9, no. 61, says Ingleby owned it in 1638, but no authority other than Dodsworth is mentioned.

¹⁴ See below, appendix VIII (n).

(viii) †[Whitby Abbey:] Sir William Strickland

Sir William Strickland of Boynton married in 1622 Margaret, eldest daughter of Sir Richard Cholmeley of Whitby;¹ she was buried at Whitby on 28 October 1629.² The Cholmeley family were owners of the priory and cartulary (see no. (vii) above), and the above connection with the Stricklands may have given the latter family temporary possession.

(ix) Drax Priory: Philip Constable

Priory and cartulary both descended through the Constable family and its successors by descent.³

(x) Selby Abbey: Thomas Walmesley

The abbey and cartulary were in the hands of the Walmesley family in the seventeenth century.⁴

(xi) Pontefract Priory: Roger Dodsworth

Dodsworth was given the cartulary by Thomas Levet of High Melton, Yorkshire, on 2 March 1626/7, and made copies from it on 13 June of the same year.⁵ He describes it as in his own possession when making extracts from it in 1630⁶ and 1631.⁷ Dodsworth pawned the volume to Sir Thomas Widdrington, and the extracts from it in the *Monasticon Anglicanum*⁸ are said to be taken 'Ex cartulario de Pontefract . . . penes Thomam Widdrington militem an. 1652'. How the book subsequently came to the Woolley family is traced conjecturally by Holmes.⁹

(xii) †Roche Abbey: . . . French

Nothing appears to be recorded of any cartulary of Roche, or of any family of French in connection with the abbey or with monastic archives. Of the many families of the name, the only one of any significance in northern England is that of Preston in Lancashire.¹⁰ A more likely family, perhaps, is that of Frank¹¹ of Campsall, about fifteen, and of Pontefract, about twenty miles from Roche, who later had a large library of Yorkshire historical manuscripts.¹² The relevant members of the family at the time would be the brothers Richard (1592–1661) and Robert (mayor of Pontefract 1628 and 1652, died 1663).¹³

(xiii) Bridlington Priory: Sir James Bellingham

On 3 March 1627/8 Dodsworth saw the Bridlington cartulary in the possession of Sir James Bellingham of Levens, Westmorland.¹⁴ A daughter of Sir James married Sir William Ingleby, who died in 1612, and in 1634 Archer records the cartulary as in the keeping of the Ingleby family,¹⁵ and it descended with them at Ripley Castle until acquired by the British Museum in the present century.¹⁶ Ranson's information about the location of this cartulary thus appears to be several years out of date.

(xiv) St. Martin's Priory, Richmond: . . . Pepper

William Pepper purchased part of the priory estate shortly after 1563, and in 1627 Dodsworth saw a rental, probably in a volume with the cartulary, in the possession of Christopher Pepper of Richmond.¹⁷ Christopher Pepper died on 28 March 1635,¹⁸ and it is presumably his heir who is meant here.

¹ Joseph Foster, *Pedigrees of the county families of Yorkshire*, vol. iii, *North and East Ridings* (1884), pedigrees of Cholmeley and Strickland.

² John Charlesworth (ed.), *The parish register of Whitby*, i (Yorkshire Parish Register Soc. lxxxiv, 1928), p. 102.

³ See below, appendix VIII (b).

⁴ See below, appendix VIII (m).

⁵ MS Dods. 159, f. 8v; Richard Holmes (ed.), *The chartulary of St. John of Pontefract*, i (Y.A.S. R.S. xxv, 1899), p. xii.

⁶ MS Dods. 155, f. 18.

⁷ MSS Dods. 135, ff. 95, 128v, and 91, f. 67v.

⁸ Vol. i, 1655, p. 648.

⁹ Holmes, *op. cit.* pp. xiii–xv; see Davis, p. 89, no. 782.

¹⁰ Pedigree in F. R. Raines (ed.), *The visitation of the county palatine of Lancaster . . . 1664–5*, by Sir William Dugdale, ii (Chetham Soc. lxxxv, 1872), p. 112.

¹¹ Pedigrees in Joseph Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, ii (1831), p. 465; Dugdale-Davies, p. 3; Dugdale-Clay, iii, pp. 173–5.

¹² Calendar by A. J. Horwood, 'The manuscripts of F. Bacon Frank, Esq., of Campsall Hall, co. York', in *Sixth report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (1877), appx, pp. 448–465.

¹³ Possibly one of these is the 'Mr. Mast. French' listed as one of the gentlemen volunteers who defended Pontefract against the parliamentarians in 1644: B. Boothroyd, *The history of . . . Pontefract* (1807), p. 154; George Fox, *The history of Pontefract* (1827), p. 168.

¹⁴ MS Dods. 159, f. 130.

¹⁵ Lord Herries, 'The Constables of Flamborough', in *Transactions of the East Riding Antiquarian Soc.* viii (1900), p. 52.

¹⁶ MS Add. 40008: Davis, pp. 10–11, no. 73; see also W. T. Lancaster (ed.), *Abstracts of the . . . chartulary of the priory of Bridlington* (1912), pp. iv–v.

¹⁷ See below, appx. VIII (k).

¹⁸ Christopher Clarkson, *The history of Richmond* (1821), p. 173.

APPENDIX VIII

THE DESCENT OF SOME MONASTIC CARTULARIES WITH THE ESTATES¹

By C. B. L. BARR

(a) BEVERLEY MINSTER, dissolved as a collegiate body with effect from Easter 1548. On 28 November 1552, Beverley Corporation having petitioned for a grant to maintain the church, a search in the 'recorda et irrotulamenta' of the Court of Augmentations produced a decree on the same subject issued by the Chancellor of the Court on the 12th of the same month. There had been a 'serche of records toching the Kinges title to the premisses' and a 'further serche of the certificate made by the Commissioners for the late survey of Colleges Chauntries and others in the said Countie remayninge of recorde in the said Courte', as a result of which the Chancellor decided to grant funds, in accordance with 'a particular . . . made by John Bellowe, particular Surveyor of the Kinges landes within the Easte Riddinge', 'to be payed . . . by thandes of the Receyviour of the Revenues of the sayd Court within the said Countie'.² A great part of the former Minster property was granted to Beverley Corporation by Queen Elizabeth,³ and it may be in consequence of this that a rental of the provostry of the Minster of 1417–48 is still at Beverley.⁴

(b) DRAX PRIORY, surrendered on 24 August 1535.⁵ In 1535–6 it was farmed by Sir Marmaduke Constable of Everingham, and in 1536 he leased and in 1538 was granted the site, together with a large tract of the priory lands.⁶ The cartulary was in the possession of a later Sir Marmaduke Constable when Dodsworth made excerpts from it at Everingham c.1620.⁷ It descended through the Constable family, and by descent through the Constable-Maxwell family, barons Herries, until sold to the Bodleian Library in the present century.⁸

(c) FOUNTAINS ABBEY, surrendered on 26 November 1539.⁹ On 1 October 1540 the site, together with the greater part of the estates, was sold to Sir Richard Gresham.¹⁰ There remained until recently at Studley Royal estate office a considerable part of the records of the abbey,¹¹ and one of these documents is a schedule of the charters, court rolls, and other records delivered by the officers of the crown to Sir Richard Gresham's steward.¹² Gresham died in 1549, in 1597 his representatives sold the site of the abbey, with some of its lands, to Sir Stephen Procter of Warsell, near Ripon,¹³ and in 1619 a cartulary of the abbey was in the possession of Dame Honor Procter and excerpts were made by Sir Richard Gascoigne. Gascoigne's notes were copied by Dodsworth,¹⁴ and in 1630 and 1637 Dodsworth made fresh notes directly from the cartulary, then in St. Mary's Tower.¹⁵ It survived, and came to the Bodleian Library in the collection of Richard Rawlinson a century later.¹⁶

(d) GUISBOROUGH PRIORY, surrendered on 22 December 1539.¹⁷ On 21 November 1540 the site with its neighbouring property was leased to Thomas Legh, one of the visitors of the northern monasteries in 1535, and on 20 July 1547 another lease was granted to Thomas Chaloner, and the property was still in the possession of his descendants in the last century.¹⁸ Mrs. Chaloner, of Longhall, near Guisborough, then still had a thirteenth-century rent roll of the priory.¹⁹

¹ The starting point of this appendix is in most cases Dr. G. R. C. Davis's invaluable *Medieval cartularies of Great Britain* (1958).

² Original at Beverley: Arthur Francis Leach (ed.), *Memorials of Beverley Minster*, ii (S.S. cviii, 1903), pp. 353–7.

³ George Poulson, *Beverlac*, ii (1829), p. 645, and appendix, no. 5, pp. 27–48.

⁴ Davis, p. 8, no. 51; Poulson, *op. cit.* ii, pp. 520–521, n. 1; Leach, *op. cit.* ii, pp. 305–339. The book was seen by Dodsworth, apparently at Beverley: MS Dods. 26, ff. 103–145.

⁵ T. M. Fallow in V.C.H., *Yorkshire*, iii (1913), p. 207.

⁶ Clay, *Suppression*, pp. 98–99.

⁷ MSS Dods. 26, ff. 24–95, and 118, ff. 69–74.

⁸ Davis, p. 37, no. 72; 'Notable accessions', in *The Bodleian Library Record*, ii, 1941–9 (1949), no. 27 (Aug. 1948), p. 227.

⁹ J. Solloway in V.C.H., *Yorkshire*, iii, p. 137; J. R. Walbran (ed.), *Memorials of the abbey of St. Mary of Fountains*, i (S.S. xlii, 1863), pp. 296–301.

¹⁰ Walbran, pp. 306–7, 385–395; cp. D.K. ix (1848), appx ii, p. 217. Gresham (see *D.N.B.*) was the largest individual purchaser of monastic lands: Kenneth Pickthorn, *Early Tudor government: Henry VIII* (1934), p. 383.

¹¹ List in Walbran, *op. cit.* vol. ii, part i (S.S. lxxvii, 1878), pp. 86–93 (not all the items can now be traced); cp. Davis, pp. 47–48, nos. 416, 421, 426. For the present location of these documents see above, p. 203, n. 1.

¹² Walbran, *op. cit.* ii, i, p. 92, no. 11.

¹³ John Richard Walbran, *A guide to Ripon, Fountains Abbey*, etc. 12th ed. (1875), p. 99.

¹⁴ MSS Dods. 116, ff. 47–48, and 127, f. 2v.

¹⁵ 1630: MS Dods. 156, ff. 113r–132r; 1637: MS Dods. 62, f. 52r.

¹⁶ MS Rawlinson B. 449; Davis, p. 47, no. 411.

¹⁷ *L.P.Hen.VIII*, XIV, 1539, ii, p. 264.

¹⁸ William Brown (ed.), *Cartularium prioratus de Gyseburne*, ii (S.S. lxxxix, 1894), pp. xxxvii–viii; John Walker Ord, *The history and antiquities of Cleveland* (1846), pp. 196–7, 574–580; George Lawton, *The religious houses of Yorkshire* (1853), p. 76 (wrongly giving '13th October').

¹⁹ Brown, *op. cit.* i (S.S. lxxxvi, 1889), p. xxv, n. 1.

(e) HEALAUGH PRIORY, surrendered on 9 August 1535.¹ By 20 August 1537 the priory demesnes were being farmed by Sir Thomas Wharton, 1st baron,² and, notwithstanding a grant to James Gage made on 20 March 1539/40³ and a licence granted to Gage to alienate the property to Sir Arthur Darcy on 17 April 1540,⁴ the Wharton family retained possession until early in the eighteenth century.⁵ On folio 194 of the cartulary is the note, in a hand ascribed to c.1550, 'Md. that when this booke was delyverid to my L. Wharton his officere ytt contene cc leeves wrytyng'.⁶ By 1620 the cartulary had come into the keeping, though not apparently the ownership, of Philip Padmore of York. In that year Dodsworth was told in a letter⁷ that the 'Cowcher of Heyley Abbey . . . is in the custody of one Mr. Padmore'; at the same time he was warned that Padmore was under orders 'to conceale it especially from' Dodsworth, and the antiquary was advised 'with speciall care to keep him [Padmore] free from all suspicion of revealing it, otherwise it will be very preiudiciall to both your future searches.' Who is the mysterious owner of the cartulary who does not wish Dodsworth to see it and is in a position to hinder his 'future searches'?

The list of cartularies and their owners made by Dugdale c.1649⁸ records the Healaugh cartulary as still in the possession of the Wharton family, then Philip, 4th baron.⁹ Presumably then Padmore's unco-operative superior of 1620¹⁰ was Philip's grandfather, the 3rd baron, also named Philip, who held the barony and the Healaugh estate from 1572 till his death in 1625.¹¹ How he could have hindered Dodsworth in his 'future searches' is less clear. The reason for his opposition to Dodsworth's viewing the cartulary may be nothing against Dodsworth as an antiquary but something connected with the cartulary as a legal document: the Whartons were engaged in litigation about the Healaugh estate from at least 1618 to 1701;¹² alternatively Wharton may have feared an official call-in of cartularies as in fact took place in 1637. Further, is it entirely a coincidence that the Byland cartulary, which Wharton probably had in 1637, appears to have shortly afterwards passed to the Fairfaxes, who were Dodsworth's patrons?¹³

Although the cartulary has come down in the Cottonian library, whose collector, Sir Robert Cotton, died in 1631, two years before Padmore is again heard of as custodian of the volume, and would have been in a position to hinder Dodsworth's researches, Dugdale's note of the continued possession of the cartulary by the Wharton family exonerates Cotton from any suspicion of obstructing Dodsworth in a manner contrary to the rules of the incipient Society of Antiquaries.¹⁴ The cartulary is not included in catalogues of the Cottonian library drawn up in 1621 and 1633/4,¹⁵ and first appears in a catalogue of 1696; a title written by Dugdale at the head of f. 1r suggests that it is one of a number of cartularies for whose addition to the Cottonian library in the restoration period he was in one way or another responsible.¹⁶

(f) MEAUX ABBEY, surrendered on 11 December 1539.¹⁷ The site and lands were leased on 20 November 1541 to Lancelot Alforde, of the royal household.¹⁸ They are said to have been granted in 1549–50 to John, earl of Warwick, and again on 1 March 1561 to Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester. The tenant

¹ T. M. Fallow in V.C.H., *Yorkshire*, iii, p. 218.

² *L.P.Hen.VIII*, XII, 1537, ii, p. 206; J. S. Purvis (ed.), *The chartulary of . . . Healaugh* (Y.A.S. R.S. xcii, 1936), p. ix.

³ *L.P.Hen.VIII*, XV, 1540, p. 173; Burton, *Monasticon Eboracense*, p. 284; Lawton, p. 80 (wrongly giving 'John Gage', corrected in the author's copy now in York Minster Library).

⁴ *L.P.Hen.VIII*, XV, 1540, p. 289; Burton, p. 284; Lawton, p. 80.

⁵ Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 390, 'till very lately'; cp. D.K. x (1849), appx ii, p. 296.

⁶ Purvis, *op. cit.* pp. viii, 214.

⁷ MS Dods. 113, f. 97; printed by Purvis, *op. cit.* p. ix.

⁸ 'Catalogus Registrorum omnium modo existentium per totam Angliam (Domibus Religiosis quondam spectantium) et in quorum manibus', Bodleian Library, MS Dugdale 58 (*Summary catalogue* 6536), ff. 54–64.

⁹ *D.N.B.*: 1613–96.

¹⁰ Not, however, Padmore's only superior at the time: in 1620 he was appointed bailiff and collector of the lands of Wykeham and Rievaulx: P.R.O. LR 1/200, ff. 174v–5r.

¹¹ The 3rd baron's son and 4th baron's father, Sir Thomas Wharton, predeceased his father in 1622.

¹² See a broadside in York Minster Library, L 1, headed 'The Order of the Court of Exchequer . . . 1701, from which . . . Lord Wharton has appealed to the . . . House of Peers', concerning the admissibility of a commission of 1618. [Postscript: but this appears to relate to Wharton's estate at the other Healaugh, in Swaledale.]

¹³ See above, appx VII B (i).

¹⁴ Rule 1 (1638), 'That every one do helpe and further each others studyes and endeavours, by imparting and communicating . . . all such bookes, notes, deedes, rolles etc. as he hath': Joan Evans, *A history of the Society of Antiquaries* (1956), p. 22. In fact Dodsworth made use of Cotton's library in 1618, 1622, 1623, and 1625 (N. Denholm-Young and Sir H. H. E. Craster, 'Roger Dodsworth . . . and his circle', in *Y.A.J.* xxxii (1936), pp. 17–21), and continued to do so after Sir Robert's death 'by the favour of [his son] Sir Thomas Cotton': Dugdale to Nathaniel Johnston, 11 June 1678, quoted by A. J. Horwood, 'The manuscripts of F. Bacon Frank', H.M.C. vi (1877), appx, p. 453.

¹⁵ B.M., MSS Harl. 6018 and Add. 36789; information kindly supplied by Mr. A. G. Watson.

¹⁶ Information kindly supplied by Dr. G. R. C. Davis.

¹⁷ J. Solloway in V.C.H., *Yorkshire*, iii, p. 148; *L.P.Hen.VIII*, XIV, 1539, ii, p. 243; Poulson, *Holderness*, ii, p. 314.

¹⁸ *L.P.Hen.VIII*, XVI, 1540–41, p. 724.

under both was still Alford, who was buried in Beverley Minster on 28 January 1562. His nephew, Sir Launcelot Alford, was regranted Meaux by Sir Christopher Hatton¹ on 5 October 1586, and was still alive in 1623. His son Sir William Alford received a grant of the Meaux estate in 1634,² and is known to have owned two cartularies of the abbey: one was examined by Richard Gascoigne in 1622 and 1624, copied by the antiquarian Henry Paget in 1650, and is now in the British Museum;³ the other was in St. Mary's Tower in 1639,⁴ and, not being heard of again, is supposed to have perished in the explosion of 1644.⁵

(g) MONK BRETTON PRIORY, surrendered on 21 November 1539.⁶ The last prior, William Brown, and two of the brethren, Thomas Wilkynson alias Bolton and Richard Hinchclyf, went and lived together in a house at Worsborough, three miles from the priory. They had with them the priory's new cartulary, written between 1523 and 1539. The last of the three to survive was Hinchclyf, and when he died in Sir Richard Wortley's house, Wortley Hall, three miles from Worsborough, the cartulary evidently fell into Wortley's possession. It was in the hands of his son, (later Sir) Francis Wortley in September 1574, when it was produced by him in a tithe dispute, and on 30 December 1629, when Francis Burdett of Birthwaite lent to Dodsworth same notes 'taken out of a Cowcher belonging to the priory of Monkbretton in the custody of S^r Francis Wortley, Knight, baronet'.⁷ In August 1630, when Dodsworth himself copied a large part of the volume, it was still owned by Sir Francis.⁸ By 1648, however, it had somehow travelled the eight or nine miles to Woolley, where its owner was Sir George Wentworth.⁹ In the eighteenth century John Burton records the owner of the cartulary as Sir Godfrey Wentworth, of Hickleton (and Woolley),¹⁰ and it remained the property of his descendants at Woolley Hall until the present century.¹¹

The site of the priory was granted in 1540 to William Blitheman;¹² he died in 1543. In 1580 his grandson, Jasper Blitheman, sold the property to George Talbot, 6th earl of Shrewsbury, who settled it on his fourth son, Henry Talbot, on his marriage. Henry died in 1595, and his widow Elizabeth married as her second husband Thomas Holcroft of Vale Royal, Cheshire. A second, earlier, cartulary of the priory must have been handed down with the estate, for in 1614 Dodsworth records that Holcroft was in possession of it.¹³ Henry Talbot's second daughter, Mary, married Sir William Armyne of Osgodby, Lincolnshire, and in the partition of her father's estate she received the priory site, and, apparently, the cartulary, for in 1634, when Dodsworth took further extracts from it, he states that it was 'in the possession of Sir William Ayrmin, Knight, of Osgodby'.¹⁴ In the following century the volume passed through the hands of a bookseller and several private owners, until in 1807 it came to the British Museum.¹⁵

(h) NOSTELL PRIORY, with its cell SCOKIRK or SKEWKIRK at Tockwith, surrendered on 20 November 1540.¹⁶ The joint sites and estates were granted to Sir Thomas Legh, the visitor of the northern monasteries in 1535, on 22 March 1539/40.¹⁷ On his death in 1545 he bequeathed the estates to his wife Joan and his nephews Thomas and William. Joan married as her second husband Sir Thomas Chaloner, and in 1555 Thomas the younger transferred his portion to his aunt. Stitched into the Scokirk cartulary are a plea of 1555 against Sir Thomas Chaloner and Joan his wife concerning their manor of St. Oswald, and a copy of the *inquisitio post mortem* of 1557 on Joan Chaloner to the effect that she died seized of the site of the late dissolved priory of St. Oswald and its lands, including the manor of the house or grange at Skewkirk, formerly called the cell of Skewkirk, and that her daughter Catherine was her heir.¹⁸ Catherine

¹ Possibly this is one of the four dissolved monasteries noted by J. M. Rigg (*D.N.B.*) to have been granted to Hatton by the crown shortly before this time.

² Poulson, p. 315; C[harles] F[rost] in *Collectanea topographica et genealogica*, iv (1837), pp. 177–8; Edward A. Bond (ed.), *Chronica monasterii de Melsa*, i (Rolls series, xliii, 1866), p. liii.

³ MS Egerton 1141: Davis, p. 74, no. 660; Bond, *op. cit.* pp. li–liv. Paget's transcript is B.M. MS Add. 26734.

⁴ MSS Dods. 53, ff. 1–9; 95, ff. 106–110; 127, f. 46.

⁵ Davis, p. 74, no. 655; Bond, *op. cit.* p. lviii.

⁶ T. M. Fallow in V.C.H., *Yorkshire*, iii, p. 94; D.K. viii (1847), appx ii, p. 31.

⁷ MS Dods. 155, f. 67v.

⁸ MS Dods. 155, f. 25.

⁹ B.M. MS Lansdowne 257, f. 289 (old) = 283 (new).

¹⁰ *Monasticon Eboracense*, p. 92, note a.

¹¹ Commander M. E. Wentworth first deposited it in the library of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society at Leeds (DD.57.A), and in 1961 it was put up for sale at Sotheby's (11 April), lot 143 and purchased for the British Museum (MS Add. 50755): Davis, p. 76, no. 675; J. W. Walker (ed.), *Abstracts of the chartularies of the priory of Monkbretton* (Y.A.S. R.S. lxvi, 1924), pp. vi–vii; J. S. Purvis, 'New light on the chartularies of Monkbretton Priory', in *Y.A.J.* xxxvii (1951), pp. 67–71; G. R. C. Davis, 'Two chartularies from the West Riding', in *The British Museum Quarterly*, xxiv, 3–4 (1961), pp. 67–70.

¹² D.K. ix (1848), appx ii, p. 171.

¹³ MS Dods. 159, f. 34.

¹⁴ MSS Dods. 147, f. 76; 155, f. 61; 159, f. 34.

¹⁵ MS Lansdowne 405: Davis, p. 76, no. 674; Walker, pp. vii–ix; Lawton, p. 52.

¹⁶ T. M. Fallow in V.C.H., *Yorkshire*, iii, p. 234; *L.P.Hen.VIII*, XIV, 1539, ii, p. 195.

¹⁷ *L.P.Hen.VIII*, XV, 1540, p. 175; Joseph Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, ii (1831), p. 210; given as 2 March 1539 by Clay, *Suppression*, p. 154.

¹⁸ Gwenllian C. Ransome (ed.), 'The chartulary of Tockwith alias Scokirk', in *Miscellanea*, iii (Y.A.S. R.S. lxxx, 1931), p. 157.

married James Blount, Lord Mountjoy, and also sewn into the Scokirk cartulary is a lease of 1561 by him to William Ingleby of Ripley of 'the farm or grange called Skewkirke'.¹ Lord and Lady Mountjoy divided the ownership of Nostell and Scokirk.

Nostell they sold in 1567 to Sir Thomas Gargrave of Kinsley and (Sir) Cotton his son, and it descended through the Gargrave family until 1612, when Cotton's son Sir Richard sold it to William Ireland. His son Sir Francis in 1629 sold it to Sir John Wolstenholme, who went bankrupt in 1650. The purchaser of Nostell in 1654 was Rowland Winn, and it remained in the possession of the Winn family until the nineteenth century. In 1758 the proprietor was Sir Rowland Wynne, and he also had a register of Nostell. He had not, however, inherited the register with the estates, but had been given it by a clergyman.² It is still at Nostell Priory, now owned by Lord St. Oswald,³ a member of the Winn family.

'The site or cell of Skewkyrke alias Skokyrke' was sold in 1567 to Edward Beseley.⁴ Beseley married as his second wife Bridget, daughter of William Nelson of Skelton, and in 1573 Edward and 'Brigitt' Beseley sold Scokirk manor to Christopher Nelson. The latter, with his wife Mary, in 1577 sold it to Thomas Harryson, a former lord mayor of York,⁵ and in 1600 Harryson sold it to John Tennant. The property continued in the Tennant family until the nineteenth century.⁶

Scokirk had a long-standing connection with the family of Wilstrop,⁷ and a note made on 4 January 1587/8 on the flyleaf of the Wilstrop family cartulary, which at one time is said to have been bound in one volume with the Scokirk cartulary,⁸ is a 'Memorandum, That Mr. Charles Wilstrope, of Wilstrope in the Countye of the Cittye of York, Esquire, did give and deliver this booke unto Robert Harryson, of the Cittye of York, merchant'.⁹ Robert Harryson was the son of the Thomas Harryson of 1577 and 1600, and from Robert the Wilstrop cartulary passed to his son Sir Thomas Harrison¹⁰ of York, in whose hands it was when Dodsworth made extracts from it on 1 January 1632; at the same time Dodsworth copied four Scokirk charters, presumably from the Scokirk cartulary.¹¹ Evidently the Harrisons had retained the Scokirk cartulary upon selling the manor in 1600. It is now in the John Rylands Library.¹²

The pedigree of Winn printed by Hunter¹³ shows that Sarah (died 1805), granddaughter of Sir Edward Winn of Nostell (aged 22 in 1666), married Jeremiah Harrison, vicar of Long Preston and Catterick,¹⁴ and they had an only son, also a clergyman, who died unmarried in 1787. It may be conjectured that these Harrisons were connected with the Harrisons who owned Scokirk and its cartulary, and that one of them, probably Jeremiah, may have been the unnamed clergyman who gave the Nostell cartulary to Sir Rowland Winn some time before 1758.

(j) RIEVAULX ABBEY, surrendered on 3 December 1538.¹⁵ On 18 March 1538/9 the site was granted in exchange to Thomas Manners, earl of Rutland,¹⁶ a descendant of Walter Espec, founder of the abbey in

¹ Ransome, *op. cit.* pp. 155, 157.

² Burton, *Monasticon Eboracense*, p. 300, note i.

³ Davis, p. 82, no. 723; W. T. Lancaster (ed.), 'A fifteenth century rental of Nostell Priory', in *Miscellanea*, i (Y.A.S. R.S. lxi, 1920), pp. 108–135.

⁴ See above, pp. 49–50.

⁵ Lord mayor in 1575 and 1592; buried 13 January 1604/5 at St. Martin's, Micklegate, York: H. B. McCall, *Richmondshire churches* (1910), p. 9; Edward Bulmer (ed.), *The parish registers of St. Martin-cum-Gregory* (1897), p. 36; Dugdale-Clay, iii, p. 81.

⁶ Clay, *Suppression*, p. 155.

⁷ The Scokirk cartulary begins with a lease of Scokirk manor by a William Wilstrop in 1520, and the same lease is in the Wilstrop cartulary, now in the John Rylands Library, MS Lat. 251, f. 212: Ransome, *op. cit.* pp. 157, 165–6; Davis, p. 155, no. 1342.

⁸ The Wilstrop cartulary is included in catalogues of the Towneley MSS compiled in 1874 and 1883 (Alfred J. Horwood, 'The manuscripts of Colonel Towneley, at Towneley Hall, Burnley', in H.M.C. iv (1874), i, p. 410; sale catalogue of the MSS of Christopher Towneley, Sotheby's, 27 June 1883), and the 'Index of chartularies' compiled by Sir Thomas Phillipps in 1839 lists the Scokirk cartulary as in the possession of P. E. Towneley of Towneley, Lancs., though this is not in either of the later catalogues.

⁹ Ransome, *op. cit.* p. 158; Horwood, *loc. cit.*

¹⁰ Robert was lord mayor of York in 1607, died 1616; the younger Thomas, knighted in 1640, died 1644, and may have been steward of St. Mary's in the 1650's (above, p. 469). Ransome, *op. cit.* p. 158, takes the two Thomases of 1577 and 1632, actually two generations apart, as one person.

¹¹ Dodsworth's MS in the Library of the Y.A.S., MS 282, ff. 77–84; Ransome, p. 158. Other notes from the Scokirk cartulary are in the Bodleian Library, MS Dods. 9, ff. 283–6.

¹² MS Lat. 225: Davis, pp. 111–112, no. 977.

¹³ *South Yorkshire*, ii (1831), p. 216.

¹⁴ Vicar of Long Preston, 1730–63; of Catterick, 1748–63; died 1763: Thomas Dunham Whitaker, *The history and antiquities of the deanery of Craven*, 3rd ed., by A. W. Morant (1878), p. 145, and *An history of Richmondshire*, ii (1823), p. 35. He was M.A., probably the Jeremiah Harrison, son of Christopher Harrison of Ripon, who matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1722 aged 15: Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, II, ii (1891), p. 616.

¹⁵ T. M. Fallow in V.C.H., *Yorkshire*, iii, p. 152; *L.P.Hen.VIII*, XIII, 1538, ii, p. 421; D.K. viii (1847), appx ii, p. 38.

¹⁶ *L.P.Hen.VIII*, XIV, 1539, i, p. 257; cp. D.K. x (1849), appx ii, p. 264.

1131. Two generations later the estate passed by inheritance to the Villiers family, dukes of Buckingham, who sold it to the Duncombe family, later earls of Feversham, who have owned it till modern times.¹ Extracts were made by Roger Dodsworth on 18 September 1640 'Ex Cartulario Abbatiae de Ryevall' containing 'cartarum Rywallensium intitulationes secundum quas iacent' then kept 'in armoriolo apud castrum Belvoir' in the possession of the 7th earl of Rutland;² this cartulary cannot now be traced.³

(k) ST. MARTIN'S PRIORY, RICHMOND, a cell of St. Mary's Abbey, York, was surrendered with its mother house in November 1539.⁴ It was first leased to Sir Roger Cholmeley, and on 10 June 1553 granted to Edward Fiennes, Lord Clinton and Saye, afterwards earl of Lincoln. Shortly afterwards he sold the estate, and it was divided between William Pepper and Cuthbert Walker and William his son. Pepper's portion passed to his descendants, who at various times sold parts of it to several persons.⁵ A manuscript containing charters of the priory was in the possession of the heir of Cuthbert Pepper in 1620,⁶ and a rental, probably in a volume also containing a cartulary, was in the possession of Christopher Pepper of Richmond, then owner of the cell, in 1627, when Dodsworth made extracts, partly printed in the *Monasticon Anglicanum*.⁷

(l) SAWLEY ABBEY, surrendered on 8 June 1537.⁸ The site and lands were granted in May 1538 to Sir Arthur Darcy, one of the commissioners for the dissolution of the northern monasteries.⁹ 'Goodes prayed at Sawlaye' were 'gyven by the Kinges highnes unto Sir Arthur Darcy Knight'.¹⁰ On the day of the surrender Darcy wrote to Cromwell, 'I have ffound a booke of dettes belongyng to the howes'.¹¹ Darcy certainly possessed the abbey cartulary, whether it was what he meant by 'a booke of dettes', or whether he acquired it with the ownership of the estates, for on folio 3* is written 'Thys book aperteinithe to Arthur Darcy, knyght, of Salley. Whosoever findes ytt he shall have x.s. so he bryng ytt agayn to hym and Goddes blyssyn. Arthur Darcy.' Sir Arthur died in 1561, and the book also has the signature of his second son Thomas.¹² The cartulary passed out of the Darcy family and into the hands in turn of the book collectors Sir Simonds D'Ewes, Humphrey Wanley, and Robert Harley, earl of Oxford, and thus to the British Museum.¹³ Some charters of Sawley relating to the parish of Gisburn in which it lies were still at Gisburn Park in recent years.¹⁴

(m) SELBY ABBEY, surrendered on 6 December 1539.¹⁵ The site and lands were granted on 28 August 1540 to Sir Ralph Sadler,¹⁶ secretary of state and favourite of Thomas Cromwell, and on 20 December of

¹ Burton, *Monasticon Eboracense*, p. 364 (misnumbered '560'); T. Whellan, *History and topography of the city of York and the North Riding*, ii (1859), p. 252.

² MS Dods. 85, ff. 53–57, 71v–72.

³ Davis, p. 92, no. 813.

⁴ 29 November: *L.P.Hen.VIII*, XIV, 1539, ii, p. 213; 26 November: Lawton, p. 39, and J. Solloway in *V.C.H., Yorkshire*, iii, p. 111.

⁵ Christopher Clarkson, *The history and antiquities of Richmond* (1821), pp. 341–3; Clay, *Suppression*, pp. 149–150. For the Pepper family see Clarkson, p. 173, and Thomas Dunham Whitaker, *An history of Richmondshire*, i (1823), p. 246.

⁶ *E.Y.C.* iv (1935), p. 44, no. 42; previously printed in *Mon. Angl.* i, p. 402 = iii, p. 602, and in Clarkson, *op. cit.* appx, p. cxiv, no. xli.

⁷ MS Dods. 159, ff. 220–227; *Mon. Angl.* i, p. 401 ('1629') = iii, pp. 602–6, nos. iv, v, vii, x; Davis, p. 92, no. 810. Other transcripts of charters etc. concerning St. Martin's were made by Dodsworth 'out of a roll in St. Maries Tower': MS Dods. 129, ff. 203r–205r.

⁸ T. D. Whitaker, *The history and antiquities of the deanery of Craven*, 3rd ed., by A. W. Morant (1878), p. 70.

⁹ *L.P.Hen.VIII*, XIII, 1538, i, p. 409; cp. D.K. ix (1848), appx ii, p. 198.

¹⁰ Suppression papers, cited by T. M. Fallow in *V.C.H., Yorkshire*, iii, p. 157.

¹¹ B.M. MS Cotton Cleopatra E. iv, p. 240, quoted by Thomas Wright (ed.), *Three chapters of letters relating to the suppression of the monasteries* (Camden Soc. xxvi, 1843), pp. 158–9, and Whitaker, pp. 70–71.

¹² Whitaker, p. 74; Lawton, p. 63; Joseph McNulty (ed.), *The chartulary of . . . St. Mary of Sallay*, i (Y.A.S. R.S. lxxxvii, 1933), preface, n. 5. For the date of Sir Arthur's death see Robert Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster*, i (1953), p. 287.

¹³ MS Harl. 112: McNulty, *op. cit.* preface; Davis, p. 99, no. 876; A. G. Watson, *The Library of Sir Simonds D'Ewes* (1966), p. 319.

¹⁴ McNulty, *op. cit.* ii (Y.A.S. R.S. xc, 1934), p. 200, n. 18; cp. above, p. 203, n. 2.

¹⁵ *L.P.Hen.VIII*, XIV, 1539, ii, p. 233; T. M. Fallow in *V.C.H., Yorkshire*, iii, p. 99; Lawton, p. 35.

¹⁶ *L.P.Hen.VIII*, XV, 1540, p. 509; W. W. Morrell, *The history and antiquities of Selby* (1867), p. 133. Sadler had recently returned from a successful mission to Scotland, and was in great favour, receiving a knighthood and the post of one of the king's two principal secretaries of state. See T. F. Henderson in *D.N.B.* and the authorities there cited; add Somerville, *op. cit.* p. 395, etc.; H. Drummond, *Our man in Scotland: Sir Ralph Sadleir, 1507–1587* (1969); D.K. x (1849), appx ii, pp. 265–6.

the same year he was given licence to alienate the property to Sir Leonard Beckwith,¹ who was steward of Acaster and Stillingfleet for the abbey before its dissolution and receiver for Yorkshire in the Court of Augmentations from 1536 to 1546.² On the first leaf of the Selby cartulary now in the British Museum³ is the note, 'This Bouke was delyvered to me by Maister Robert Rogers⁴ uppon Fryday the xxviith day off July, anno regni Regis Henrici viij xxxv^{to} [1543], at his house in Gowthorp in Selby, Sir Richard Goode beying present his chapleyn'.⁵ The note is not signed, but the writer is almost certain to have been Beckwith; he doubtless claimed the cartulary from ex-abbot Rogers on the grounds that as legitimate owner of the property he had the right to the deeds of title, but his claim will have had the greater force because of his official position, by virtue of which he could have claimed the cartulary for the crown for retransfer to himself in his private capacity as owner of the estate. From Beckwith's son, Roger, the abbey passed to George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, and probably soon after his death in 1590 to Sir Thomas Walmsley. The cartulary was in Walmsley's possession when Dodsworth made extracts from it in 1620,⁶ and was handed down through six generations of the family together with the abbey until the death of the last male heir, Francis Walmsley.⁷ His only surviving sister and heiress, Catherine, married Robert, 7th baron Petre. About 1867–8 the then Lord Petre sold the cartulary to Messrs. T. & W. Boone, of Bond Street, who, after offering it to the British Museum, in 1868 sold it to (Sir) Thomas Brooke, F.S.A., at whose death in 1903 it did come to the British Museum.⁸

Another register of the abbey is among the Duchy of Lancaster records,⁹ and has been since at least c.1634–6, when Dodsworth made excerpts from it in the Duchy office.¹⁰ This seems to be something of an anomaly, for the abbey was never allowed to come under Duchy jurisdiction, though the Duchy does seem to have had some slight claim to it,¹¹ possibly on the grounds of its being a royal foundation, even though its founder, William the Conqueror, antedated the Duchy by almost two centuries. Another possibility is that the Duchy acquired the register through Sadler, who held the abbey for four months in 1540 and was Chancellor of the Duchy from 1568 to 1587, or, less probably, through the Walmsley family, who were of Dunkenhalgh in Lancashire.¹²

(n) WHITBY ABBEY, surrendered on 14 December 1539.¹³ On the day of the surrender the abbey was farmed to Mr. Stafferton (Staverton),¹⁴ and on 1 March 1539/40 the site and lands were leased to (Sir) Richard Cholmley.¹⁵ They were granted in May 1550 to John, earl of Warwick,¹⁶ on 18 April 1551 to Sir Edward Yorke,¹⁷ and on 2 July 1555 back to Sir Richard Cholmley,¹⁸ in whose family they remained until 1778, when Henrietta, heiress of the Cholmley estates, married Sir William Strickland.¹⁹ The abbey cartulary likewise descended through the Cholmley and Strickland families, and is owned by a Strickland still.²⁰

¹ *L.P.Hen.VIII*, XVI, 1540–41, p. 175; above, pp. 366–7.

² Morrell, *op. cit.* p. 134; Richardson, *Augmentations*, p. 50; above, p. 367.

³ MS Add. 37771: Davis, p. 100, no. 877.

⁴ Robert Rogers, alias Selby, the last abbot.

⁵ J. T. Fowler (ed.), *The coucher book of Selby*, i (Y.A.S. R.S. x, 1891), pp. xvii, 2.

⁶ MSS Dods. 118, ff. 1–40; 145, f. 55; *Mon. Angl.* i, pp. 371–5 = iii, p. 499.

⁷ The fifth Walmsley owner, Bartholomew Walmsley, 'a recusant,' is said to have depleted the surviving records by taking the principal documents connected with the abbey to Rome: A. Hutchinson, *Selby abbey church* (1948), p. 8; Beryl Holt, 'Two obediary rolls of Selby Abbey', in *Miscellanea*, vi (Y.A.S. R.S. cxviii, 1953), p. 32.

⁸ Fowler, pp. xvii–xviii, and vol. ii (Y.A.S. R.S. xiii, 1893), pp. v, 354–363; Morrell, pp. 133–149; Lawton, p. 35; Edmund Lodge (ed.), *Illustrations of British history*, 2nd ed., ii (1838), p. 278 n.

⁹ P.R.O. DL 42/8: Davis, p. 100, no. 878; Fowler, *op. cit.* ii, p. 304.

¹⁰ MS Dods. 136, ff. 85–88.

¹¹ Somerville, p. 289, n. 3; Morrell, *op. cit.* pp. 86–88; Charles Best Robinson (afterwards Norcliffe), *History of . . . Snaith* (1861), pp. 32–34; *Ducatus Lancastriae*, pars iii = vol. ii (Record Commission, 1827), p. 297, and pars iv = vol. iii (1834), p. 500.

¹² Sir Thomas Walmsley of Dunkenhalgh was appointed second justice of the Duchy at Lancaster in 1589 and died in 1612: Somerville, *op. cit.* p. 474.

¹³ *L.P.Hen.VIII*, XIV, 1539, ii, p. 250; T. M. Fallow in V.C.H. *Yorkshire*, iii, pp. 104–5; George Young, *A history of Whitby* (1817), i, p. 457; Lawton, p. 32.

¹⁴ *L.P.Hen.VIII*, *loc. cit.*

¹⁵ *L.P.Hen.VIII*, XV, 1540, p. 565; 2 March, according to Lionel Charlton, *The history of Whitby* (1779), pp. 292–5, and Young, p. 463.

¹⁶ Lawton, p. 32; 20 May, according to Sir Hugh Cholmley, *The memoirs* (1787), p. 7, and Charlton, p. 299; 30 May, according to Young, p. 463.

¹⁷ Cholmley, *loc. cit.*, and Young, *loc. cit.*; wrongly given as 'John' by Burton, *Monasticon Eboracense*, p. 81, Charlton, *loc. cit.*, and Lawton, *loc. cit.*

¹⁸ Young, Charlton, Lawton, and Cholmley, *loc. cit.*

¹⁹ Young, pp. 266, 463; Lawton, p. 32; Foster, *Yorkshire pedigrees*, iii, N. & E. R., pedigree of Cholmley.

²⁰ Davis, pp. 118–119, no. 1032; J. C. Atkinson (ed.), *Cartularium abbathiae de Whiteby*, i (S.S. lxix, 1879), pp. ix, xii.

APPENDIX IX

TITLE OF DODSWORTH'S 'MONASTICON BOREALE'

By B. A. ENGLISH and C. B. L. BARR

[MS Dodsworth 7, f. ii r, applying to vols. 1 and 2 of the *Monasticon Boreale*, MSS Dods. 7 and 8; MS 8, besides the original 'Monasticon Boreale. Tomus Secundus, cartas de Westriding præcipuè continens, etc.', has an eighteenth-century copy of the general title added at f. 'v' r. Previously printed by White Kennett in Edward Bernard (ed.), *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ* (1697), i, p. 189, no. 4149, and paraphrased by Joseph Hunter, *Three catalogues* (1838) pp. 94-95, and Francis Drake, *Eboracum* (1736), p. 575. The title of the *Monasticon Boreale*, vol. 3 (MS Dods. 9), which comprises material from sources other than St. Mary's Tower, is printed by Kennett, p. 190, no. 4151, and Hunter, p. 98.]

Monasticon Boreale
siue
Instrumenta celebriora; Nempè Diplomata Regum,
Bullæ papales, cartæ satraparum, et primorum
Virorum, aliorumque Donatorum, Sigillis suis
appendentibus
ex ¹ Quibus
Legis, Historiæ, Antiquitatis, et Genealogiæ
Studiosi habeant vnde se oblectent.
Ex
Autographis in Turri beate marie iuxta
eboracum nuper custoditis
Tomus primus.
In quo cartæ terrarum in Northridinge et ² Estridinge præcipuè
Transcriptæ Sunt, & fideliter
Examinatæ
per
Rogerum Dodsworthe eboracensem
rei antiquæ studiosum. ³
His procellosis temporibus, vbi nulla quies datur domi,
in aedibus Francisci Neuell de Cheuet, Armigeri insignis,
vbi omnia, summa cum humanitate, et alacritate, Autori,
ab hospite suo benignissimo, supeditabantur.
Inchoatum j^o octobris
1644
Hanc quidem Turrim suprano(m)i(n)atam, extruxit Abbas monasterij s(an)c(t)e
marie iuxta eboracum, ad angulum muri Borialem, vt haberet
in quo Instrumenta omnia, ad monasterium suum pertinencia,
quam tutissimè, seruarentur.
Postea vero,
Dissolutis ⁴ per totam Angliam monasterijs, sub Rege
Henrico octauo, quamplurimorum eiusdem comitatus monasteriorum
monumenta (nec pauca, nec contemnenda) diuersis
cistulis, in Turri predicta, ut, in loco aptissimo sunt deposita.
Quæ omnia
Penitus igne absumerentur, dominica Trinitatis ⁵ 16^o Junij a^o Dni 1644,
cum, per cuniculos subterraneos, Turris, et per tormenta bellica,
muri funditus euersi sunt, nisi se, ⁶ extremo mortis periculo exponens, ⁷
Thomas Tomsonus, homo integerrimus, maximam eorum partem ad Archiua
publica Archiepiscopi ebor' adduxisset.

¹ *ex* added.² *Northridinge et* added above the line.³ 1644 deleted after *studiosum*.⁴ *monasterijs* deleted after *Dissolutis*.⁵ *Trinitatis* written in another hand above *pentecostes* deleted.⁶ The comma ought properly to precede and not follow *se*.⁷ *exponens* is probably what is intended: the first two letters are very confused, so that the copyist in MS 8 has taken them for *re-* and Kennett prints *inter-*.

APPENDIX X
TORRE — DODSWORTH — BURTON
By C. B. L. BARR

	Monastery, etc.	No. of charters in Torre's Index ¹	Torre's Collections ²		Dods- worth MSS.	Dodsworth & Dugdale, <i>Mon. Angl.</i>			Burton, <i>Mon. Ebor.</i>	
			No. of charters	reference		original ed.		new ed.	reference	No. of charters in pro- jected appx
						reference	No. of docu- ments from St. M. T.			
1	Allerton Mauleverer Pr. Appleton Pr. <i>see</i> 43 Nun Appleton Pr.	—	—	—	8	i. 599—600	1	vii. 1028	258	—
2	Arden Pr.	—	—	—	—	i. 500—501	1 ³	iv. 284—7	90—91	—
3	Arthington Pr.	9	7	8.123—4	8	i. 690—691	—	iv. 518—522	88—90	9
4	Aumale Ab. (France)	3	—	—	7 ⁴ , 94 ⁵	—	—	—	—	— ⁶
5	Bagby Hosp.	—	—	—	7	[ii. 369]	—	vii. [609,] 780	—	—
6	Baysdale Pr.	6	7	9.27	7	i. 840—841	5	v. 507—510	250—252	8
7	Bees Pr. <i>see</i> 53 St. Bee's Pr. Beverley, St. Giles's Hosp.	—	1	10.209	—	[ii. 177]	—	[vi. 301—2,] vii. 780	—	— ⁶
8	Beverley, St. John's (Minster)	—	—	—	95	i. 169—172	—	ii. 127—130, viii. 1307— 1312	—	—
9	Blyth Pr. (Notts.)	—	—	—	—	i. 553—5, iii. 19—20	2	iv. 620—628	—	—
10	Bolton Pr.	18	16	8.597—600	8	ii. 100—105	11	vi. 201—7	115—134	18
11	Bretton Pr. <i>see</i> 39 Monk Bretton Pr.	57	49	9.945—8	7, 8	ii. 161—6	1	vi. 284—291	212—250	643
12	Bridlington Pr.	—	—	—	7	i. 587—590	1 ⁵	vii. 1019—21	298—300	—
13	Burstall Pr. (cell of Aumale, later a dependency of Kirkstall) Byland Ab.	74	58	9.367—370	91 (126 charters), 94, 95, 133, 159	i. 775—9, 1027—34	1 ³	v. 343—355	328—340	130
14	Cottingham Pr. <i>see</i> 23 Haltemprice Pr. Coverham Ab.	—	—	—	—	ii. 648—9	2 ⁷	vii. 920—921	418—428	—

37	Littlemarsh Pr. <i>see</i> 69 Yedingham Pr.	—	—	7, 8	ii. 98-99	1	vi. 197-9	265-8	—
38	Lowcross Hosp. <i>see</i> 29 Hutton (Lowcross) Hosp.	—	1	7 ¹⁶	i. 792-800	3	v. 388-398	—	— ⁶
39	Malton Pr. <i>see</i> 46 Old Malton Pr.	61	37	8, 95	i. 660-664	—	v. 131-141	91-99	105
40	Marton Pr.	89	72	7, 8, 91 (57 characters), 95	ii. 190-194	3	vi. 317-321	—	— ⁶
41	Newsam <i>see</i> 60 Temple Newsam	1	1	7	—	—	vi. 589-590	—	— ⁶
42	North Ferriby Pr.	7	3	8, 95, 108, 117	ii. 33-39	1	vi. 89-96	300-312	8
43	Nostell Pr.	37	37	8, 49, 95	i. 907-910	1	v. 652-5	276-9	48
44	Nun Appleton Pr.	16	14	7	i. 474-5	—	iv. 185-9	385-7	18
45	Nunkeeling Pr.	—	—	8	i. 476	—	iv. 192-6	87-88	—
46	Nun Monkton Pr.	—	—	7	ii. 816-820	1	vii. 970-974	—	—
47	Old Malton Pr.	—	—	8	i. 648-660	1	v. 118-131	—	—
48	Pontefract, St. John's Pr.	—	—	—	ii. 551, 557-8	1	vii. 838, 970-974	—	—
49	Ribston Preceptory	8	7	—	i. 401-4	1 ⁷	iii. 601-610	272-5	2
50	Richmond, St. Agatha's Ab. <i>see</i> 16 Easby Ab.	70	46	7, 8	i. 727-733	2	v. 274-286	358-366	73
51	Richmond, St. Martin's Pr.	75	43	8, 95, 117, 127, 152	i. 835-840	14	v. 501-7	319-325	78
52	Rosedale Pr.	—	—	7	i. 507-510	—	iv. 316-319	378-9	—
53	St. Bees Pr. (Cumberland)	9	—	—	i. 395-7	3	iii. 574-580	—	— ⁶
54	Sawley Ab.	—	—	8	i. 841-7	2	v. 510-516	—	—
55	Scarborough, Carmelite Pr.	—	—	7	—	—	viii. 1581	—	—
56	Selby Ab.	—	—	8	i. 371-5	—	iii. 485-513	387-412	—
57	Sinningthwaite Pr.	23	22	8, 127	i. 827-8	4 ¹⁷	v. 463-9	325-7	30
58	Swine Pr.	12	10	7	i. 834-5, 1026-7	3	v. 493-5	252-5	13
59	Templars <i>see</i> Knights Templars	—	—	8	ii. 551, 556-7	2	vii. 817, 838, 841-2	—	—
60	Temple Hirst	—	7	—	ii. 551, 556	—	vii. 817, 838, 841	—	—
61	Temple Newsam	3	3	7	ii. 172-7	—	vi. 297-302	381-5	4
62	Warter Pr.	100	84	7, 95	ii. 798-801	1	vii. 954-7	412-417	92
63	Watton Pr.	15	—	—	i. 397-400	4	iii. 581-601	—	— ⁶
64	Wetherall Pr. (Cumberland)	—	—	7	i. 71-75, 988	—	i. 405-421	68-85	—

APPENDIX X (contd.)

	Monastery, etc.	No. of charters in Torre's Index ¹	Torre's Collections ²		Dods- worth MSS.	Dodsworth & Dugdale, <i>Mon. Angl.</i>			Burton, <i>Mon. Ebor.</i>	
			No. of charters	reference		original ed.		new ed.	reference	No. of charters in pro- jected appx
						reference	No. of docu- ments from St. M. T.			
65	Whitkirk <i>see</i> Woodkirk	4	2	9.1179-80	7	i. 524-5	-	iv. 354-7	417-418	4
66	Wilberfoss Pr.	-	-	-	8	ii. 41	-	vi. 99-100	313	-
67	Woodkirk (Kirkwood, Whitkirk) ¹⁸	35	25	9.205-6	7	i. 916-917	5	v. 669-671	255-7	28
68	Wykeham Pr.	-	-	-	7	ii. 400-402	-	vii. 636-8	-	-
69	Yarm Pr.	19	13	9.829-830	7, 95, 118, 121	i. 496-8	8 ¹⁹	iv. 275-8	285-7	19
70	Yedingham Pr.	-	9	8.785-791	7, 8, 117	i. 563-5	-	iv. 680-685	-	- ⁶
71	York, Holy Trinity Pr., Micklegate	-	-	-	118	-	-	-	-	-
72	—, Howme's Hosp., Castlegate	-	3	8.797-8	-	ii. 808-9	1	vii. 962	-	-
73	—, St. Andrew's Pr.	-	-	-	125 ²⁰	-	-	-	-	-
74	—, St. Anthony's Guild	-	12	8.765-778	8	i. 510-511	1	iv. 323-7	-	- ⁶
75	—, St. Clement's Pr.	-	106	8.837-849	7, 8, 108 ²²	ii. 367-372	5	vii. 606-613	-	- ⁶
76	—, St. Leonard's Hosp. ²¹	-	57	8.805-836	7, 8 ²³	i. 383-395	6	iii. 529-573	-	- ⁶
77	—, St. Mary's Ab.	-	-	[vol. 7]	7, 8, 95, 108	iii. 128-180	1	viii. 1172- 1210	-	-
	—, St. Peter's Cath. (Minster)	-	-							

¹ Y.M.L., L 1(3).

² Y.M.L., L1(6) Archdeaconry of Nottingham, 1692; (7) York Minster, 1690-91; (8) City of York, and Archdeaconry of the West Riding, 1691; (9) Archdeaconries of Cleveland and the East Riding, 1692; (10) Peculiars, Archdeaconry of Richmond, and Liberty of Hexham. The absence of any B.N. charters in vols. 6 and 7, and the presence of very few in vol. 10, are remarked on above, p. 221.

³ From the Byland cartulary.

⁴ The cell of Burstall, and churches in Holderness.

⁵ In the Kirkstall chest.

⁶ Charters of these houses are not entered in Burton's printed *Mon. Ebor.* but are included in his manuscript 'Copies of charters' in the Bodleian Library, MSS Top. Yorks. e. 7-12.

⁷ From a roll.

⁸ One of these in the Byland bundle.

⁹ All certified copies, three of them added by Stevens, II, i, p. 58, and ii, pp. 297–305; a supposed cell of Sinningthwaite, with which it is linked in the documents given in *Mon. Angl.* (above, appx III A xv), but see Knowles & Hadcock, p. 223.

¹⁰ Cistercian tithes, etc., in England.

¹¹ Notes from a cartulary in MSS Dods. 62, 156; see appx VIII (c).

¹² In view of the large number of Guisborough charters which were in St. Mary's Tower it is interesting to note that of eighteen charters chosen by Torre for the sake of their seals five relate to Guisborough: B.M. MS Egerton 2577 (not previously identified as by Torre), ff. 1r–2v. The remainder of the MS comprises two folios of 'Seals in the Duchy Office' of Lancaster. The Guisborough seals have been referred to by the editors of the *Guisborough Cartulary*, vol. ii, p. 31, n. 1; p. 45, n. 2; pp. 252–3, n. 2; and p. 271, n. 1.

¹³ MS 108, from the Dickering bundle.

¹⁴ Torre, Dodsworth-Dugdale, and Burton all give Hutton Lowcross under Guisborough, of which it was a dependency.

¹⁵ MSS Dods. 7 and 95 use the cartulary, in St. Mary's Tower before 1632, in 1632 *penes* Dodsworth, now MS Fairfax 7.

¹⁶ MS Dods. 53 uses the cartulary in St. Mary's Tower, 1639; MS 95 uses a cartulary, no location given; see above, appx VIII (f).

¹⁷ Two of these are certified copies added by Stevens, II, i, pp. 57–58, and ii, pp. 292–7.

¹⁸ Cell of Nostell.

¹⁹ All Littlemarsh, two of them in the Yedingham chest.

²⁰ A rental of guilds and chantries.

²¹ Formerly St. Peter's Hospital, hence frequently confused with St. Peter's Cathedral Church. i.e. York Minster.

²² Dods. MSS 118 and 121 use the cartulary.

²³ Dods. MSS 127 and 156 use the cartularies (two in MS 156); MS 129 uses a repertorium of grants.

APPENDIX XI

B. N. CHARTERS CITED BY POULSON

By C. B. L. BARR

Place	Grantor	B.N.	Poulson	Burton	Torre's Index	Torre's Collection	Notes
<i>St. Mary's Abbey, York</i> Appleton	P. de Fauconberg	14.7	i. 404 c	—	—	8. 810 a	Drake p. 584; grantor Peter in Burton, Philip in Torre & Drake
Southorpe	Ralph de Uvegat	[20.56]	i. 340	—	—	8. 822 b	Drake p. 592
Southorpe	Richard de Spineto	[10.25]	i. 340	—	—	8. 822 b	Drake p. 592
Wassand	Steven de Hatfield	[8.38]	i. 435	—	—	8. 825 a	Drake p. 593
<i>Meaux Abbey</i> Sutton	John Saer de Sutton	20.46	ii. 324 b	—	—	—	to his brother William, parson; 'penes nup. W.R. M.D.' (P.)
Sutton	Saer de Sutton	20.47	ii. 326 a	—	—	—	to his brother John; 'penes R.— M.D.' (P.)
<i>Nunkeeling Priory</i> Barmston	Peter de Pettywyn (Pictavensis)	8.19	{ i. 191 b } i. 374 d	386 d; app. 5	8.19	9. 1641 a	Poulson i. 191 to Bridlington Priory, apparently in error
Arnold	Richer de Arnald, conf.	24.36	i. 374 b	385 n; app. 1	24.36	9. 1641 b	
Atwick	Beatrix de Friboys, conf.	9.4	i. 374 c	385 o; app. 2	9.4	9. 1641 a	
Bewholme	Herbert St. Quintin	2.1	i. 374 l	386 b; app. 3	2.1	—	'hand very fair, seal lost' (P.)
Burton Fleming	John de Friboys	17.38	i. 375 d	386 e; app. 6	17.38	9. 1641 a	
Goxhill	William Mayne	12.65	i. 375 j	386 f; app. 7	—	—	
Hedon	John de Preston	20.28	{ i. 375 l } i. 156 g	386 h; app. 9	20.28	9. 1641 b	'seal lost, hand fair' (P.); Cop. cart. i. 161
Hilston	Gaudin de Aseby	8.11 (P.)	i. 375 m	386 i; app. 10	8.17	9. 1641 a	B.N. 8.17 is correct
Hilston	John de Aseby	7.19	i. 376 a	386 h; app. 11	7.19	9. 1641 a	'hand fair, small charter injured by damp' (P.)
Keeling	Beatrix de Duddington	20.36	i. 376 e	386 m; app. 13	20.36	9. 1641 a	
Octon	John de Oketon	7.38	i. 376 j	386 o; app. 15	7.38	9. 1641 a	
Paull Holme & Hutton Cranswick	John de Hottun	7.17 (P.)	i. 376 c	386 l; app. 12	7.37	9. 1641 a	B.N. 7.37 is correct
Paull Holme	—	25.42	i. 376 k	—	—	—	lease to John & Joan Croft
Sigglesthorne	Richard de Anlaby	13.51 (P.)	{ i. 377 c } i. 418 c	386 q; app. 17	23.51	9. 1641 b	B.N. 23.51 is correct; P. i. 377 has 13.51, 418 'B.C. Lib.'
Sunderlandwick [Hatfield]	Robert de Monceaux Beatrix wife of Amandus	21.27 —	{ i. 377 d } i. 375 k	386 r; app. 18 386 g; app. 8	21.27 13.49	9. 1641 b 9. 1641 a]	

[Mappleton [(Long) Riston	Henry son of Simon de Preston Sir Andrew Fauconberg	- -	i. 376 h i. 377 a	386 n; app. 14 386 p; app. 16	5.2 10.21	9. 1641 b 9. 1641 b]	Cop. cart. iii. 84]
<i>Swine Priory</i>							
[Note: Poulson's footnotes f-k on p. 204 are out of step with the index letters in his text; note f relates to Sutton, g to Robert de Verli, h to Nicholas de 'Chawincourt,' i to Thomas de Riston, j to Thorp, k to Wilsthorp and Wolberg.]							
West Benningholme	Peter de Beningholme	4.23 (P.)	ii. 203 b	253 a; app. 3	4.33	9. 1465 a	B.N. 4.33 is correct; 'Hand fair, seal lost' (P.) B.N. 22.56 is correct
Beeford	Robert de Samford, conf.	22.55 (P.)	{ i. 246 b ii. 203 c }	253 b; app. 4	22.56	9. 1465 a (22.55)	
Dowthorpe	Roger de Ridel	11.17	ii. 203 e	253 d; app. 5	11.17	9. 1465 a	
Fraisthorpe (Hedon)	Stephen de Alost	12.22	ii. 203 h	253 f; app. 6	12.42	9. 1465 a	B.N. 12.43 is correct
Hedon	Richard Long	23.52	ii. 203 g	253 g; app. 7	23.52	-	'a fair hand' (P.)
Long) Riston	Gilbert son of Astin	14.16	ii. 204 c	253 i; app. 9	14.16	9. 1465 b	
Swine	Nicholas de Chavenicourt	21.43	ii. 204 h (g text)	254 b; app. 10	21.43	9. 1465 a	'Hand small, very fair' (P.)
Swine	Thomas de Riston	21.45	ii. 204 i (h text)	254 c; app. 11	21.45	9. 1465 a	
Thorp (Swine)	Ralph de Amundeville	21.71	ii. 204 j (i text)	254 e; app. 12	2.17	9. 1465 b	B.N. 2.17 is correct
[East Benningholme [Holme on Spalding Moor] [Lund	Hawise de Surdeville Prioress of Appleton	- -	ii. 203 a ii. 203 i	252 p; app. 2 253 h; app. 8	14.51 4.34	9. 1465 a 9. 1465 b	Cop. cart. i. 10] Cop. cart. i. 23]
	-	-	ii. 204 b	253 c; app. 13	21.70	-	Pasture, & Gunthorp Wood, granted by Henry VIII to Sir R. Gresham]
<i>Aumale Abbey</i> Skeffling	Robert de Skeffling	5.6	{ ii. 498 a ii. 508 a }	-	5.6	-	
<i>Kirkstall Abbey or Burstall Priory</i> Marfleet	Adam lord of Marfleet	12.15	ii. 320 a	-	-	-	'penes Dr. W. R. . . . Dr. Burton's MS. S.' (P.); above, p. 229

APPENDIX XII

THE BURTON MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY

By C. B. L. BARR

Sale 1889	Sale 1937	Short title	Bodleian Shelfmark MS Top. Yorks.
I	a	Domesday Book for Yorkshire	b. 3
II	—	Pipe rolls, extracts for Yorkshire	—
III	b	Escheats & inquisitions, Yorkshire	b. 4
IV	c	Holders by knight service, etc.; extracts from MSS Dods. 11, 34, etc.	b. 5
V	d	Records in the Tower of London, extracts	b. 6
VI	e	118 Yorkshire pedigrees, folio	a. 1
VII	f	Over 400 West Riding pedigrees, folio	b. 7
VIII	g	Pedigrees and monumental inscriptions, quarto	d. 5
IX	h	233 North Riding pedigrees	b. 8
X	i	Ripon Minster, etc.	b. 9
XI	j	Nomina villarum, etc.	b. 10
XII	k	Lincolnshire pedigrees	b. 11
XIII	l	Northern pedigrees	b. 12
XIV	m	Misc. extracts, incl. Exchequer inquisitions	b. 13
XV	n	Misc. extracts, incl. St. Mary's Abbey charters	b. 14
XVI	o	Copies of charters, 6 vols.	e. 7-12
XVII	p	Descents of Yorkshire manors, 20 vols., lettered A-Z	b. 15-16, d. 4, e. 13-29
"	"	Descents of Yorkshire manors, 1 vol., unlettered, quarto	d. 6
—	"	Funerals	d. 7
—	"	Notes on Yorkshire families	b. 17

APPENDIX XIII

SOME SURVIVING ORIGINAL CHARTERS FROM ST. MARY'S TOWER

By C. B. L. BARR

A number of original charters seen by Dodsworth in St. Mary's Tower can be identified as surviving in the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, and elsewhere, but none with B.N. references has occurred to give a clue to the fate of the Torre-Burton collection (expanded and corrected from Denholm-Young, n. 4).

- B.M. Stowe Charters 444 = MS Dods. 7, f. 17¹
 497 = MS Dods. 7, f. 99v¹
 499 = MS Dods. 7, f. 98¹
 Cotton Charters xi.42 = MS Dods. 7, f. 180¹
 Add. Charters 15645 = MS Dods. 7, f. 11²
 20586 (endorsed 'Roger Dodsworth, Esq.')
 20587 = MS Dods. 7, f. 76³
 Bodl. Douce Charters 43 (Ch. Yorks. 56*) = MS Dods. 7, f. 65v⁴
 Rev. H. C. Holmes, rector of Birkby, Northallerton, 1889 = MS Dods. 7, f. 112v⁵
 Sir Thomas Phillipps, sale at Sotheby's, 25 June 1935, lot 495 = MS Dods. 7, f. 24v⁶
 The author's copy of T. D. Whitaker's *Craven*, 2nd ed., 1812,⁷
 inserted to face p. 438 = MS Dods. 8, f. 11v (2 charters)⁸
 p. 231 = MS Dods. 8, f. 20v⁹
 p. 502 = MS Dods. 8, f. 18¹⁰

¹ These four noted by Denholm-Young from Sir H. H. E. Craster's calendar of MS Dods. 7.

² *E.Y.C.* iv, pp. 287-8, no. 350, spec. p. 287, n. 2.

³ These two printed in the *Guisborough Cartulary* (S.S.), ii, nos. 1092 (p. 282) and 1110 (pp. 298-9). For the endorsement cp. above, p. 216.

⁴ *Guisborough Cartulary*, ii, p. 96, no. 745; Turner & Coxe, p. 608.

⁵ *Rievaulx Cartulary* (S.S.), pp. 251-2, no. 358 (not 359, as given by Denholm-Young).

⁶ *E.Y.C.* iv, pp. 286-7, no. 349, spec. p. 287, n. 1.

⁷ Formerly owned by the late Mr. H. L. Bradfer-Lawrence; sold at Sotheby's, 1 June 1968, lot 175, to Sawyer; now (1970) in the private possession of a Yorkshire bookseller who does not wish his identity to be published.

⁸ *E.Y.C.* vii, pp. 82-83, no. 39; pp. 155-6, no. 91.

⁹ *E.Y.C.* vii, p. 176, no. 108.

¹⁰ *E.Y.C.* vii, pp. 145-6, no. 83.

ABBREVIATIONS¹

Baker = Joseph Brogden Baker, *The history of Scarbrough* (1882); Bean = William W. Bean, *The parliamentary representation of the six northern counties of England* (1890); Benson, *York*, 3 vols. = George Benson, (i) *York from its origin to the end of the eleventh century* (1911), (ii) *Later medieval York . . . from 1100 to 1603* (1919), (iii) *An account of . . . York: from the reformation to the year 1925* (1925); Bowler = Hugh Bowler (ed.), *Recusant roll no. 2, 1593-4* (Catholic Record Soc. lvii, 1965); Brigg, *Stuart fines* = William Brigg (ed.), *Yorkshire fines for the Stuart period*, 2 vols: i, 1603-1614 (Y.A.S. R.S. liii, 1915), ii, 1614-25 (lviii, 1917); Burke, *Extinct* = J. & J. B. Burke, *A genealogical and heraldic history of the extinct and dormant baronetcies of England* (1838), and 2nd ed. (1841); C.Ch.R. = *Calendar of Charter Rolls*; C.S.P.For = *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign*; C.Tr.B. = *Calendar of Treasury Books*; C.Tr.B. & P. = *Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers*; Clay, *Extinct peerage* = John William Clay, *The extinct and dormant peerages of the northern counties of England* (1913); Cliffe = J. T. Cliffe, *The Yorkshire gentry from the reformation to the civil war* (1969); Collins, *Tudor fines* = Francis Collins (ed.), *Feet of fines of the Tudor period*, 4 vols. (Y.A.S. R.S. ii, 1887; v, 1888; vii, 1889; viii, 1890); Collins, *York freemen* = Francis Collins (ed.), *Register of the freemen of the city of York*, 2 vols. (S.S. xcvi, cii, 1897-9); D. & C. = Dean and Chapter; D.K. = Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, *First (etc.) report* (1840, etc.); Davies, *King's Manor* = 'Historical notices of the edifice called the King's Manor, situate near the walls of the city of York', in *A.A.S.R.* X, ii (1870), pp. 244-259, repr. as *The historie of the King's Mannour House at York* (1883); Davies, *Walks* = Robert Davies, *Walks through the city of York* (1880); E.P.-N.S. = English Place-Name Society; E.S. = Extra series; Firth & Rait = Sir C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait (ed.), *Acts and ordinances of the interregnum, 1642-60*, 2 vols. (1911); Flower-Norcliffe = *The visitation of Yorkshire in the years 1563 and 1564, made by William Flower*, ed. by Charles Best Norcliffe (Harl. Soc. xvi, 1881); Foster, *Al. Oxon.* = Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, I, 1500-1714, 4 vols., and II, 1714-1886, 4 vols. (1891); Gleason = J. H. Gleason, *The justices of the peace in England, 1558 to 1640* (1969); Gooder = A. Gooder, *The parliamentary representation of the county of York, 1258-1832*, 2 vols. (Y.A.S. R.S. xci, xcvi, 1935-8); Harl. Soc. = Harleian Society; Hinderwell = Thomas Hinderwell, *The history and antiquities of Scarborough* (1798), and 2nd ed. (1811); Hutchins, *Dorset* = John Hutchins, *The history and antiquities of the county of Dorset*, 3rd ed., 4 vols. (1861-73); *Index of York wills* = *Index of wills in the York Registry* [title varies] (Y.A.S. R.S.), 1389-1688, 16 vols. (1885-1934); Abps = Archbishops' registers, Consistory wills ii, 1316-1822 (xciii, 1937); Consistory = Consistory court i, 1427-1658, and Deanery, 1604-1722 (lxxiii, 1928); D. & C. = Dean & Chapter, 1321-1636 (xxxviii, 1907); Somerset House, 1649-60 (ix, 1890); Knowles & Hadcock = David Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses: England and Wales* (1953); *List of sheriffs* = *List of sheriffs* (Lists and indexes, ix, 1898); Manning & Bray, *Surrey* = Owen Manning, *The history and antiquities of the county of Surrey*, continued by W. Bray, 3 vols. (1804-1814); Metcalfe = Walter C. Metcalfe, *A book of knights* (1885); N.S. = New series; Page, *Chantry certificates* = William Page (ed.), *The certificates of the commissioners appointed to survey the chantries, guilds, hospitals, etc., in the county of York*, 2 vols. (S.S. xci, xcii, 1894-5); Raine, *York civic records*, 7 vols. (Y.A.S. R.S.): i (xcviii, 1939), ii (ciii, 1941), iii (cvi, 1942), iv (cviii, 1945), v (cx, 1946), vi (cxii, 1948), vii (cxv, 1950); STC = A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, *A short-title catalogue of books printed in England . . . 1475-1640* (Bibliographical Soc. 1926, etc.); Shaw = W. A. Shaw, *The knights of England*, 2 vols. (1906); Skaife, *Corpus Christi Guild* = Robert H. Skaife (ed.), *The register of the Guild of Corpus Christi in the city of York* (S.S. lvii, 1872); Somerville, *Duchy of Lancaster* = Sir Robert Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster*, i (1953); Stevens = John Stevens, *The history of the antient abbeys . . . being two additional volumes to Sir William Dugdale's Monasticon Anglicanum*, 2 vols. (1722-3); Venn = J. & J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, I, to 1751, 4 vols. (1922-7), and II, 1752-1900, 6 vols. (1940-1954); *Yorkshire Star Chamber* = *Yorkshire Star Chamber proceedings*, 4 vols. (vols. 1 and 3 ed. by William Brown: 2, H. B. McCall; 4, John Lister: Y.A.S. R.S. xli, 1904; xlv, 1911; li, 1914; lxx, 1927).

¹ These abbreviations are additional to those given on pp. 234-5 above.

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

- p. 198, n. 5: The licence for crenellation is dated 12 July 1318, and is summarised in *C.Pat.R.* 1317–21, p. 190.
- p. 200, n. 3: In 1736 Drake (*Eboracum*, p. 582) remarked that ‘the first volume of the *Monasticon* in which the account of our [St. Mary’s] abbey is contained, is allowed to be authentick [in law],’
- p. 204, n. 2: The building of an evidence house of the Augmentations at Westminster in 1547 is mentioned by Richardson, pp. 299–300.
- p. 205, n. 5: Gate was born in Middlesex (Gleason, p. 225) and knighted in 1547 (Metcalf, p. 97); he was M.P. for Shoreham in 1545–7 and for Yorkshire in 1571 and 1586–7 (*Return*, i, p. 421; Park, p. 18; Smith, p.[1]; spec. Gooder, i, pp. 20–23), J.P. for the N.R. in 1562 and 1584 (Gleason, p. 224, no. 20, and p. 228, no. 25), *custos rotulorum* for the N.R. (Gleason, pp. 224, 225, 228), and holder of other offices; his will describes him as of Kilburn, Middlesex, where he had bought the site of the priory (J. W. Clay (ed.), *North country wills*, ii (S.S. cxxi, 1912), pp. 140–142); see also V.C.H. *East Riding*, i (1969), pp. 333, 468.
- p. 212, n. 3: read Appendix VII A.
- p. 213, n. 2: read Appendix VII B iv.
- p. 213, n. 5: See now also Geoffrey Ridsdill Smith, *Without touch of dishonour: the life and death of Sir Henry Slingsby, 1602–1658* (1968), p. 75; L. P. Wenham, *The siege of York and battle of Marston Moor* (1969), pp. 9–11; and particularly *id.*, *The great and close siege of York, 1644* (1970), pp. 57–74.
- p. 216, n. 2: The titles of the first two volumes of the *Mon. Angl.* also mention the *turris Eboracensis* as a source.
- p. 217, n. 14: for these read those.
- p. 218, n. 6, 7: Besides the two charters described by Fothergill as ‘penes me’, of five others (four printed in the *Mon. Angl.* from St. Mary’s Tower) he writes ‘extat autographum’ and of thirty-two others relating to ten houses (only the grantors’ names are given) he says ‘desideratur’; none of the total of thirty-nine charters singled out by Fothergill has been identified as belonging to the B.N. collection.
- p. 219, paragraph 3, line 4: for Minister read Minster.
- p. 219, n. 3: Torre’s abbreviation for this cartulary is R.M., denoting Registrum Mariae, and he gives references to it for abbey properties in the North and East Ridings in the form R.M.1 and R.M.2, followed by the numbers of the 17th-century, not the 14th-century, foliation. This later foliation is continuous, and there is accordingly no point in this distinction between parts 1 and 2. For properties in the city of York and the West Riding Torre gives folio references under the code R.M., without any distinction between parts, and these references correspond to the cartulary of the abbey now bound in two volumes and in the John Rylands Library at Manchester, MSS Lat. 220–221 (Davis, p. 127, no. 1102). Evidently, then, this cartulary too was in York, in Hildyard’s possession and possibly for a time in the Minster Library, in the late 17th century. Stevens was able to borrow from York only the volume still there. Drake’s abstract (*Eboracum*, pp. 582–594) of Torre’s notes displays more than his normal carelessness by giving folio numbers only and so completely failing to distinguish between the different R.M. volumes. The volumes appear to have become separated at some date between Torre’s inspection of them in the 1680’s and Stevens’ loan of the Y.M.L. volume c. 1720, probably also before Francis Hildyard’s gift of the latter in 1698; a likely occasion is Christopher Hildyard’s death in 1694.
- p. 224, n. 5: A copy of Burton’s printed catalogue is dated 1796, perhaps from its use with the letter to Drummond, in B.M. MS Stowe 1056, art. 4, ff. 72–73.
- p. 226: In 1768, three years before Burton’s death, an index to one of his manuscripts was made by William Potter, vicar of Hemingbrough (Bodl. MS Top. Yorks. b.14, ff. 294r ff.). Potter was probably working for himself and not for Burton, for already in 1750 he had compiled a volume of ‘Some Records relative to y^e History & Antiquity of the Village & Parish of Hemingburgh’ (now Y.M.L., MS Add. 283). Burton (*Mon. Ebor.* p. xi) makes acknowledgement to Potter for his map of the village. He was born in 1711 at Lazenby in Cumberland, and was vicar from 1742 to 1768, when he was succeeded by his son of the same name (Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* p. 447; W. H. Wright, *Restoration of Hemingborough church* [1868?], p. 42; spec. Thomas Burton, *The history and antiquities of the parish of Hemingborough*, ed. J. Raine (1888), pp. 115–120, with a description of Potter’s MS).
- p. 228, n. 1: The proposals for printing by subscription Dade’s *Holderness* occupy a column and a quarter in the *York Chronicle*, 20 Dec. 1782, and the *York Courant*, 24 Dec. 1782; they make ‘Acknowledgements for the most liberal Access to the Library at Burton-Constable; a Repository replete with . . . the whole voluminous Manuscripts of the late Dr. Burton of York.’ The 1792 catalogue of the York bookseller John Todd is entitled *A catalogue of the entire libraries of Marmaduke Tunstall, of Wycliffe, Esq.* [purchased from Edward Constable of Burton Constable] . . . and the Rev. W. Dade, F.A.S. rector of Barmston, &c. and author of the intended *History of Holderness*, all lately deceased, etc., and comprises 13,535 items (Y.M.L. XXIV.L.28).
- p. 230, paragraph 3, line 1: for the then owner read a relative of the then owner.
- p. 358, plate: A modern photograph (1970) is reproduced in L. P. Wenham, *The great and close siege of York* (1970), pl. IX, facing p. 78.
- p. 360, Thomas Reve: A Thomas Reves was admitted at Gray’s Inn in 1544 (J. Foster, *The register of admissions to Gray’s Inn* (1889), col. 17).
- p. 361, n. 1: Another Chertsey cartulary (Davis, p. 27, no. 224) was until recent times in the possession of the Cliffords of Chudleigh, one of whom (Hugh, 2nd baron) was a successor of Wolley’s as clerk of the pipe from (nominally) 1673, when he was about ten years old (*C.Tr.B.* 1672–5, p. 364), and actually from 1682 (*id.* 1681–5, i, pp. 340, 383, 405) until his deprivation in 1689 (*id.* 1689–92, i, pp. 143, 221) for refusing to transfer his loyalty from James II to William III (George Oliver, *Cliffordiana*

- [1827?], pp. 38–39). In 1964 this cartulary was acquired by the National Library of Australia (K. V. Sinclair, *Descriptive catalogue of medieval . . . manuscripts in Australia* (1969), no. 12).
- p. 362, Sir Francis Wolley: Wolley was J.P. for Surrey in 1609 (Gleason, p. 258).
- p. 365, Anthony Rone: He was still in office as auditor in March 1573/4: *Y.A.J.* xix (1907), p. 104.
- pp. 365–6, Sir William Spencer: His family are said to have possessed a cartulary of Tewkesbury Abbey (Davis, p. 109, no. 956A; T. Tanner, *Notitia monastica*, ed. of 1787, Gloucestershire xxxi). Marmaduke Fothergill (in his copy of *Mon. Angl.* i, p. 153, in Y.M.L. IV.C.10) specifically names 'Tho: Spenser', perhaps Sir William's son.
- p. 366, Robert Paddon: P.R.O. IND. 6800 correctly says that Shoreham, etc., are in Sussex.
- pp. 366–7, Sir Leonard Beckwith: A justly harsh sketch of his character is given by J. S. Fletcher, *The reformation in northern England* (1925), pp. 52–53.
- p. 367, line 6: Dr. David Palliser points out that the second riot complained of by Beckwith is misdated 1535 in the printed edition of the Star Chamber proceedings and properly belongs to 1536; this makes it part of the pilgrimage of grace, and so of wider significance than mere hostility to Beckwith personally. Cp. also p. 485 above.
- p. 367, Richard Whalley: He was J.P. for the N.R. in 1538, 1540, 1545 (Turberville, *op. cit.* p. 5) and 1559 (Gleason, pp. 225–6); admitted at Gray's Inn in 1531 (J. Foster, *The register of admissions to Gray's Inn* (1889), col. 8; cp Reid, p. 256); said to have been involved in the rebellion of 1569 (Gleason, p. 226; but is this an error for the rising of 1549?).
- p. 368, John Herbert: He was J.P. for the N.R. in 1562 (*C.Pat.R.* 1560–63, pp. 436–7; Gleason, p. 224, no. 32); he is classed as a courtier; he had served as agent for the crown with regard to the properties of suppressed monasteries near York (Gleason, p. 226). On 19 October 1569, not long before his death, Herbert describes himself as a former servant of Lady Heneage, who was then dwelling at Overton, and as receiving his entire living in fees, leases, etc. from the crown (*C.S.P.Dom. Add.* 1566–79, p. 88, cp. also pp. 87, 91, 93).
- p. 370, John Jenkins: Occurs as receiver in March 1573/4 (*Y.A.J.* xix (1907), p. 104) and 1577 (Robert Davies, *The history of St. Anthony's Hospital* (1869), p. 23; Raine, *York civic records*, vii, p. 162).
- p. 371, Thomas Scudamore: He was admitted at the Inner Temple in 1579 ([W. H. Cooke (ed.),] *Students admitted to the Inner Temple, 1571–1625* (1868), p. 28); J.P. for the N.R. in 1608 (Gleason, pp. 231–2). The confusion with Sir John Scudamore (n. 6) is also to be found in Richardson, p. 328, n. 8. Hospitality at his house in York in 1599 is described in Lady Margaret Hoby's *Diary*, ed. by Dorothy M. Meads (1930), pp. 72–73 with 251.
- p. 374, Reynold Beseley: For Beseley as advocate of the court of York see J. S. Purvis, *Notarial signs* (1957), p. xiv (1541); assessed for property worth £12 in 1524 (*Y.A.J.* iv (1877), p. 173); he was the leading resident lawyer in York from 1533 at the latest, became clerk of the city and its 'solicitor' or legal factotum, and finally represented it in parliament in 1555 (D. M. Palliser, thesis cited above (p. 486), p. 326).
- p. 375, Reynold and Edward Beseley, lines 3–4: By his first wife Agnes Edward had a son, named after his maternal grandfather and his father's colleague, Reynold or Reginald, born c. 1565 (Foster, *Visitations*, p. 218), who made his home in Flushing, where he was at one time a soldier, and in 1592 was arrested in London for being implicated in a plot to murder Queen Elizabeth, but in the following year was freed, rewarded with £10, and promised employment by the crown. He was described as 'a little short black fellow, with a red face, whose father had an office in York' (*C.S.P.Dom.* 1591–4, pp. 162, 164, 228, 246, 297–8, 371, 373).
- p. 376, n. 1. Christopher Beseley occurs in 1541 as procurator of the ecclesiastical court of York (J. S. Purvis, *Notarial signs* (1957), p. xiv).
- p. 377, Sir Anthony Ashley: He was J.P. for Dorset, Middlesex and Wiltshire in 1609 (Gleason, pp. 249, 254, 260).
- p. 378, Sir Thomas Lake: He was J.P. for Middlesex in 1609 (Gleason, p. 254).
- p. 380, last paragraph: For the Sandwichts of West Newton Grange, Oswaldkirk, see J. McDonnell and G. O. Fox in J. McDonnell (ed.), *A history of Helmsley, Rievaulx and district* (1963), pp. 254–271, and Patrick Rowley (ed.), *The parish register of Oswaldkirk* (Y.A.S. P.R.S. cxxxv, 1970), pp. ix–x and *passim*; Dodsworth's baptism is recorded in the latter book, p. 10.
- p. 384, paragraph 2, lines 7–9: Leonard Thompson's will designated Taylor to be one of the pall-bearers at his funeral.
- p. 384, paragraph 3, line 13: At his death Bowles left one of his sons to the care of his nephew Thomas Hutton (Dale, *op. cit.* p. 32). In 1671 Hutton was executor of Thomas 3rd baron Fairfax (C. R. Markham, *A life of the great Lord Fairfax* (1870), pp. 441, 446).
- p. 385, paragraph 1: On Mrs. Beatrix Hutton and her mother Beatrix Sale see also S. Margerison (ed.), 'Memorandum book of Sir Walter Calverley', in *Yorkshire diaries & autobiographies* (S.S. lxxvii, 1886), p. 94.
- p. 385, n. 1: The first reference is to Heywood, *The nonconformist register* (1881).
- p. 386, paragraph 2, lines 6–9: Perhaps the eight pall-bearers named in Leonard Thompson's will in 1711 (above, p. 384) represent the membership of the club at that date.
- p. 466, Sir Thomas Heneage: Heneage had a dispute with the crown in July 1540 over two pensions from St. Mary's before the dissolution (Richardson, p. 418, from P.R.O E 315/85, f. 229r–v).
- p. 466, Sir Nicholas Fairfax: J. S. Fletcher, *The reformation in northern England* (1925), p. 63, shows Fairfax attempting to bribe Cromwell for the preferment of Newburgh or Whitby; he received neither. The source is *L.P.Hen. VIII*, XIV, 1539, i, p. 47.
- p. 467, William Holme: See also D. M. Palliser, thesis cited above (p. 486), pp. 202, 211, 218.

- p. 467, Tristram Farley: The unusual Christian name suggests that he may possibly have been a godson of his predecessor's uncle Tristram Teshe.
- p. 471, C. Hildyard: For his burial see now also Sister M. L. Mulgrew (ed.), *The parish register of St. Mary, Castlegate, York*, i (Y.A.S. P.R.S., cxxxiv, 1970), p. 145.
- p. 471, B. Norcliffe: He was a magistrate for the N.R. in 1656-7 (Patrick Rowley (ed.), *The parish register of Oswaldkirk* (Y.A.S. R.S. cxxxv, 1970), pp. 71-73).
- p. 474, Peter Lawson: *add at end*: He died in 1590 (i.p.m. York, 32 Eliz., P.R.O. C 142/224/48: *Index of inquisitions*, ii (Lists and indexes, 26), p. 215).
- p. 477, Thomas Newarke, lines 3-4: The three sureties are all from the West Riding: Robert Franke of York or Alwoodley, Leeds, and Thomas Wharton of Healthwaite Hill, near Harewood, were distantly related (Foster, *Visitations*, pp. 519, 589); Wilsden is near Morley.
- p. 480, Stockdale, line 9: The authorities are *C.J.* iii, pp. 674-5, 721, and iv, p. 16 (where the gatehouse is misleadingly referred to as 'St. Mary's Tower'), 17, 407, and *L.J.* vii, p. 134, and viii, p. 100.
- p. 486, Sir Robert Constable: See also David Neave, *Notes on the history of the church and parish of Holme-on-Spalding Moor, Yorkshire* (1970), p. [14].
- p. 497, (i) Byland: Sir William Pickering the father, whose family had been lords of Oswaldkirk and Ampleforth since 1316 (V.C.H., *N.R.* i, p. 549), was knight-marshal to Henry VIII and died in 1542; William the son (1516-1575: *D.N.B.*; for his mother see Flower-Norcliffe, p. 119), knighted in 1546 (Metcalf, p. 93), was a courtier and ambassador, and died unmarried, Hester being his illegitimate daughter. The younger Sir William's sister Anne married in 1556 Roger De la River or Delareur (V.C.H., *N.R.* i, p. 550; Patrick Rowley (ed.), *The parish register of Oswaldkirk* (Y.A.S. R.S. cxxxv, 1970), p. 64), eldest son of Thomas De la River of Brandsby, who (Roger) died without issue (Foster, *Visitations*, pp. 38, 601; Flower-Norcliffe, pp. 95-96).
- p. 499, (xii): Robert Franke of Alwoodley, Leeds, was appointed deputy to Thomas Newarke, collector of rents of St. Mary's in 1627 (above, p. 477, and addenda).

OBITUARIES

MISS E. M. WALKER

Edith Mary (Molly) Walker, Honorary General Secretary of the Society for eleven years, resigned in April 1969 and, after a short illness, died in Ripon Hospital on the following 14th December.

The only daughter of the Rev. Canon David and Mary Elizabeth Walker, she was born on 11 December 1903 in Leeds where her father was Vicar of Burley, but moved to Darlington in 1906. Thirteen years later Canon Walker became Vicar of Kirkby Fleetham and in 1923 moved to Ripon. Educated at Polam School and for a short time in Paris, her early interests were in literature and music rather than history and she was a youthful contributor of essays and poems to various literary magazines. Later she became interested in her aunt's collection of eighteenth century letters of the Rev. George Plaxton, vicar of Barwick-in-Elmet, which she transcribed and edited for the Thoresby Society in 1936. Increasingly her interests turned to history and archaeology. She became a member of the Roman Antiquities Committee, acting as assistant honorary secretary before becoming honorary secretary of the Committee in July 1944, a position which she filled with enthusiasm and ability for ten years. She lectured locally on archaeological subjects and took part in many excavations, particularly at Almondbury, Well and Aldborough. In recognition of her work in this field she was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in May 1949.

Miss Walker resigned the secretaryship of the R.A.C. in May 1954, but retained her membership of the Y.A.S. Council, and when Mr. R. J. A. Bunnett retired in April 1958 was elected Honorary General Secretary of the Society. To this post she brought practical experience and a wide cultural background. During her term of office the Roman Antiquities Committee was reconstituted as the Roman Antiquities Section, the Society moved its headquarters to Claremont, and inaugurated the changes which necessitated the revised Articles of Association. It was with cheerfulness and good humour as well as practical wisdom that she guided the Society through these major changes of policy.

The Society, however, did not absorb the whole of her energies. For many years she acted as a voluntary guide to Ripon Cathedral, to Fountains Abbey, to Ripley Castle, and was a keen supporter of the Ripon Civic Trust from its inception. Miss Walker also made a particular study of the history of Ripon and was greatly attracted to the medieval history of the church. She published a biography of Stephen Proctor, the builder of Fountains Hall, in 1952 and had in hand a history of the Ladykirk of Ripon.

To the Society Miss Walker bequeathed some 1,500 Yorkshire books, maps and pamphlets, as well as her own historical notes and personal journals.

JEFFREY RADLEY

Jeffrey Radley, a member of the Council of the Society, and Assistant Editor of the Journal, was tragically killed by the collapse of a trench at his excavation on the York city defences on 22 July 1970.

A member of the staff of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, where he was a loyal and valued colleague, he was an archaeologist of wide interests, enhanced by his training in geography at Leeds and his tenure of a Fulbright Scholarship at the University of California. He had published papers on subjects ranging from the Mesolithic to the early modern periods, and his last excavation, which, when published, will help to complete the picture of the York defences between the Roman period and the thirteenth century, was of a unique seventh–eighth century Saxon tower built in a breach in the Roman fortress walls.

His greatest work was perhaps yet to come, but his contribution to archaeology was already distinguished, coming not only from publication, but from wide and active contributions within and outside the county. He was a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, a member of the Mesolithic Research Committee of the Council for British Archaeology, and he held office in the Derbyshire Archaeological Society. He will be widely missed, for his readiness to help young and old alike, his clear thinking and his balanced opinions were of the greatest value.

CANON J. S. PURVIS

John Stanley Purvis was born in Bridlington on 9 May 1890 and was educated at the Grammar School there and St. Catharine's College, Cambridge. As a youth he was introduced to archaeological research by the antiquary Thomas Boynton of Bridlington and the Egyptologist Mr. Bemrose of Derby. In 1906 he and his younger brother unearthed a 4 ft. long mammoth tusk (*elephas antiquus*) from the buried cliff of a raised beach at Sewerby, Bridlington. This was presented to the Hull Museum and unhappily destroyed as a result of an air raid in World War II.

From the University of Cambridge he joined the staff of Cranleigh School where he was Housemaster and Chaplain 1913–1938. In 1913 he received a commission in the Royal West Surrey Regiment and two years later transferred to the 5th Battalion A.P.W.O. Yorkshire regiment where he served with his father and brother in France and Flanders, and was wounded at the Battle of the Somme in 1917.

During this service in the trenches he wrote many war poems under the pen name of 'Philip Johnson'. His 'Chance Memory' was printed in national newspapers and read by Ernest Raymond while serving in the Sinai Desert campaign in 1916. Raymond wrote: 'I believe it to be a poem that will live. I think the final couplet is unrivalled in war literature and I hope to reprint it in 1970'.

Dr. Purvis wrote and produced two pageants for public performances, the Cranleigh School pageant in 1924 and the Eccleshall (Staffordshire) pageant two years later. In 1930 he was elected an assistant Lord Feeoffee and later twice chief Lord of the Manor of Bridlington. He was a Life Governor of Bridlington School and served on the Board of the Bridlington Harbour Commissioners.

In 1933 he was ordained; in 1938 he became Rector of Goodmanham; in 1941 Vicar of Old Malton; from 1945 to 1947 he was Warden of York Diocesan Conference House at Foston Hall and from 1947 to 1966 Vicar of St. Sampson's Church in York. From 1953 to 1963 he became the first Director of the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research. In 1954 he was made Canon of Strensall in York Minster in recognition of his honorary services since 1939 as archivist to the archbishops and diocese of York. In 1958 he was awarded the O.B.E. for 'Services to history in Yorkshire.'

It was the publication in 1951 of his version of the York Cycle of the Mystery Plays which made both him and the Plays world famous. His text was used when the Plays were again performed in 1951 at the first York festival after a lapse of some 400 years. The Plays have been the keystone of the triennial York Festivals ever since.

His book 'Towards a University' explains the transfer and growth of the Diocesan and other archives under his care: and his work at St. Anthony's Hall to establish the Borthwick Institute of which he was the Director until the 'take over' on the creation of York University.

He made three visits to American Universities to lecture and publicise the work of the Borthwick Institute. He considered that two of his most interesting finds in the Documents were the Minutes of the meetings of the Church High Commissioners for York between 1562 and 1641 which had been lost for 70 years; and the pages of music for the 15th century York Masses – which he discovered stuck inside the bindings of a book he was examining. The 'Puzzle' Kyrie was sung by the Minster Choir as an Anthem at his Memorial Service in York Minster on 21 Jan. 1969. The Dean then said 'We remember him as a wise counsellor and outstanding Preacher, and his sustained researches have supplied guidance to historians the world over.'

Dr. Purvis was M.A. and D.D. of the University of Cambridge; he was a Fellow of both the Society of Antiquaries of London and of the Royal Historical Society. He was a Council Member and Honorary Vice-President of the York Civic Trust, York Arts Society, York Georgian Society, Yorkshire Philosophical Society and an Honorary life member of the Bridlington Augustinian Society and the Green Howards Old Comrades Association. From 1955 to 1965 he was President of our Society. He spared neither time nor effort to further the interests and objects of the Society. He regarded it as part of his duty to meet the requests of Groups that he should address them no matter how far they were from York. For a man who suffered terribly from bronchitis during the latter years of his life and for one who did not run a car (which made travelling difficult) this involved real trouble and real sacrifice. As Chairman at business meetings of the Society he showed tolerance, understanding and endless patience. A kind and honest President—that is perhaps the Society's lasting memory of Canon Purvis.

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GROUP FOR THE STUDY OF RURAL HISTORY IN SOUTH YORKSHIRE, 1660-1900

The Group's aim is to provide regular meetings for active local research workers and economic historians, to hear papers by members, and to discuss work in progress and problems arising. All aspects of the rural history of South Yorkshire (principally the Deanery of Doncaster), agriculture, the village community, social structure, building, estate management, demography, etc., will be included. The period could well be extended if those with medieval interests felt it worthwhile.

Potential members are invited to contact:—

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BOOK REVIEWS

The Vikings and their Origins, by David M. Wilson, 144 pp. 110 Figs. (15 in colour). London, Thames and Hudson, 1970. £1.50 (30s.).

There have been a number of books on the Vikings published in the past decade ranging in style from the magisterial to the tendentious and in scale from the sumptuous coffee-table adornment to the humble paper-back. This contribution by Wilson to the 'Library of Medieval Civilisation' occupies a middle position between these extremes; it is a much expanded version of a chapter first appearing in Talbot Rice's *The Dark Ages* (1965). Yet apart from the repetition of a few paragraphs and illustrations it is a new work with a strong emphasis on the origins of the Scandinavians in the Roman Iron Age and in the succeeding Vendel period. This first section of the book brings together in one place valuable information previously scattered through a number of works, mainly in German or Danish, and it describes finds and excavations within the past few years, such as the fortified village of Eketorp in Öland examined by Stenberger. The two chapters on the Vikings at home and on their travels overseas provide a broad picture rapidly painted in which some details are inevitably blurred or left in dispute. However, here too there are many points where the reader is kept aware of recent discoveries, as in the cautious acceptance accorded to the Viking settlement excavated at L'Anse aux Meadows in Newfoundland or in the critical assessment of how little new knowledge the Vinland Map provided.

For the general reader this survey, subtitled 'Scandinavia in the First Millenium', will provide a useful introduction to that period; the specialist's gratitude for the broader view will be tinged with disappointment that relatively slight attention is paid to the reasons for the Viking raids, the role of silver and the contribution of place-name evidence to knowledge of Viking settlement in eastern England. There is little of particularly Yorkshire interest except for the illustrations of two crosses at Middleton and Otley. The captions for many illustrations are not as carefully prepared as a work of this nature deserves. Only one plan carries a scale, though the comparative house plans or ship elevations obviously require one. Even when dimensions are given they may present difficulties: the stone ship-setting at Vätteryd, Norra Melby, Skåne is more credible at 25.7 m. rather than the 257 m. as printed. Noricum could be termed the northeastern portion of the Roman Empire, but is certainly not 'the southeastern'.

Since this expanded chapter is the first section of *The Dark Ages* to appear in revised form, it will be interesting to see how its companion chapter ('The Coveted Isles') deals with the Anglo-Saxon invasions and that Golden Age of Northumbria which provided the basis for Viking settlement and their conversion to Christianity. In the breadth of his survey David Wilson has given an admirable model for other writers to follow.

LAWRENCE BUTLER

Clifton and its People in the Nineteenth Century, by Barbara Hutton, 36 pp., Yorkshire Philosophical Society, 1969. 11s.

Clifton is a North Riding village ten minutes walk northwest of the walls of York that became a suburb of the city in the nineteenth century. Mrs. Hutton's illustrated booklet describes that process in great detail, tracing the ownership of land and houses after the manor was put up for sale (not too successfully) in 1836. Clifton has a complex administrative history probably deriving from the competing medieval liberties of St. Peter (represented by the parish of St. Michael-le-Belfrey) and St. Mary (the parish of St. Olave) and Mrs. Hutton shows the effect of this upon parochial administration in the nineteenth century. Before that time the manor was preserved and suburban building expansion

hardly occurred. Nevertheless the connection of the township and its inhabitants with the city had been close from at least 1600 when the Robinsons (a prominent city merchant family from the later sixteenth century) first began to acquire property there. It was thus in some senses a suburb long before it was taken into the city boundary in 1884. But it was during the latter half of the nineteenth century that it became (and remains today) much sought after for the dwellings of professional men, especially doctors and clergymen. Mrs. Hutton's study is a little partial but perhaps understandably and in any case none the worse for it; this reviewer at least has been grateful on many occasions for the preservation of Clifton Green.

P. M. TILLOTT

The Manuscripts of Henry Savile of Banke, by Andrew G. Watson, xi + 102 pp., illus., London, The Bibliographical Society, 1969. 60s.

What have been described as the wanderings of manuscripts have an interest of their own, irrespective almost of their historical value. Manuscripts of considerable historical importance have disappeared and resurfaced in the course of centuries. To mention only two from the north of England, the text of the *Anonimalle Chronicle* of St. Mary's, York, was discovered at Ripley only in 1920, while the transcripts of the Plumptre Correspondence have not been seen since Stapleton edited them in 1845 for the Camden Society.

In the history of manuscripts the work of sixteenth and seventeenth century antiquaries is often of the greatest value. Through their collections (where evidence of these survives) we can trace the post-medieval survival of particular manuscripts, and in certain cases where the original manuscript is now missing, the transcripts of these scholars provide valuable evidence for the reconstruction of the text. In one or two instances, notably in the case of Henry Savile and the Asser interpolation (mentioned on pp. 83-5 of this edition), the interpolations of these scholars give rise to later problems.

Among the manuscript collections of this period the catalogue of the library of Henry Savile of Banke the Younger (1568-1617) is of particular interest for northern history. The subject some sixty years ago of a paper by J. P. Gilson, it has now been re-examined by Dr. Watson in the light of recent advances in our knowledge of the provenance of medieval English manuscripts. In this edition Dr. Watson prints Savile's library catalogue as found in B.M. Ms. Add. 35213 and he identifies wherever possible the present location of the manuscripts. Viewed in the light of modern scholarship, this catalogue has a good deal of light to cast on the history of manuscripts from northern monasteries. As the editor remarks, any palaeographical study of manuscripts from northern monasteries might well begin with this collection.

In a library which contained a high percentage of historical and theological works we can mention only one or two of the most interesting items. In Savile's library the work of chroniclers such as Walsingham and Higden was well represented. The parts of Walsingham found in Trinity College, Dublin E. 5. 8. are probably represented by items (67) and (104). Savile possessed two copies of Higden's *Polychronicon* (37) and (61), and probably also Higden's *Speculum Curatorum* (234). Item (49), *Epistolae Cassiodori Senatoris*, came in all probability from the extremely interesting collection of John Erghome, the fourteenth-century Austin friar of York. It should be noted that a copy of Gower's chronicle in the catalogue (166) can no longer be found.

The identification of many of the items in this catalogue has been made possible by the accurate scholarship of M. R. James, N. Ker, and Dr. Watson himself. Nonetheless a fuller identification of certain of the manuscripts would have been helpful. It would be convenient to know, for example, just what parts of Walsingham's works are represented by T. C. D. E. 5. 8. and in the case of item (207) it would be of assistance to mention the fact that the work is probably the *Chroniculum* of Geoffrey le Baker.

JOHN TAYLOR

The Yorkshire Gentry, from the Reformation to the Civil War, by J. T. Cliffe, xii + 446 pp., plates, map. University of London: The Athlone Press, 1969. 90s.

It has long been a commonplace that the economic position of middling landowners in the century before 1640, a battle-ground of historians attempting to generalise broad trends and explanations of rise or decline, could only more accurately be established by numerous studies at the grass roots. Work such as Dr. Simpson's study of East Anglian families, or that of Dr. Finch in Northamptonshire, to name but two, has done much to show, on the one hand, the pressures, economic and social, which affected all landowners, and, on the other, the extent to which responses could vary according to local circumstance and to personality. Dr. Cliffe's book falls somewhere between the general and the particular approach. By taking a large county, with a large and fluid group of gentry numbering 557 in 1558 and 679 in 1642, he has insufficient space for detailed examination of any great number of individuals, and establishes trends of wealth and behaviour by quoting numerous examples and, perhaps rather rarely, by quantification. Some trends come through clearly: the pressure of rising prices on methods of farming and the search for minerals, the activity of the land market, the pressure on rents. But what we cannot quite establish is what proportion of the group pursued wealth with the energy of some of the quoted examples. Appendix B, 18 brief histories of families, is a step in the right direction, but forms rather a small sample. In Dr. Cliffe's defence must be put the problems of appropriate sources and the risks of sampling by survival of documents, assuming that good accounts tend to be kept by the more astute.

There are, however, many chapters of great value. That on recusancy effectively shows the burdens of Catholicism to have been irritating rather than disastrous, illustrating the expedients adopted to lessen the impact of fines and confiscation. Education and government also receive effective treatment, showing the aspirations of families and providing introductions to the survey of political alignment in the pre-Civil War period. In these last chapters, while emphasising the locally divisive effects of court connections between those who did and did not aspire to them, the author does not attempt any rigid division between the affluent and less successful as a basis for political alignment in the 1630's; he stresses rather the strength of family ties, of contests for office, notably those involving Wentworth, among a kaleidoscope of pressures.

Whatever the problems of method, many implicit in dealing with a county the size of Yorkshire, this book is a valuable contribution to its field both at national and local level. Those working in the area will find not only the text but references and bibliography excellent starting points for further work on particular families. It fully earns its place in libraries in and beyond the county and deserves to be widely read and used.

D. W. CROSSLEY

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